



RARE BOOK

The Comrade.

Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

— Morris.

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A Sofia message says - The semi-official journal *Mir* refuses to believe that Rumania will intervene in the event of a war between Serbia and Bulgaria, in view of the abundant proofs that Bulgaria has furnished of her sincere desire for friendship with Rumania.

London, June 30.

A Belgrade message says - During the sitting of the Skupstina to-day, the news spread that the Bulgarians had attacked the Servians along the entire frontier. Such was the excitement that the House adjourned. At three this afternoon, fighting was in progress between the Bulgarians and the Servians along a front of thirty miles. It is announced that the Bulgarians have attacked the Greeks along the whole front.

An Athens message states that the King has left for Salonica. The Greek fleet sailed hurriedly for a destination unknown.

Rumania's intimation that she is prepared to take active measures if war is declared between the Allies is interpreted in various ways. According to one view, Rumania is following the advice of Russia and wishes to warn Bulgaria of the danger of irreconcilable behaviour towards Serbia, thereby improving the prospects of peace. Other ascribe to Rumania the desire to manifest her freedom from the influence of the Triple Alliance, especially that of Austria, who is not anxious in favour of Bulgaria against Serbia. Finally, others consider that Rumania is only considering her own interests and is determined to secure more territory as a get off against the eventual enlargement of Bulgaria. The last view is probably the most correct but whatever the motive, the effect is likely to be pacifying, unless it encourages Serbia to be recalcitrant or the daily hostilities on the frontier become formal warfare.

It is evident that there has recently been severe fighting on the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier. Each side vehemently accuses the other of beginning hostilities. The Bulgarians declare that the affair was started with the support of the War Party in the Skupstina.

Greek telegrams received in London, confirm the Bulgarian general advance, and state that the Greek outposts are retiring according to orders. The Greek public accuses the Bulgarians of bad faith, playing with the Ministerial crisis and counter notes so as to gain time to prepare for aggression. The experts regard the Bulgarian advance as of little strategical importance. Meanwhile the Governments at Athens and Sofia are reciprocally protesting on account of each other's aggression.

Reuter, wiring from Sofia, states that it is announced here that strict orders have been given to the Bulgarian troops to cease operations unless attacked by the Greeks or the Servians.

It is announced in Athens that the Greek fleet has gone to Thagezi and Eleuthera, both of which places are mentioned in Greek despatches regarding the Bulgarian advance. Thagezi is a place to which one of the Greek detachments has retreated.

A Bukharest message says - It is believed here that the Balkan question will be settled by arbitration. Rumania's real wish, it is declared, is peace in the Balkans, but if this is impossible, Rumania will certainly take action with a view not only to her frontier, but also to the retention of the Balkan equilibrium.

The Week.

Balkan Crisis

London, June 27.

A Sofia message states - It is semi-officially declared here that reports emanating from Belgrade with reference to the fighting near Jovo are incorrect. The engagement, it is stated, was between Serbian troops and a Bulgarian band. The latter, on Tuesday, lodged seventy Servians from the heights on the right bank of the river. The fight was resumed on Wednesday.

A Belgrade message says - In a secret session of the Skupstina, it is understood the Opposition, except the Liberals, decided to support proposals of M. Pasic the Premier to accept arbitration in the dispute with Bulgaria.

London, June 28

It is reported in Vienna that Rumania has threatened Bulgaria with invasion if war is declared between Serbia and Bulgaria.

Despatches from Salonica state that fighting at Zletovo is still in progress and that both sides have suffered heavy losses.

Reuter wires from Vienna that in the Reichsrath to-day, Herr Sturgk, Premier, stated that the tension recently perceptible among the Balkan States had happily lost its acuteness, as they seemed on the way to a pacific agreement. This development was welcomed everywhere, especially in Austria.

London, June 29.

A Montenegrin army of twelve thousand arrived at Uskub yesterday and was given an ovation by the Servians.

[A Belgrade correspondent wired on the 12th instant that according to advices from Strass, 20,000 Arnauts (Albanians) are willing to fight on the Servian side against Bulgaria, and over 600 have arrived at Uskub, fully armed.]

The Ambassadors will meet again to-morrow. It is expected that the recent discussions between the Governments and also between Ambassadors outside the conference will result in the conference now being made fruitful. There is likely to be a compromise over the Epirus frontier.

London, July 1.

An Athens message states that it is announced here that in consequence of the simultaneous Bulgarian attack upon 140 miles of the Greek front, without a declaration of war, the Greek Government has ordered the Bulgarians at Salonica to surrender their arms.

While it is declared in Berlin that the Bulgarian attack have been everywhere repulsed and that the Serbian troops have been ordered to keep strictly on the defensive, a Greek semi-official statement says that the Greeks have been ordered to advance. The statement describes the action taken against the Bulgarians in Salonica. It says that the Greek General Staff considering the Bulgarians encamped in Salonica as enemies and as likely to disturb the tranquillity and embarrass the General Staff's action ordered them at 4-30 yesterday afternoon to lay down their arms within an hour, and leave the town escorted by Greek troops. The hour having expired without the Bulgarians complying with the order, Greek troops were ordered to surround the Bulgarian camp and take action. All measures were taken to preserve the tranquillity of the town in the event of Bulgarian resistance. Strong detachments of military were posted round the Bulgarian camp for days so as to prevent a single soldier escaping. The police further had prohibited all vehicular and pedestrian traffic and had closed the shops with a view to preventing a Bulgarian rising. A despatch sent off from Salonica yesterday evening at 10-45 makes no mention of the result of the order to disarm.

An Athens message says: The Bulgarians at Salonica surrendered after the Greeks had opened fire. Order in the town is not disturbed. A message to the *Times* from Salonica states that the Greeks placed two machine guns in the White Tower and bombarded the Bulgarians who surrendered after two hours' heavy firing.

A Belgrade message states that the Commander-in-Chief estimates that a hundred thousand Bulgarians took part in the recent fighting on the frontier which was of a serious character. The battle ceased at six in the morning.

Router wires from Salonica that on the refusal of the Bulgarians to lay down arms, fighting began with rifles, maxims, and artillery, and lasted all night. Finally at seven in the morning, the Bulgarians hoisted the white flag. Altogether 1,806 Bulgarians laid down arms. They were deported forthwith inland.

A Salonica message states that reports have reached here that the Bulgarians have penetrated to the village of Bagdanza, and proceeded to massacre women and children. The Bulgarians captured, between Kihnder and Karasouli, a Greek detachment consisting of a sergeant and fourteen soldiers and slaughtered all of them. The sergeant alone received ten bayonet wounds. At Gumenja, the Greek troops repelled a Bulgarian attack and inflicted heavy loss on the enemy. Twelve hundred Greek refugees from Ghevgeli have arrived at Salonica, fleeing from the massacres by the Bulgarians.

Greece yesterday evening presented to Bulgaria a note couched in a language of extraordinary violence denouncing Bulgaria for repeated acts of fraud and bad faith, both during and after the war, and accusing the Bulgarian troops of the worst kinds of violence and outrage upon Greeks.

M. Pasic, the Serbian Premier, in a speech in the Skupstina, emphasised the necessity for the differences between the Allies being settled simultaneously. The Tsar had invited all the four Premiers to meet in St. Petersburg to settle their differences and proceed to arbitration only in the event of failure. M. Pasic showed that such an arbitration would be on a broader basis than the mere text of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty. It was only after obtaining the conviction that any arbitral decision in a difference between Bulgaria and Serbia would be taken on the ensemble of the data attaching to the Treaty and its obligatory force and that the solution of differences between Bulgaria and Serbia would only be proceeded with if the dispute between Bulgaria and Greece were also settled, that the Serbian Government accepted arbitration on the basis indicated.

London, July 2.

A semi-official telegram from Belgrade received early this morning says that fighting continued yesterday, and that the Bulgarians were repulsed along the whole line, losing six quick-firers and eight hundred prisoners. It is admitted that the Serbian losses were heavy. On the other hand, although a state of war is declared to exist, it is pointed out in Belgrade that diplomatic relations have not been interrupted. Diplomats in London and on the Continent are still

confident that war will be averted and that the acceptance of a decision by the Skupstina will mark the beginning of a peaceful solution of the dispute through the mediation of Russia.

The Bulgarians claim that they routed the Greek and 8 aggressors in the recent fighting, and seized and occupied positions from which the Greeks and Serbians were ousted.

A Belgrade message says: The War Office is appealing for services of nurses. It is reported that the Bulgarian losses in today's fighting, numbered six thousand. The Serbians pursue Bulgarians towards Kochana. There were bayonet charges in which sixth and eleventh regiments distinguished themselves. At Chum, the Division with the Crown Prince, captured ten field guns and captured a whole Company of infantry. Together over a thousand Bulgarian prisoners were taken, including thirty officers. Prisoners declare that a proclamation of King Ferdinand has declaring war on Serbia and Greece.

A Salonica message states that King Constantine proceeded to the front this morning in order to take the offensive. The sound guns, probably at a distance of thirty kilometres, have been heard round Salonica. Greece has sent a Note to the Powers accusing Bulgarians of attacking her for the purpose of securing possession of the territories in dispute pending the settlement of differences at St. Petersburg. The Note says that Greece cannot allow game to continue. Greek troops will advance until the Bulgarians have evacuated the territory seized. Bulgaria and Serbia likewise addressed to the Powers protests from their respective points. The Powers are strongly urging all three countries not to themselves be dragged into war, but to open a way to arbitration.

A Bukharest message states that it is expected that Rumania mobilise to-morrow unless better news is received to-night.

Turkey.

London, July 2.

A CONSTANTINOPLE message says: The Government has decided to sell State lands in various parts of the empire to meet the needs of the treasury. The officials in various Ministries have been paid since the middle of March, and orders were issued week to week to cease paying even Customs officials.

London, July 2.

A message from Constantinople says that a fire broke out in Stambul in a house occupied by refugees adjacent to the residence of Minister, Talaat Bey. It spread rapidly towards the Porte Arsh of the Foreign Office were hastily removed. The depot of Egyptian Red Crescent Society was destroyed and forty he burned down. The vigorous measures of the authorities at the Porte.

Arabia.

No further news have been received regarding the Arab break near Basra. Steamer traffic on the Tigris has not interfered with so far.

Peria.

The Government is considering the proposal of Col Hjalmarsen to engage sixteen more Swedish instructors. The Col. has approved Colonel Hjalmarsen's proposal to appoint sixteen more Swedish instructors. Two Swedish officers and gendarmes leave for Kerman at the end of July.

Two men believed to be connected with the attack on Col Smart in 1911, but not the principal culprits, were brought Shiraz recently. One has, however, since escaped.

Morocco.

The Spanish Government has decided to send ten more battalions to Tetuan.

Owing to the desperate resistance of the Moors and the heavy Spanish casualties, the Spanish General has suspended offensive operations till the arrival of reinforcements.

Bagdad Railway.

HERR VON JAGOW, replying to Herr Basserman's question whether Germany, in negotiation with reference to the Kowat-Bagdad railway, had renounced all claims to future German participation in the navigation of the Tigris, said the statement about Germany's renunciation was incorrect. Shipping questions affected by present negotiations would be settled in accordance with German interest.

Future of Zanzibar:

On the occasion of the transfer of Zanzibar to the Colonial Office, the *Times* discusses the political and commercial possibilities of the island. The paper considers it offers a good field for activities of the Colonial Office in view of its many undeveloped resources.

TETE TETE



When the Mission landed at the Ballard Pier on the 5th inst., Mr. Mohamed Ali read a telegram from the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy commanding him to extend to the Mission cordial welcome on His Excellency's behalf on its return.

Dr. Ansari has wired back grateful and loyal acknowledgements of the appreciation and the invaluable and ever-ready assistance of the Viceroy. Many other telegrams from all parts of India greeted the Mission on its return in the most eulogistic terms. The following members have returned: Dr. Fyze, Dr. Rahman and Messrs. Dahiruddin Ahmad, Nurul Hasan, Abdul Aziz Ansari, Muhammad-uddin, Yusuf Ansari, Sherazee Chiraghuddin and Tawangar Hussain. Among others remaining in Constantinople Dr. Mahmudullah and Messrs. Hamid Rasul and Tafazzul Husain are going for the Haj. Mr. Abdul Rahman Peshawari remains there for some time for his health. Messrs. Shoaib, Khalig, Manzoor, Ghulam Ahmad and the General Manager Abdur Rahman return after a month, and Maulvi Mohamed Shorif and Mirza Abdul Qayim are to look after refugees and colonization work. Dr. Raza Khan has returned to Edinburgh.

The following letter from Dr. Ansari was posted on the 17th June, i. e., two days before he left Constantinople. It gives in full detail the account of the tragedy that resulted in the death of Mahmud Shevket Pasha:—

The Last Letter of Dr. Ansari.—"The Colonization Commission was on its way back to Stamboul when the news of the assassination of Marshal Mahmud Shevket Pasha came to us like a thunderbolt from the blue. This news for a moment paralysed us. It was inconceivable that the Grand Vizier should be assassinated so brutally just on the morrow of the signing of the Peace. Yet this was exactly what had taken place. With one fateful blow the greatest soldier and statesman of Turkey was snatched from the nation at a time when he was most needed by it. On our arrival in Stamboul we gathered further details of the dastardly deed. The funeral of Marshal Mahmud Shevket Pasha and Ibrahim Bey, his heroic A.-D.-C., who lost his life in defending his master, took place on Tuesday, the 12th June. The prayers were offered in St. Sophia in which ten thousand people were present, but the crowd outside the mosque and in the streets was so thick that it was difficult to walk without discomfort. Everywhere along the route of the funeral the deepest sorrow was evinced by the populace and the cries and sobbing of the women and children were heard from the balconies and terraces all along the route. The two coffins of the "*Shahada-i-Moazzam*" were carried in the strictest Islamic manner on the shoulders of the bearers. They were covered with blood-red silk richly embroidered with gold, the cap being placed over the coffin indicating the head. At Sirkedji landing stage the two coffins were placed on a steam launch and carried to Dolme Bagche, the mourners following in three large troopships. As the procession passed the different cruisers, belonging to the European Powers, had their soldiers standing in files on the deck with their flags flying half mast. On the landing at Dolme Bagche, the representatives of the different Embassies and the commanders of the different cruisers were present. Here the procession was greatly increased by the sailors of the different foreign cruisers as well as by the Ottoman soldiers and officers and became a full military funeral with artillery, infantry, etc. All the members of the two Missions also took part in the procession. The remains were interred in the enclosure at Harriyat Tapa where the Column of Liberty indicates the site where the remains of the martyrs for the cause of liberty are

buried. A meeting of all the Indians resident in Constantinople and members of the Indian Red Crescent took place on Saturday and passed the following resolutions which were duly submitted to the Grand Vizier, Prince Said Halim Pasha. His Excellency expressed his thanks on behalf of the Ottoman Government and the Ottoman nation and wished us to convey his sentiments to the Mussalmans of India. The resolutions were the following:—1. That this meeting of the Mussalmans of India, representing 75 million compatriots, places on record its intense loathing and horror at the dastardly deed which has cut short the career of one of the greatest Moslem statesmen whose services to Islam can never be sufficiently acknowledged. 2. That this meeting on behalf of Moslem India joins the Ottoman nation in mourning the untimely loss of the martyrs to the cause of constitutional progress and Moslem advancement. 3. That this meeting fervently prays that Allah will confer His eternal peace on the martyred remains of Mahmud Shevket and will vouchsafe patience and strength to the widow and family of the "*Shahid-i-Moazzam*" in this great bereavement. 4. That copies of the above resolutions be submitted to (a) His Imperial Majesty the Caliph's Government, (b) the widow of the late lamented Marshal Mahmud Shevket Pasha, (c) the leading papers for publication. It is obvious from the investigations which the police have been carrying out that it has been a deep-laid plot by men of high station in life, some members of the Liberal Union Party and men of the Hamidian régime. The Turkish papers have been publishing accounts showing the complicity of the Kiamilian clique. It is also said that some of the foreign subjects are also suspected of having played a part in this plot. Shariff Pasha had predicted the fall of Young Turk Cabinet a week before the assassination and Raschid Bey, the Minister of Interior during the last Government, had also indicated something similar. The Government is going to publish a full account of the plot after they have finished their investigation. At present five hundred persons have been arrested, including Topal Tewfik, the first assassin, Djawad, Koramun, and Zia. Djemal Bey, the Commandant of Constantinople, had given information the day before the murder to Mahmud Shevket Pasha of the suspicion of a plot against Mahmud Shevket Pasha, Enver Bey, Talaat Bey and himself. He had warned him to change the route which he usually took to go from the War Office to the Sublime Porte, but Mahmud Shevket Pasha made little of the matter and took no precautions. On Wednesday morning he left as usual the War Office at 11-30, and proceeded in his motor car towards the Sublime Porte. At one end of Beyazid Square the tram lines were under repairs and the road was so narrowed for the traffic that the passing of a mock funeral obliged him to stop. Immediately his car stopped Topal Tewfik fired at him, the bullet passing into the brain from his right temple. His A.-D.-C., Ibrahim Bey, threw himself in front of the Grand Vizier to shield him from the firing which at this moment was begun by all the assassins. Ibrahim Bey was shot dead. The other A.-D.-C. Ashraf Bey and Kazim Agha, the attendant, began firing at the assassins having dismounted from the car, but Kazim soon fell down wounded and Ashraf Bey ran after one of the assassins who was retreating in the direction of the War Ministry. All this took place in about two minutes, and after firing 35 shots the assassins got inside a motor car which was waiting for them near the fountain of Fatma Sultan and drove as fast as was possible, leaving Topal Tewfik behind. They rode via Ank Serai, Tash Kasab, Top. Kapon and then to Amphijee and out of the city wall to Sushbe. Topal Tewfik was seen by Ismail Haqqi of the police force who ordered him to stop, but the murderer ran firing his revolver all the time towards Assherat Khan (a serai in the neighbourhood). Reaching the staircase he threw away a revolver and dagger there, hid himself in the water-closet, where he was caught by the police with a revolver and some cartridges. Kamila Khanum of Scutari had seen the tragedy and had noticed Topal Tewfik firing the revolver. The police who were sent after the motor car discovered it in Sushbe and found its owner to be no less a person than Abdur Rahman, the son of the Chief of the spies in Abdul Hamid's time. His cousin Djavid was the chauffeur. The police also captured Qoramunee, one of the assassins, and found in his possession a paper from Damad Saleh Pasha for one thousand pounds to be paid to him on accomplishing certain works entrusted to him. The proprietor of *Alamdar* Hakkı Bey, was followed by the police and was seen to enter a suspected house in Pera Muhammad Street. He was also arrested and from him a clue was obtained as to the inmates of the house. The owner of this house is a certain Nicholas Villich, an English subject. The police was refused admission unless some one from the Consulate accompanied them. They surrounded the house and two police officers in plain clothes got admission into the house. One of them was Hilmi Bey, a very gallant and brave officer, an A.-D.-C. of Djemal Bey, the Commandant of Constantinople. Both these were fired at and wounded in the house. Then the gendarmes surrounded, and about one thousand shots were exchanged between the police and the inmates, one of the assassins Muhammad, Ali

being wounded in the hand. The fire brigade men climbed the house and made a hole in the roof through which the police entered the building, and after a desperate and terrible fighting the inmates were all captured. The house proved to be a regular magazine, for they found in it boxes of Manzer revolvers, of ammunitions, two hand grenade shrapnels, large stores of food and drink and dressings for the wounds. The four assassins—Muhammad Ali, Kaizim and two others—were arrested in the house on Friday. The remaining assassin Zia was also arrested on Sunday at Bashiktash. Of the five hundred arrested most of the people had been found with bombs, rifles, and a number of documents relating to the plot and proving that they were simply tools in the hands of the members of the Liberal Union Party. Prince Salahuddin, it is said, has been living for the last two months in a cruiser belonging to one of the foreign Powers anchored in the Bosphorus. A gloom has been cast over Constantinople by this great tragedy, and the consequent stringent measures started by the police have altered the social aspect of the capital. I have been very much pressed for time since my return from Anatolia. We have had the meeting of our Colonization Society, the complete report of which would have been sent to you this week under ordinary circumstances, but I found it impossible for reasons stated above. I will, however, publish it on my return and explain everything in its minutest details. The All-India Medical Mission is going to-day for audience of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and I am dictating this letter whilst awaiting for the members to get ready. This is a distinction which we are naturally proud of, for a Mussalman it is a great honour to kiss the robes of the Khalifat-el Muslimeen. We sail by the Roumanian boat, leaving Constantinople on the 18th, and would catch the Italian boat from Suez on the 29th. You will, of course, get a cable long before this letter reaches there. I am enclosing an account of the tragedy written by a friend of Abdul Rahman, Kazim Bey, which you can utilise in the most suitable manner. My next letter will be delivered to the Editor of the *Comrade* personally."

A LITTLE easing of the situation has been perceptible since the

The Butchers' Strike.

return of Major Beadon, the Deputy Commissioner, to Delhi, and it is possible to hope that the butchers' grievances will be settled in an amicable and fair way. Mr Abdul Aziz, at the instance of the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, saw Major Beadon who patiently discussed matters with him. The Deputy Commissioner then gave a hearing to some representatives of the butchers on the 4th instant and is said to have frankly admitted, in the presence of Mr. Jacob, the illegality of the notices issued by the Municipal Committee. A deputation will shortly wait on him on behalf of the citizens of Delhi. Meanwhile Major Beadon has allowed all the butchers' shops to be re-opened except those in Ward No. 8. But it will be long before the normal conditions of business are restored, as most of the butchers have gone out in search of livelihood. It is, however, satisfactory to see that a little tact has been used to good purpose, whereas stiff-neckedness and non-possessive attitude had succeeded in rendering things well-nigh impossible. We hope the deputation will frankly impress upon the Deputy Commissioner what the people have thought and felt in the matter. A broad, fair and definite solution is necessary if the Delhi public is to be protected from Municipal freaks in the future.

The Hon. Secretary informs us from Aligarh that the Central Committee of the Moslem University has unanimously decided to convene a meeting of the Moslem University Foundation Com-

The Moslem University.

mittee at Aligarh on the last Saturday and Sunday, i.e., 26th and 27th July. Members of the Foundation Committee all over the country are cordially invited to take part in the deliberations of the Committee and are requested to intimate the date and time of their arrival at Aligarh to the Hon. Secretary. It is some relief to know that a meeting of the Foundation Committee has at last been definitely fixed, though one doubts if Aligarh will at all prove an appropriate place for such meeting. We trust this time, at any rate, the efforts of the Mussalmans to clear up the University muddle will not end in another fiasco.

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay has issued a Press Note to the effect that in accordance to the orders of the Government of India the Governor-in-Council has appointed a representative committee to consider and report what special measures should be taken for the promotion of primary, secondary, and

collegiate education and the education of girls among the Muham-madan community of that Presidency. The action of His Excellency the Governor is a step in the right direction and it ought to be followed by the Heads of other Provincial Governments. What is of supreme importance is the nomination of such committees of really capable Moslems who are fully alive to the educational needs of their co-religionists, sincerely sympathise with their aspirations and ideals, and are in a word men of light and leading who enjoy the full confidence of their brethren. For what does it profit the community or the Government if mere figure-heads are called upon to deliberate upon a subject to which they are partially or wholly strangers? Committees of such composition would make the whole thing a farce!

THE ALLIES' quarrel over the spoils of victory has at last developed into an open conflict. Reports of heavy fighting between the Bulgars and the Serbs and the Bulgars and the Greeks are pouring thick, and large armies seem to be engaged

The Division of the Spoil.

in continuous battles at two different points over extended fronts. Both the Greeks and the Serbs claim to have gained decisive victories and the casualties are said to be enormous. All the same there have been no formal declarations of war, and the diplomatic relations between the combatants have not yet been suspended. The diplomats of Europe have suddenly discovered that mutual blood letting would do a world of good to the infuriated mobs of Sofia, Belgrade and Athens. The virtues of this prescription will have a new taste for the champion lovers of European peace and the assessors of the world's morals. The Tsar's imperious summons to his Slav protégés to come to St Petersburg and lay their differences before him has been all but flouted. His arbitration has been nominally accepted, but the idea is virtually being used as a convenient guise for diplomatic shuffling. Bulgarian notes and protests and ultimatums are supposed to be so many ruses to gain time. Serbia has defined her irreducible minimum of demand while accepting the proffered arbitration. Greece has her own views about what is due to her and means to have it. In all likelihood, therefore, the issues will be settled—probably being already settled—by an open trial of strength with or without the ultimatums. The position of Bulgaria is obviously full of risks. Rumania has decided to mobilise. The Turkish army at Echaldje is still intact and is perhaps ready for eventualities. Faced by her two powerful and determined Allies (1) with her back and flank exposed to possible attack, Bulgaria will have every reason to carefully weigh the price that she will have to pay for the ambitions of King Ferdinand. But whether the conflict grows into a full and determined struggle or expires after a few isolated and bloody encounters, one thing is clear—that an autonomous Macedonia is the only solution of the problem. Neither the Bulgar, nor the Serb nor the Greek is fit to administer this distracted region even with a semblance of justice. The Christian "Liberator" who wavered on the Turk is at heart a brigand or, at best, an implacable racial bigot. Any of the claimants who happens to get ascendancy over Macedonia will wipe every other nationality out of existence or absorb it with ruthless thoroughness. But we doubt if the horrors in store for the unhappy province will impress those whose sole business was to drive the Turks out of Europe. Well, the Turk is out of the way, and it will be an instructive lesson to see how civilised Europe and its protégés in the Balkans administer his heritage. But we are apt to forget that the same act has a different moral value according as it is the Turk's or of Christian Europe.

AT THE instance of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, a meeting of the General Committee of the Charitable Institutions of Lucknow was convened by the Commissioner of the

A Complaint from Lucknow.

Division in the premises of the Victoria-ganj King's English Hospital, Lucknow, on the 18th of June last. The Commissioner was in the chair, and as many as sixteen of the prominent members of the Committee were present. Besides the Chairman, there were in the meeting the City Magistrate, the District and Sessions Judge, the Civil Surgeon, a number of Honorary Magistrates, and some of the members of the ex-royal family of Oudh. The proposal of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals of the U. P. respecting the transference of half of the building of the above-mentioned Victoria-ganj Hospital to the Medical College was referred to the Committee for consideration. The Committee was told that the Government had sanctioned Rs. 6,000 as a grant to the College, and that the part

5th July.

The Comrade.

of the Victoriaganj Hospital transferred to the College building was to be turned into a ward for patients suffering from Phthisis and Tuberculosis. All the Indian members of the Committee with the exception of Dr. Muhammad Abdur Rahim, K. B., Civil Assistant Surgeon of the Hospital in question, expressed themselves strongly against the proposal on the arguments summarised below: (1) That it was opposed to the Unani as well as the Western system of treatment that the ward for patients stricken with these fell diseases be situated in the same building in which wards for ordinary patients are situated. (2) That in view of the insufficiency of the present Hospital building the transference of its one-half to the Medical College was inadvisable. (3) That the Medical College compound and the adjacent ground were spacious enough to build upon for purposes of such a ward. (4) That the location of the said ward in the same compound would prejudice patients suffering from ordinary ailments against staying there as in-door patients. (5) That the present step would eventually result in the absorption of the whole capital of the Hospital in that of the Medical College, and thus the object of the founder, His late Majesty Nasir-ud-din Hyder of Oudh, would not be gained, inasmuch as the Medical College acquiring prominence there is hardly any safeguard for the perpetuation of his memory. The proposal was hotly discussed at length for full one hour, and every Indian member present there spoke vehemently against it. That being the case, the Commissioner adjourned the meeting on the plea that Mr A. B. Ford, the Collector, was away from the town and postponed the matter for final decision to be arrived at in the presence of the head of the district. We are told by our correspondent that murmurs are not quite inaudible among the people there to the effect that the postponement of the decision has been deemed necessary on account of the absence of the pressure which the presence of the Collector alone can bring to bear upon the independent opinion of the Committee by overawing them into submission. In this connexion, we wish to bring home two points to the authorities at Lucknow, who appear to be bent on carrying out the proposal. In the first instance it is to be understood that a *Unani Darulshifa* and a modern hospital were founded by His late Majesty Nasir-ud-din Hyder, the second in the line of succession of the rulers of Oudh, and after his death, when his uncle Mahomed Ali Shah succeeded to the throne, a sum of Rs. 3,40,800 was set apart to perpetuate the memory of the late ruler. The money was entrusted to the East India Company for the purpose and a deed to that effect was drawn up on the 26th of January, 1840. Accordingly the present *Shufakhana-i-Shah* (*Unani*) situated in the Chank and the King's English Hospital situated in the Victoriaganj were placed on a sure and firm basis. These and many other similar charitable institutions (*waqfs*) are under the control of the Government, who have organised a Committee for their management and supervision. The Committee consists of sixteen members of the Oudh royal family and a few notables of the town, besides the local civilians, and its decisions are arrived at by the majority of votes system. The Commissioner of the Division, the Collector and the City Magistrate are its *ex-officio* President, Vice-President and Secretary, respectively. So, if the half of the building of the Hospital be, as proposed, transferred to the Medical College compound, the fears of the Committee are not unfounded that in the course of a few years the Hospital will, naturally if not intentionally, be merged in the Medical College, which is rapidly rising in the scale of public notice and importance. This means a step to the chapter of the founder's memory, as designed to be perpetuated by the foundation of those philanthropic institutions. Secondly, the postponement of the consideration of the proposal despite its regular rejection by the Committee is *prima facie* illegal and means the reduction of the importance of the Committee to absolute nullity and the total disregard of the judgment of the distinguished members. If its corporate opinion is to be thus bent to the caprice of some official, what on earth can justify its existence? The proposal was regularly debated upon, put to vote, and rejected. Its reconsideration or postponement, whatever it is, till another meeting, distinguished by the presence of the Collector, is not without significance even to the most superficial thinker.

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL at Salonica writes to us as follows on the 14th April, 1913:—
Letter from Salonica.

Refugee Camp during the month of March, I extract from it the following particulars, which may be of some interest to you and which appear to me to indicate that the service maintained out of the funds subscribed by your readers has given excellent results. As I observed in my preceding letter of the 11th instant, the general health of the Camp was relatively satisfactory, the number of persons treated for all maladies being 35 per cent. below, and

the number of deaths less than half of those of the preceding month. The actual figures were as follows, the total number of persons in Camp throughout the period being maintained at about 8,000. Medically treated by the Camp Doctors for ordinary non-contagious diseases such as fever, diarrhoea, dysentery, bronchitis, pneumonia, rheumatism, nephritis, etc., etc.

	February.	March.
Men	1,299	881
Women	1,013	835
Children	890	489
Total	3,202	2,159
Deaths from all causes:—		
Men	27	15
Women	46	49
Children	94	23
Total	167	81

Forty-two serious cases were admitted to Hospital, viz., twenty to the male and twenty-two to the female ward. Two of the former and one of the latter cases proved fatal, the remaining 39 being discharged or returned as convalescent by the end of the month. Only two cases of contagious sickness were recorded during the period, a soldier aged 35 and a child of 6 having developed confluent small-pox. The patients were at once isolated and have since been discharged as cured. There was no case of either measles or scarlet fever, and it is therefore noticeable that the child mortality fell from 94 to 23. There were 44 births in the Camp during the month, 18 being boys and 16 girls. Of these, 6 boys and 4 girls either were still-born or died almost immediately after birth. This fact, as well as the relatively high proportion of females in the return of deaths, seem to indicate that the hardships of camp life have told more heavily on the women than on the men. Having continued to receive account of the extreme distress existing amongst Mussalman widows and orphans at Stroumitza, I have just transmitted an additional sum of £130.

IN THE Education Department Resolutions Nos 921—936, dated the 23rd May, 1912, the Government of India decided to create eight additional appointments of Deputy Sanitary Commissioner in connexion with their scheme for the improvement of the Sanitary services in India. As these posts did not fully meet the needs of all the provinces, the Government of India have recently obtained the approval of His Majesty's Secretary of State of four additional appointments of this class. Twelve appointments will be allotted as follows: Three to Bengal, two each to Madras, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, and one each to the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Burma. In view of the conditions of those provinces, the two appointments sanctioned for the North-West Frontier Province and Burma will be held by officers of the Indian Medical Service and one of the three new appointments in Bengal will also be given to an Indian Medical Service officer for the first five years, at the end of which period it may be possible, when the new organisation is in full working order, to fill the post from outside the Indian Medical Service. The remaining nine appointments will be open to officers not belonging to the Indian Medical Service recruited in India. Under the terms of the resolution of the 23rd May, 1912, six Indians have already been appointed as Deputy Sanitary Commissioners, two in the United Provinces, two in Bengal, and two in Bihar and Orissa. No appointments have yet been made in Madras or in the Punjab. All such Deputy Sanitary Commissioners will be treated as first class officers for the purpose of the travelling allowance rule. The total number of Deputy Sanitary Commissioners in the various provinces will thus be increased from 14 to 26. The detailed schemes for the Health Officers, which have been received from local Government with reference to the resolution of the 23rd May, 1912, show that 89 first class and 104 second class health officers will be appointed, in the Municipalities of Madras, 1st class 12, 2nd class 19, Bombay, 1st class 1, 2nd class 9; Bengal, 1st class 6, 2nd class 17, Behar and Orissa, 1st class 1, 2nd class 15, the United Provinces, 1st class 9 (3 on special rates of pay) 2nd class 19, the Punjab, 1st class 2, 2nd class 5, Burma, 1st class 4, 2nd class 15; the North-West Frontier Province, 1st class 1, 2nd class 26. In order to assist local Governments in organising the service a recurring grant of 266 lakhs has been sanctioned from the Imperial revenues in addition to an expenditure of Rs 25,560 per annum in the North-West Frontier Province which will be met by the Imperial Government.

The Comrade.

The Cawnpore Sacrilege.

It is with extreme reluctance and a deep sense of pain that we are obliged at last to publicly comment on the proceedings which have just culminated in the forcible demolition of a portion of a mosque at Cawnpore. We had hitherto refrained from publishing the facts and expressing our own views relating to this painful affair mainly for two reasons. In the first place we avoided, consistently with our sense of public duty, doing anything that might add to the natural apprehensions of Moslems and excite their feelings still further as long as we had some hope that the grievance of the Cawnpore Moslems would be heard and redressed. Secondly, Mr. Mohamed Ali was in communication with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces on the subject, and there was reason to hope that Sir James Meeson would not allow the local authorities to ride roughshod over the religious susceptibilities of the Cawnpore Moslems as, indeed, of their co-religionists throughout India. We confess in both these respects we had built our hopes in vain. The Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality has had his way in the teeth of local feeling. He has succeeded in despoiling the Cawnpore mosque of its eastern portion to make room for the road on which he had resolutely set his heart. We would be false to every instinct that we hold dear if we do not say it frankly that this act of sacrilege under Sir James Meeson's Government—and after every effort had been made to acquaint the authorities with the Moslem standpoint—will cause intense indignation and dismay in Moslem India. Let us, however, first recapitulate the facts and describe the methods with which this reckless performance of the executive authority has been achieved.

Cawnpore, like every other pretentious city in India, had been dallying with Improvement Schemes for sometime past. In December, 1908, the Provincial Government had allotted the sum of 2½ lakhs to the Cawnpore Municipality for the purpose of constructing "broad thoroughfares and other works for the relief of congested areas in the city of Cawnpore in accordance with any scheme already sanctioned or that may hereafter be sanctioned by the Government." Among such schemes was the construction of the A. B. road for which the approval of the Government was obtained on 7th April, 1909. To the Cawnpore public, however, the alignment of the road remained for long a matter of conjecture not unmixed with apprehensions. If the road was to run straight in its course through the Machhli Bazar, a Hindu temple would have to be demolished, for the latter came right across such an alignment. We are told an earlier scheme for the construction of the road contemplated the demolition of the temple. The feelings of the Hindus were naturally aroused, and it was rightly decided to leave the temple alone and deflect the road a little from its straight course. There is a mosque in the vicinity of the temple known as the Machhli Bazar Mosque, and Moslem apprehensions were aroused in turn lest in saving the temple the local authorities should sacrifice a portion of the mosque. Accordingly some representation to this effect, it would seem, was made to the Lieutenant-Governor on the occasion of his visit to Cawnpore in November last, for, according to a Cawnpore contemporary, His Honour "assured the members (of the Municipality) that the temple and the mosque will remain untouched by the Improvement Trust." This declaration was accepted at its face value and allayed the anxiety of the Mussalmans who could have no idea that it would be made to bear a wholly novel interpretation, as we will show later on. The Chairman of the Municipal Board, however, soon decided in his mind what the declaration meant, and forthwith got the Improvement Trust Committee to pass a Resolution to the effect that the eastern portion of the mosque should be acquired and a plot to the north of the mosque be given in compensation. This Sub-Committee of the Board consists of five members one of whom is a Mussalman, and we understand that the above decision was arrived at in spite of the Moslem member's remonstrance. When the decision came up before the Board for confirmation a member wished to raise the question of whether the building should be acquired at all. But "he was ruled out of order," says the Chairman of the Municipality in his letter to the District Magistrate, dated 4th April, 1913, "on the ground that the only question before the Board was the question of land to be given in compensation, the acquisition of the building having been previously decided upon by the Board."

Now, this bold assertion of the Chairman, that the acquisition of the building had been previously decided upon by the Board, is worth considering. We may be sure there was no resolution in the Board's records authorising the acquisition of that particular building, for

had there been any such resolution in existence the Chairman would have most certainly brandished it forth as his most convenient weapon. One of the resolutions which he quotes in support of his argument refers in general terms to a Trust deed, vesting in the Board as Trustees the sum of 2½ lakhs granted by the Government for the purpose of constructing "broad thoroughfares and other works for the relief of congested inhabited areas in the city of Cawnpore." This does not surely mean that the Board had "been eternally relieved of its responsibility to consider any particular scheme of road construction that might be fathered upon it." As regards the Board's resolution of 20th April, 1909, passed on receipt of the Government approval regarding the scheme for the construction of the A. B. road, it was reserved for the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality to lay down the novel proposition, that a member has no right to call into question any particular part of a scheme which the Board happens to approve in general outline. The members of the Board did not know exactly what particular buildings were to be acquired for the alignment of the A. B. road. Moreover, we are told the map of the proposed alignment did not show the portion of the mosque to be acquired. Again, the members not conversant with English, could not study the map with any profit. It is curious that the decision of the Improvement Trust Committee was arrived at on the 12th February, 1913, i.e., about a year and a quarter after the Land Acquisition Officer had reported that "only a corner of the mosque (lately added to it for a bathing place) is to be taken in exchange for a like piece to be given when the houses round it have been demolished." The words we have italicised represent, by the way, a myth that along with some others has strangely persisted throughout the official explanations and apologies relating to this case. But to return to the note recorded by the Land Acquisition Officer, we would like to know how he came to concern himself with the question of acquiring the eastern portion of the mosque, when the Sub-Committee had evidently not yet made up its mind till the 13th February, 1913. He was presumably acting under instructions from some quarters. Had the inspiration come from the Chairman? If so, it was the Chairman who ought to have explained his method of treating a serious public matter, which he had every reason to know intimately touched the feelings of an important section of the community. The Chairman states in his letter to the Collector that no voice was raised against the acquisition of the building "until the adjoining Hindu temple was saved." We do not know which to admire more—the farcical hollowness of the plea or the clumsy insinuation that it serves to convey without little attempt at disguise. As a matter of fact, there were only two alternative alignments for the road in question. Either it could be made to run straight by pulling down the temple, or it must take a curve by running through a portion of the mosque. As long as the temple was supposed to be threatened, the mosque was naturally believed to be safe. And it was only after the temple had been declared to be entirely immune from the operations of the Improvement Trust that Moslems could reasonably be apprehensive as to the safety of the mosque. Yet the Chairman seems to accuse them of a sad failure to anticipate when there was no danger in sight. Was the rumour about the fate of the Hindu temple intended to serve as a feint? If so, the Moslems were completely outmanoeuvred. They are only just perceiving, alas! to their cost that they were perhaps dealing with facticians of the first order in their unequal fight for a sacred cause. The insinuation that Mussalmans suddenly discovered a grievance after "the Hindu temple was saved" and were moved by religious rivalry is as mischievous as it is false. The only grateful feature in this sorry affair has been the entire absence of Hindu-Moslem question, and the Cawnpore Moslems will be the first to acknowledge the help they received from the majority of the Hindu members of the Municipality. We think we have sufficiently exposed the assertion that Moslem feeling over the question was merely an after-thought. If any doubt is still felt on this score it will be totally dispelled when it is remembered that no notice for the acquisition of the eastern portion of the mosque was served on the Mutawalli along with other such notices issued to house-owners. The question of exchange of land was only a suggestion to be settled by mutual arrangement. The only conclusion that we are led to draw is that the demolished portion of the mosque was not included in the original scheme. Even the Land Acquisition Officer referred merely to "a corner lately added to it as a bathing place" and not to the *dalan* which along with "the corner" has been raised to the ground.

But to resume the thread of the narrative. As we have already said, a member objected to the acquisition of a portion of the mosque in a meeting of the Board, but was ruled out of order by the Chairman. Thereupon a requisition signed by ten members including six Hindu members was sent to the Chairman that the following resolution be put on the Agenda:—

"From the proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee that came before the Board at its meeting held on 4th March, 1913,

"and that were confirmed by the Board at the meeting on the 8th March, 1913, to which a protest by a member of the Board was ruled out of order, the Board has come to know that a portion of the building of the mosque in Machhli Bazar is being acquired for the purpose of the A. B. road. Resolved that the contemplated acquisition being objectionable on religious grounds and being contrary to the spirit of the declaration made by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the 18th November, 1912, the Board is of opinion that the said portion of the mosque should not be acquired and that any previous resolution of the Board directly or impliedly approving of such acquisition be cancelled."

The Resolution was duly moved at the meeting of the Board held on 1st April, 1913. An amendment was proposed and seconded to the effect "that a recommendation may be sent to the Government requesting that no portion of the mosque on the A. B. road be acquired in deference to the feelings of Muhammadan community." The Chairman proposed and Mr. Ryan seconded another amendment, that no action be taken on the proposed resolution, but it was supported only by four European members. The first amendment was supported by 13 votes, and was carried, the original motion having been withdrawn in its favour. However, the Chairman in his letter to the Collector said that he was unable to recommend the resolution even in its amended form. To leave the portion of the mosque standing would, in his opinion, "add an impossible disfigurement to the street." His passion for geometrical symmetry would have been a little credible if he had insisted on a straight, unbending road even at the expense of the Hindu temple. The curve is nothing but a concession—and a very proper and desirable concession—to Hindu feeling. Did the aesthetic perceptions of the Chairman and the soul of his P. W. D. rebel all of a sudden when it came to the question of saving the mosque by a slight diminution in the width of the street? Was the loss of symmetry with little loss of utility a consequence much more dire and "impossible" than the outraged feelings of a large community? If this is the measure of the new dispensation that fills the air with a loud faith in "Sanitary Reform", it is a worse best rid of the reformers and their new-fangled enthusiasms.

Before the amended resolution was adopted by the Board in its meeting of the 15th April, 1913, the District Magistrate had appeared actively on the scene. His first act is said to have been that he went to inspect the mosque and entered its eastern portion with his boots on. When he came out of the mosque he is alleged to have said that the part in question was not an integral portion of the mosque inasmuch as no Mussalman had prevented him from walking with his boots on over the place. This is surely as conclusive an argument as that of the coxcombs who silenced Berkeley with a grin. According to this atrocious process of reasoning the Jam'i Masjid of Delhi is no longer a place of Moslem worship as Europeans are in the habit of treading its courtyard without taking off their boots or even without putting on a covering. We are pained to think that such a joke can be perpetrated with such levity, and we are still more pained at the spectacle of Moslem imbecility which alone can tolerate it. When the Cawnpore Moslems had their eyes opened by the Collector's joke, they held a meeting in the mosque and desired five of their eminent ulamas to give their verdict on the question. The ulamas gave their formal *fatwa* according to which it was declared that the eastern part was an integral portion of the mosque. "The Moslem law forbids the selling or 'giving in exchange of a mosque or any portion thereof. Consequently 'the proposed exchange of the eastern *dalan* is contrary to the law of 'Shari'at.' Shortly after this a deputation of the Moslems waited on the Collector with a view to lay before him their grievance and the express religious injunctions on which it was based. But the Collector refused to be convinced by such arguments.

The only course now left open to the Cawnpore Moslems was to appeal to the Lieutenant-Governor if the mosque was to be saved. Accordingly they submitted a memorial to His Honour through the Hon. Mr. Shahid Hussain, Barrister-at-Law of Lucknow, on 12th April 1913, briefly setting forth the facts of the case. They stated that the District Magistrate had expressed his unwillingness to save the eastern portion of the mosque from demolition and pointed out that "the intended acquisition is a direct encroachment upon our religious rights and opposed to the accepted policy of our Government." They humbly requested His Honour "to stop the said acquisition and save the mosque from being partially demolished." The Under-Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces acknowledged the receipt of the memorial on the 6th May, and in the course of his reply, said:

"The Lieutenant-Governor has carefully considered the representation of the memorialists, and after ascertaining the facts of the case from the local authorities has decided that the proposed

"alignment of the road—which is the same as that originally selected for this road—must be maintained. His Honour guaranteed that the mosque should not be interfered with, but the washing place is not part of the sacred building, and when a similar point arose in connection with the Lucknow improvements, the Muhammadans assented to another washing place being given them in place of one which was required for public purposes. The present washing place must, therefore, be removed. The authorities of the mosque will be asked to choose another site on which a washing place will be built for them by the Municipal Board."

Now, it is obvious that His Honour had guaranteed that "the mosque should not be interfered with." The local authorities, however, had begun the interference immediately after this guarantee was given at Cawnpore. But in order to avoid any apparent violation of His Honour's pledged word they invented the ridiculous myth that the eastern portion of the mosque was not a part of the sacred building. They had early begun to refer to it as a mere "corner," "a building lately attached," "a washing place," "a bathing place," and so forth. The supreme issue is whether the demolished part is or is not an integral portion of the mosque. The local authorities had decided that it was not. And we regret His Honour readily accepted this decision without consulting authoritative Moslem opinion on the subject. Neither the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality, nor the District Magistrate, nor again the Land Acquisition Officer has ever presumed to set himself up as an authority on Moslem Law and Moslem theology. The only men whose opinion must be decisive in this case are Moslem ulamas and lawyers. Were any such Moslems ever consulted by the local authorities or even by Sir James Meston himself? The *fatwa* we have quoted above ought to be a sufficient indication of the views of Moslem religious leaders, who alone are competent to pronounce on the question. According to this *fatwa*, the *dalan* is an integral portion of the mosque. Those who hold the contrary view are neither Moslem ulamas nor even persons whose opinions on matters of Moslem religion can be entitled to weight. They are simply unenlightened of their views and conscious of their power to carry those views into effect. It is rather hard to think that questions of great religious delicacy and import involving the fate of a Moslem place of worship, are thus lightly disposed of on the strength of the *fatwas* of erratic Municipal Chairmen and dogmatic District Magistrates. We may state here with emphasis that the *dalan* was not a portion "lately added" to the mosque as alleged, and it is worth remembering that it had always been used for prayers whenever there was uncommonly large congregation.

What happened after the reply to the memorial was received may be briefly told. In a meeting of the Board held on the 20th May a resolution was moved to the effect that "the Board recommends that the Government be pleased to reconsider its decision." The Chairman proposed an amendment that no further representation be made by the Board and that the Government order be accepted as final. This amendment could alone be carried by the Chairman's casting vote. Another memorial was sent some time after to the Lieutenant-Governor in which the whole case was argued at considerable length. But as far as we are aware no reply has been received to this memorial. On 30th June Sir James Meston visited Cawnpore and inspected the Machhli Bazar Mosque. The Mussalman felt that His Honour's visit would lead to an amicable settlement of the matter. Their hope was, however, doomed to cruel disappointment on the morrow. Early in the morning on the 1st July the mosque was surrounded by a large force of the police with fixed bayonets, who guarded the various approaches to the mosque. To quote from the telegram sent by the Cawnpore correspondent of the *Primer*, "it soon became evident that the authorities intended to carry out the demolition of that portion which stood in the way of the new road. Mounted police patrolled the neighbouring streets and kept moving the crowd which had gathered. The demolition was carried out in the presence of Mr. H. G. S. Tyler, District Magistrate, who along with several police officers was present on the spot. After demolition the mosque was visited by several thousand Muhammadans during the day, including a large number of mill hands." Our own correspondent informs us that a huge mass meeting of the Mussalman was held at Idgah in the evening of that day and the following telegram was sent to H. E. the Viceroy:—

"The following resolution passed by Cawnpore Muhammadans 'to-day in a general meeting to inform Your Excellency that 'unprecedented sacrilege of Cawnpore Machhli Bazar Mosque by 'authorities with the aid of armed police, without waiting the 'result of memorial submitted to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. Proceedings illegal and unknown since British Rule 'in India. Excitement greatest. Request intervention and restoration of the sacred building in the same place.'"

Our correspondent adds that it was resolved to take determined action as soon as the Viceroy's reply to the telegraphic appeal is received. He further states that "the number of those who wept in the mosque and at the Idgah and thus relieved their pent-up feelings was very large." Let us, however, request them, for God's sake, not to play the woman. A great blow has been dealt to their religious feelings, but they are expected to bear themselves manfully. Let them prove for once that they can act with courage, determination, sustained energy in time of need. The Pioneer is satisfied that the demolition has been carried out as it would end the controversy. A great sacrifice has been committed and the authorities concerned have refused to listen to their earnest appeals. Let them refuse to take this act as final. All the constitutional means have not yet been exhausted. The Cawnpore Mosque furnishes the test case through which the principle of the freedom of Moslem places of worship from outrage and desecration has to be vindicated once for all. What has happened at Cawnpore may be repeated anywhere and everywhere. The modern "Sanitary" enthusiast and architectural aesthete is abroad in the land, and nothing, however sacred in import and rich with tradition, is in itself immune from the attentions of this new iconoclast. The Moslem League and other Associations have got to take up this question and the Government of India and even the British Parliament, if need be, shall have to enunciate once more the principle of British religious neutrality and to enforce its rigid application. We would ill-serve the Government if we failed to warn it of the consequences to which any trifling with the religious sentiments of the people might lead. The Cawnpore affair is an apt illustration of executive high-handedness and disregard of public feeling. Our greatest disappointment, however, has been the attitude adopted by Sir James Meston. Is this also to be our disillusion? We had built on His Honour's love of Justice, breadth of view, freedom from official bias and readiness to appreciate a different standpoint. We publish elsewhere the correspondence which Mr. Mohamed Ali had been carrying with Sir James Meston on the subject. It is manifest that Sir James Meston has failed to realise the strength of Moslem feeling and entirely confused the issue by repeating the catchwords supplied to him by the Cawnpore authorities. The Moslem feeling over the Balkan war has perhaps unhinged him, and he appears to us not to be acting with his usual deliberation. We had not written a line on the subject because we had trusted His Honour would carefully weigh the issues. What counsel we can give now to Cawnpore Moslems except that they should trust their God alone and act with vigour. Sir James Meston, after all that has recently happened, owes to the Mussalmans a full and frank expression of the Government's view on the rights and duties of Mussalmans. We are afraid he is growing unpopular among Mussalmans without perhaps deserving it, and he should try to arrest this growth by timely action, otherwise there is a great danger of the Mussalmans and the Government drifting apart, making the situation worse than in the days of Lord Macdonnell. He must revise the values he has placed on different leading Mussalmans and judge whether his advisers, or those whom he advises with the certainty of silent submission can really assist him in improving Moslem relations with Government.

The Return of the Mission.

DR. MUKHTAR AHMAD ANSARI, the Director of the All India Medical Mission, with a party of nine members landed in Bombay on the 4th July. The event will remain memorable in the history of the Indian Mussalmans. It brings home to them with marked vividness the fulfilment of a task—the first of its kind—which they had undertaken with disinterested love of Islam and with a desire to extend the hand of sympathy and fellowship to their brethren in a distant land, whom fate had stricken sore. As we look back to the time when Moslem India was watching with deep anxiety and distress the course of the disastrous events in the Balkans, we are a little amazed at the success of the idea which the Mission represents in tangible form. The very conception of such an undertaking was at the time a subject of incredulous amusement to many. There were not wanting those who set it down to hysteria, and not a few voices were raised in condemnation of those who were considered to be wantonly sporting with the feelings of a community in pain, in their mad pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp. Yet the idea took instant root. It was watered with the sacrifices and the prayers of thousands. And the All-India Medical Mission was the fruit. Those who bore the burden and showed a capacity for practical enthusiasm were mainly the poor of the community. The organisation and equipment of the Mission, with a view to afford medical and other relief to the Moslems of Turkey, was a unique achievement in the history of the Indian Mussalmans, an achievement which has a distinct moral value of its own.

When the Mission was on its way to Turkey bearing to their Turkish brethren the message of goodwill and sympathy of the Indian Mussalmans, some fresh doubts were flung across its path. The first armistice between Turkey and her adversaries was being arranged, and a certain well-known type of critics seized the opportunity to tell the Indian Mussalmans that the Mission would prove an expensive futility and that by the time it reached Constantinople it would find its occupation gone. They were neither aware of the situation in Turkey nor of the extent of her need for relief. The Mission reached Constantinople, and the first letter sent by Dr. Ansari from the Turkish capital dispelled all doubts that short-sighted or jealous croakers had industriously set afloat. It soon became apparent that the necessity for organised relief was much greater than was at first imagined, and that a score more similar Missions would find their hands literally full and be unable to cope with the work effectively. It was a great relief to the organisers of the Mission to feel that their efforts not only represented a moral gain, but also had taken shape as the most effective medium to apply the sum of the material sacrifices on the part of the Indian Moslems to maximum good.

We need not detail the splendid work that Dr. Ansari and his earnest band of workers have done in Turkey. The weekly reports that we have been publishing of their doings are ample enough testimony to the selfless and patient devotion with which they performed their labour of love and duty. The story of their work and experiences has been told with a minute exactitude in those lucid and unassuming letters which Dr. Ansari found occasion to write to us during his brief intervals of leisure from an incessant round of toil. It is a work and a record of which the Indian Mussalmans may well be proud. In the course of his first utterance after landing in Bombay Dr. Ansari said that he and his comrades were proud of the fact that they were able not only to give practical proofs of their sympathy with the Turkish people in the hour of their sad trial by rendering them help, but proud too that they had been of service in helping to bring the Indian Moslems and their co-religionists in Turkey into closer relations. It was, he said, a wonderful conception on the part of the patriotic Indian Moslems to organise the Medical Mission for Turkey, and he could conscientiously say that the Mission had been a complete success. "It has put to test their qualities for valour and patience and they had all been well repaid for their services by the kindness which the Turkish officers showed to them. The members of the Mission received an enthusiastic send off. Turkish officers marched side by side with them and a band accompanied them into Constantinople, where, once again, they were feted."

But even if the Mission had had little opportunity to do useful work, its success in bringing home to the Turks the loving sympathy of their Moslem brethren in India would alone be an achievement of lasting value. It has drawn the Mussalmans of Turkey and India together in thought and feeling and forged new links in their Islamic relations. The big problems that Islam has got to solve have been for the first time realised and measured in their true proportions. The sense of brotherhood and fellowship has been deepened. The audience granted to the Mission by H. M. the Sultan, who thanked the members for the help they had rendered and who conveyed through them his grateful acknowledgements to Indian Mussalmans, set the seal on the historic significance of the Mission. The sharing of the common sorrow and the sense of the common task will prove, in the fulness of time, assets of vital importance to the future of Islam. The sufferings of Turkey have caused pain in every fibre of the Moslem world. Can it not be, that we have witnessed in this terrible period also the birth-throes of a new era in the lives of the Moslem communities? To us Missions like Dr. Ansari's are the symbols of a new hope and a glad prophecy.

Details about the landing of Dr. Ansari and his comrades in Bombay and the reception accorded to them are given in our Pictorial Supplement. A brief and provisional programme till the time they reach Delhi is also indicated there. As at present arranged, they are expected to reach Delhi on the 10th instant. We trust the Moslems of Delhi will give a befitting reception to one of their most distinguished fellow-citizens who has rendered good service to Islam. Let us convey to Dr. Ansari and the members of the Mission a cordial welcome home on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans. Their responsibility was great and they were the custodians of a solemn trust. They discharged their responsibility and their trust nobly. A detailed account of their doings in a pamphlet form will, we hope, soon be given to the public. It will assuredly embody a noble work splendidly performed. It will add a chapter of abiding value to the chequered history of Indian Moslems.



5th July.

The Comrade.

The Cawnpore Mosque

The following telegraphic and written correspondence has taken place between Mr. Mohamed Ali and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces on the subject of the Cawnpore mosque, which we reproduce here with His Honour's permission :—

TO HIS HONOUR SIR JAMES MERTON, LIEUTENANT-
GOVERNOR, NAINITAL.

Large number Cawnpore Moslem residents ask me support their contention that portion of mosque in Machhli Baza, wanted by municipal Chairman for extending new A. B. Road be not demolished. Learn that Your Honour memorialized. If reply favourable I need not move in matter. Could Your Honour inform me of decision? Great feeling prevails in Cawnpore. Am anxious to allay such excitement specially at present juncture—MOHAMED ALI, "COMRADE" Delhi, 15th May 1913

TO MOHAMED ALI "COMRADE," DELHI

Your telegram about Cawnpore Mosque. Orders have already issued on Memorial objections. I had given matter my best personal consideration and believe grievance to be largely imaginary. Building to be demolished is bathing enclosure and not part of sacred building as proved by fact that Mahomedans have been seen to enter it wearing their shoes. Every effort will be made to replace this convenience in suitable spot, but alignment of road cannot be diverted and mosque itself will be fully respected—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR Nainital, 15th May 1913

TO HIS HONOUR SIR JAMES MERTON, LIEUTENANT
GOVERNOR, NAINITAL.

Grateful for telegram. No part of land endowed for any purpose of mosque may be transferred under Islamic law in anyway. Part used for ablutions always considered integral portion of mosque. Cawnpore Moslems contend shoes not worn in part sought to be demolished but prayer offered whenever overflow congregation. Fully appreciate Your Honour's desire to respect mosque and replace part used for ablutions in suitable spot, but I fear point at issue somewhat misunderstood. I would never support imaginary grievances for embarrassing Government much less at such crisis, but submit symmetrical alignment of road not matter over which a grievance seriously entertained by respectable and reasonable men should be allowed to create sense of injustice. Respectfully suggest consultation with Moslem ulama and lawyers before further action is taken—MOHAMED ALI, "COMRADE." Delhi, 16th May 1913

MY DEAR MOHAMED ALI,—I kept your last telegram about the Cawnpore business for a few days to think over it. I had already sent out orders to the local authorities; but was anxious not to overlook your very temperate and appropriate request for reconsideration. To be perfectly frank with you, I do not think that this agitation is based on a genuine religious grievance. If the matter had contained any element of doubt, I should have been most scrupulous to avoid anything which would wound genuine susceptibilities. The evidence which I have however is definite that this outcry about the bathing place is belated, and that the building which is going to be removed is entered by Muhammadans with their shoes on; on the latter point there seems to be no possibility of doubt. I sincerely hope that the good sense of the community will prevent their carrying this matter further. We shall do all we can to make matters easy for them; but you will readily realize that public business cannot be held up except for good and sufficient reasons. I quite see your position in the matter,

and have, as I always do, told you my position in exchange with perfect frankness.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. S. MERTON.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE
Nain Tal, 23rd May 1913

MY DEAR SIR JAMES,—I have already written to your Honour at only too great a length on Aligarh affairs and now trouble you once more on the subject of the Cawnpore Mosque. The matter has already been noticed by several Urdu papers, and I fear others will take it up immediately. I am somewhat doubtful, as a rule, of the effect of writings in the Vernacular Press on Government officials whose knowledge of the vernaculars is generally poor, and my arrangement is that what is intended for Government should appear in the *Comrade* and what is intended for the people should appear in the *Hamdard*. I, therefore, never contemplated to write in the *Hamdard* on the subject as such writings have a tendency to excite a certain class of people without any compensating effect on Government, but in your Honour's case it is different, for you are well able to read Urdu papers for yourself.

But to turn to the Cawnpore question. I would certainly have written in the *Comrade* on the subject had it not been that I hoped and still hope, to obtain the same result, and a satisfactory result, without raising a controversy in the Press. So far I have been somewhat disappointed because, in spite of the fact that your Honour considers my request for reconsideration very temperate and appropriate, it has hitherto proved sterile of results. But I have not yet lost hope, and once more appeal to your Honour to accept my suggestion and consult some Moslem ulama and lawyers.

It appears to me that more attention has been paid to the question whether the part which the Chairman of the Municipality wishes to demolish is or is not a place used for prayers. What should have been considered first, however, is whether any land or building dedicated to God could be sold or transferred in any other way. I am no theologian, nor much of a lawyer, but I believe it is a well known fact that such property cannot be devoted to any other purpose. If it is so, the demolition of any part of the building is bound to hurt the feelings of us all, and it is for your Honour to judge whether the alignment of a road is worth the price demanded from us. We could have understood the position of the authorities if some important public business was held up on account of the Moslem prejudices. But frankly, I cannot conceive how Moslem feelings can be ignored merely because the Chairman of the Municipality desires to have an alignment of the road geometrically perfect, when he could as well give a curve to the road and save the building altogether. As a matter of fact, it is my information that if the alignment had been kept straight the mosque would have been left untouched, but that in order to protect a temple a bend of about eight feet was made from a distance of about 150 feet from the mosque. I questioned the Mussalmans of Cawnpore who came to see me very searchingly to detect if there was any trace of ill-feeling towards the Hindus on that account but I am convinced that they bear no grudge to the Hindus on account of the decision of your Honour to save the temple which is right in the middle of the road. As a matter of fact, they have been throughout most anxious to secure the support of the Hindu members of the Cawnpore Municipal Board, and I rejoice to see that while the Hindus supported the Mussalmans in this matter, the Mussalmans also accepted the amendment of a Hindu gentleman making the resolution less emphatic than it originally stood on the agenda of the Municipal Board. Even the voting on the question on the 20th ultimo showed that there were more Hindus for staying the proceedings to enable the Muhammadan members to make further representation to the Government than against. It seems to me that all the driving power in this matter is coming from the Chairman whose casting vote decided the matter even on the last occasion against the Mussalmans.

The statement of the Cawnpore gentleman, if correct, throws curious light on the way in which the Collector of the District is

procuring proof of the fact that the portion which the Chairman of the Municipality desires to demolish is not part of the mosque. They state that Mr. Tyler without asking anyone went into this portion of the mosque with shoes on, and, on his return said that had this been a part of the mosque they would have stopped him from doing so. If this is true it serves the Mussalmans of Cawnpore right, for it seems to me that nowhere in the civilized world would a Magistrate select such a distressing method of obtaining evidence and none but the Mussalmans, who are accused by our friend the *Times* of all sorts of things, would quietly tolerate such conduct. I do not know what information your Honour has on the subject, but if Mr. Tyler has offered such evidence I hope your Honour, has also offered him some advice which, if these are the true facts, he evidently needs. Now, as a matter of fact, a Mussalman can say his prayers with his boots on if only they are clean according to the Shari'at, but Indian roads, as a rule, are not so clean that the floor of a mosque would remain fit for prayers if the congregation had its boots on. This thought dictated by common sense has now assumed the form of the convention in India that nobody should enter the mosque with boots on, and for a long time this offered no inconvenience to people, because they generally wore Indian shoes which are really slippers. But in certain mosques Europeans go with their boots on, causing great offence to the Mussalmans, and I am given to understand that this practice would be put down by example, if not precept, by no less a person than His Excellency the Viceroy himself, after which let us hope not only the Jam'i Masjid at Delhi but also some sacred places at Agra, where the sightseers go and where they are permitted by Mr. Mardon to go with their boots on if they are non-Moslem, will be spared what has come to be regarded as a sacrilege. But the Mussalmans of Cawnpore emphatically declare that they are prepared to prove it up to the hilt that shoes are never taken into the mosque beyond the steps and that as a matter of fact prayer is offered on the portion sought to be demolished when there is an exceptionally large congregation. At any rate, what I have stated before in one of my telegrams the place used for ablutions is an integral part of the mosque everywhere, and whatever sacredness attaches to the other portions of the mosque attaches to this also.

I understand from information supplied to me that at first the idea was that the temple, which comes right in the middle of the road, should be demolished, but that on the representation of the Hindus the Government rightly spared the temple. It was then considered whether as an alternative scheme a portion of the mosque should be demolished. When your Honour visited Cawnpore in November last the Muhammadan members of the Municipal Board are alleged to have requested your Honour to assure them that this part of the mosque would not be demolished, and I learn from the *Herald of India* that your Honour "assured the members that the temple and the mosque will remain untouched by the Improvement Trust." It is alleged that in spite of this assurance the Improvement Trust passed a resolution favouring the acquisition of this part of the mosque in exchange for some land to the north, but that when this resolution came for confirmation before the Board it was postponed on the opposition of the Moslem members. Subsequently Mr. Tyler went to see the mosque and entered this part of it with boots on. Thereafter in a meeting five local ulama gave their *Fatan* that this part of the mosque was an integral portion of the mosque and the meeting accordingly passed the resolution. Afterwards another meeting of the Board took place and for want of previous notice a Moslem member's motion that no part of the mosque be destroyed was ruled out of order. In due course a deputation of some prominent Mussalmans waited upon the Collector and requested that this part of the mosque should be spared and gave instance of the Holy Road which was originally aligned in such a manner as to require the demolition of the place reserved for ablutions in the Chhodi Idgah, but was built according to a different alignment in deference to the wishes of a Moslem deputation which waited on Mr. Holy. I have in my possession a plan of the Holy Road, which shows that the road has spared a portion of the mosque eleven feet in width, which would have been demolished if a geometrically perfect alignment had been insisted upon in those days. The road is from 102 to 105 feet in width generally, but where it passes by the mosque it is only 94 feet wide in one place and 97 in another. I may mention here that it appears from a plan in my possession of the mosque now in question and the proposed road that the part of the mosque said to be demolished in order to give a perfect alignment to the road is no more than 13½ feet at its greatest width.

What impresses me most is the resolution passed by the Municipal Board at a meeting held on the 1st of April. The requisition for the original resolution was signed by no less than six Hindu members in addition to the four Muhammadan members of the Board. However, two Hindu members proposed an amendment which left out the preamble of the original resolutions, but adhered to the conclusion that no portion of the mosque should be acquired. The

Chairman proposed and a European member seconded another amendment desiring that no action be taken, but this was supported by four votes only, while the two Hindu gentlemen's amendment was supported by 18 and was carried, the proposal of the original having exceeded the amendment. It will be very presumptuous on my part even to suggest to your Honour that under the circumstances it seems to me that local self-government would be a hollow mockery if the Chairman can still have his way. But I have no doubt that this aspect of the question has appealed to your Honour as much as it has appealed to me.

In the reply given by your Honour's Government to my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shahid Hussain an instance is given of a washing place attached to a mosque having been acquired at Lucknow for improvements of the town. The Cawnpore Mussalmans state that if this refers to the two mosques in Moulviganj to the west of the Aminabad Park it is their belief that the part acquired was a separate building and never used for prayers. In any case they contend that the instance of the Holy Road at Cawnpore itself is more to the point, and that even if in one place some Mussalmans agreed to the acquisition of a building dedicated to God for being used by Moslems making their ablutions before prayers, such consent cannot bind Mussalmans in another place. I also learn that in a meeting of the Municipal Board held on the 20th May it was only the casting vote of the Chairman which helped him to carry an amendment against staying further proceeding to enable the Muhammadan members of the Board to make further representations to the Government. It seems to me that, if the Muhammadan members of the Board are still of the same mind as before and four Hindu members vote for staying the proceedings against three who support the Chairman, it is a matter in which Government can well regard the Chairman's views as of less moment than those of the Moslem members and a majority of the Hindu members. I hope and trust that no action of the Chairman will make this a Hindu-Moslem question, but if it has become one, I fear that some would be led to suspect that the Chairman actively assisted in creating such a dissension. I know how keen your Honour is that not a breath of suspicion should attach to the authorities with reference to the "divide and rule" policy. I only hope the Chairman of the Municipality at Cawnpore would be equally keen to avoid such suspicions.

I have counselled the Mussalmans of Cawnpore to make yet another representation to your Honour if they cannot accept the representation as final, and I would once more beg you to accept my suggestion and consult some Moslem ulama and Moslem lawyers in the matter. I cannot, of course, refrain from commenting on this affair if the decision is given against what I believe to be a genuine complaint, but I would rather I do not have to comment on this matter at all, and that on a reconsideration your Honour found that you could respect our prejudices in the matter.

With kindest regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) MOHAMED ALI.

Delhi, 9th June '13.

MR DEAR MOHAMED ALI,—I much regret the delay, due to pressure of other work, which has prevented me from sending an earlier answer to your letter of the 9th June, 1913, on the subject of the Machhli Bazar Mosque in Cawnpore. I greatly appreciate your writing to me so clearly and yet in so friendly a spirit, and I will endeavour, as always, to reply in a similar tone.

2. I have re-considered with much care, and in consultation with many visitors of all classes, the decision which has been already published about the removal of the mosque *dalan*. (I call it by that name without prejudice, as the lawyers say.) I was most anxious to satisfy myself that the orders, though final so far as I was concerned, were not also unjust or inconsiderate; and after careful thought, I do not see that this can justly be said of them.

3. The *dalan* has long been shown on the A B road maps as marked for acquisition and removal. No protest against its removal was made to me when I was on the spot in connection with the adjacent temple: and my guarantee that the mosque should not be destroyed had no reference to a *dalan* which is obviously an architectural excrescence and which I was confidently assured by the responsible officers is not an integral part of the sacred building.

4. The protests against the removal of the *dalan* did not begin to reach me until several months after the decision to spare the Hindu temple had been promulgated. This naturally caused me to investigate whether they represented a genuine grievance, or an after-thought suggested by the concession to the Hindus and by

the desire to secure some corresponding privilege for the Muhammadan community. An important fact to be ascertained for this purpose was the treatment of the *dalan* by the Muhammadans themselves. On this point I consulted Mr. Sim; and he at once told me that when the Muhammadans took him to see the *dalan* they crowded into it with their shoes on. I am not unfamiliar with the usages and sentiments on this subject, having visited many mosques myself with devout Muhammadans. I accordingly took Mr. Sim's statement (the correctness of which I unreservedly accept) as conclusive evidence that the *dalan* has not the same sanctity as the masjid proper. This evidence is a very different matter from the suggestion in your letter that Mr. Tyler entered the *dalan* wearing his boots, in order to show that it was not sacred ground. My conclusions were drawn from what the Muhammadans themselves did.

5. It was in consideration of this evidence, of the attitude of the Muhammadans when I was in Cawnpore myself, and of the belated nature of the objections, that I passed the orders I did, and described them as final. I should not have done so if I had any fear of wounding genuine susceptibilities or violating the religious sense of any body of men. There seemed to me and there still seems to me, no risk of such apprehension. Dislike to change there may be, and resentment of interference with the old and familiar. But the cry of outraged religious sentiment I regarded as exaggerated and not wholly sincere. I believed that, by replacing the *dalan* in another and equally suitable site and by giving reasonable help to the mosque or its appanages, we should make compensation for any temporary inconvenience to the worshippers, or for any change in their accustomed routine. We are ready to make ample compensation in this way. The alternative, as you point out, would have been to deflect the road, or to allow the *dalan* to project into it. This would in itself have been a small matter. But to what extent are public improvements to be obstructed by minor concessions to individuals or sections of the community?

6. Believe me I should have been very glad to avoid this pother; but we must all agree, if we wish for the public good, to discriminate between the big things and the small. If every inconsiderable trouble is to be magnified into a racial grievance and accepted as such, then goodbye to the usefulness of Government and to the advance of the public welfare. When I go to Cawnpore next month, I will see the Muhammadans and do what I can to remove any feeling of soreness, which I should sincerely regret. But I am afraid that I cannot alter the decision to move the *dalan* out of the alignment of the A B road. I am none the less grateful to you for putting the matter before me so fairly and frankly as you have done.

Yours sincerely,
(8d) J. S. MASON.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE:
Naini Tal, 2nd July, 1918.



Phantom Figures.

No. I.

THE COMMISSIONER.

SOME of our readers may recollect the composite faces which appeared in the *Review of Reviews*; pictures in which the features of two or three celebrities—statesmen, soldiers, men famed in the world of science and letters, artists and actors,—were cleverly combined to produce a whole in which it was interesting to detect the special characteristics of those whose faces contributed to form the entire picture. In like manner, we hope to sketch the different types of Indian officialdom, borrowing from representatives whom it has been our lot to meet, and thus imitate—in very modest way—the example set by Abernethy Mackay in his well-known "Twenty-one Days in India." Care has been taken to "set down naught in malice"; to impart humorous colouring to the subjects chosen, not to quit the realm of friendly wit for the sterner kingdom of satire and unkindly sarcasm. As—according to Burns—the Almighty at the Creation "First tried a prentice hand on Man, and then he made the Ladies oh", so we must reserve high dignitaries, such as a Viceroy or Lieutenant-Governor, till our skill has been proved on lesser lights in the firmament whose chart consists of the pages of the Civil List: and the Commissioner—lord of a Division—has been chosen for our maiden attempt at character drawing. One gentleman, now holding that exalted rank, told us that he at last realised the life of a "Bloated bureaucrat" as described by Labour Members of Parliament; he had come to a stage in his official career where it was possible to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*; a considerable amount of ease, and the importance a salary reaching to three figures always confer on the person drawing that sum. Of course the life and work of a Commissioner varies in different Provinces.

On the Frontier he has a large amount of responsibility, but is sometimes overshadowed by the military elements strong on evidence along the Borderland. In Bengal, we fancy, he must suffer unduly from mental prickly heat, produced by constant "heckling" from anonymous scribblers in the Vernacular Press and a comparative absence of that respect for people in authority which is a marked feature among dwellers in the rest of India. The Bores and Chatterjys fail to recognise that ignoring the just claims of superiors to courteous treatment, is scarcely the most efficacious method for winning respect for yourself. In the United Provinces, the golden age for Commissioners appears to have past, since Sir Anthony—now Lord—MacDonnell—sought to increase the burden of their work and—like most ardent Radicals—did not care to have too tall poppies near the seat of his Government. It must be rather hard for a Commissioner to observe the golden mean; to avoid needless meddling with the work of his subordinates, nor, on the other hand, to relapse into a *Roi fainéant*: to neither develop into King Stock or King Log. In these hustling days of perpetual references and urgent telegrams, it would be dangerous for a Commissioner to imitate the genial Willie and leave his camp pitched conveniently near the railway line, while its master departed to Calcutta to see the Viceroy's Cup run for and to taste the gaieties of that city on the quiet. Not that his fearful snatching of surreptitious pleasure in any respect harmed his work or caused the slightest evil to "dumb millions" under his charge. Government had not then discovered a tender conscience such as now manifests itself by anti-Gambling Laws and the abolition of the Opium Department. Our rules were more human, and, perhaps, free from that tinge of hypocrisy now visible at intervals both at Home and in India. We were formerly acquainted with a Commissioner who strove to attend to the smallest details of administration, with ceaseless worry to himself and little ultimate benefit to the Division at large. No appointment—even a temporary one—of a Naib Tahsildar or the "Officer *ad interim*," could be made without reference to his office, which of course led to delay in promotions, and occasionally the officiating occupant of a billet had reverted to his substantive appointment before drawing the pay due for work done in a higher capacity. Nowhere is a system of speedy allotment of rewards or punishments more appreciated than in India, so the unavoidable slow grinding of the wheels of executive mill caused a little heart-burning. The Commissioner did not adopt that policy from any distrust of his subordinate officers, for he almost invariably acted as they had suggested in the first instance and was deservedly liked for his kind disposition, and strict sense of justice. It was, therefore, all the more pity that he persisted in regarding it needful for him to play the rôle of an elephant's trunk: capable of dealing with the most insignificant, as well as the most important matters. There is a type of Commissioner who practises similar tactics, but from less worthy motive. Such is the man who likes to pose as Sir Orsino—"when I open my lips, let no dog bark"—to venture to differ from the views held by that personage is a piece of silly impertinence. He knows better how to detect crime than the Police Superintendents; has wiser notions of repairing roads than the Executive Engineer; and would even dispute the theories of a Civil Surgeon regarding the treatment of a plague epidemic. Did he confine this universal knowledge, merely expressing the same at the Club or in D O. correspondence, it would not have been so annoying, but he carries his display of wisdom to the extent of insisting on his ideal being put into actual practice. Nobody enjoys undue meddling with matters in which he is supposed to be an expert, and for proper attention to which he is paid by Government, so by putting his official finger into every Departmental pie, the Commissioner of this stamp succeeds in making himself disliked by all his subordinates and the work of the Division naturally suffers. "Minding your own knitting," is a lesson to be learnt by workers in India; and they ought to remember that there is ample room on the wheel of Administration for every fly, without encroaching too nearly on the space occupied by its neighbours. It is outside his Cutcherry that a Commissioner has opportunity for individual traits of character. He may indulge in the airs of a person burdened by some oppressive State secret; limiting his share in the social entertainments of a station to an occasional *bars khana* for senior officers and their wives and a quarterly "At Home" to which all the smaller fry—Police Assistants, Planters, the Managers of Mills or Factories—are invited and hospitality dispensed with a solemn stateliness that makes the hottest cup of tea taste cold, and hardens the crust of the daintiest of cakes from the nearest Italian confectioner. These latter functions always struck us as the most melancholy form of gathering. A few privileged people play tennis and badminton, but the majority of the guests have not dared to come into the Presence wearing flannel garments suitable for those games. Men engage in conversation with some fellow victim, furtively examining their watches to see if the time of deliverance is at hand, when each guest will draw near the hostess—for a wife is as necessary an adjunct to a Commissioner as his motor car and turbaned *chapparis*—and make his respectful adieu, thanking

her for "Such a pleasant afternoon", all the while reflecting how long it will be ere he can reach the club and wash down the sense of a wasted hour in the cup which cheers, if it does—sometimes—lubricate. Mrs. Commissioner, when wedded to a husband of the pompous type, is even more prone to haughty ways, identifying herself with the office held by her spouse and using the editorial "We" in speaking of their movements and general doings. How a couple of this sort can bear to return Home is hard to understand. There should be a Settlement—say Chunar or Monghyr—for retired Commissioners, who might pass the remaining years of—one trusts—a well spent life, in decorous intercourse with officials of equal rank: folk to whom a Station Dinner, a languid game of Badminton, minus the shrieks, and a silent rubber of Bridge, are agreeable ways of whiling away the leisure hour. On second thoughts, no one place could contain so much departed grandeur and be a pleasant spot to reside in. Like the inhabitants of the Landes district in France, the Commissioners would, one suspects, be usually found on stilts, and the only hope of averting quarrels would be the creation of a society for mutual admiration. Of course there are others of the genus who own to being mortal like the rest of us and who take a foremost part in all sorts of fun in a Station; while their tour through a Division is welcomed by all and every section of the community. They can chat with a local Rajah, possibly reminding him of some incident that occurred when the angust visitor was a humble "Joint" in that place, will pay as much deference to the remarks of a non-official as to those coming from the lips of the "heaven born"; and display a royal recollection for the face of anybody, European or Indian, with whom they may have come in contact during the long term of service that intervenes between the lower rungs of the Civilian ladder and the top of that lofty stair to fame,—and reuses three thousand per meness. Were it not contrary to modern democratic principles, a Commissioner should be selected on account of possessing irreproachable manners—a blend of the old English squire, Highland chief, and the late Lord Brampton—better known as Sir Henry Hawkins. For appearances do go a long way with the public, and it is easier for a person gifted with the qualities mentioned to command respect, and win affection, from all classes, than in other cases that most of us have met with. For a Commissioner to resemble in dress and general bearing a prosperous tradesman of a small provincial town strikes one as out of keeping with the associations and of the "gorgeous East" and the feelings of its inhabitants. While to ignore the *petite convenances*, the little civilities that tend to brighten and adorn intercourse with your fellow creatures is to lessen respect for the appointment and the man holding it. True politeness is a virtue, the lack of which is promptly detected by Indians of every social grade, and it is therefore unfortunate to find some (not many in number it must be admitted) Commissioners who are a law unto themselves in such matters and an eyecore to better behaved individuals. Most men age very slowly in India, despite medical denunciations of the climate and surroundings, so that a decent proficiency in games is no rare accomplishment for a Commissioner to possess. He can hold a gun as straight, and handle bat or racquet as skillfully as many of his juniors, nor allows the excuse of Anno Domini—the weight of years—to debar his enjoyment of sport and games. Indulging in either of which forms of pastime adds to rather than detracts from, his utility as an official. When all is said and done, to hope that our civilian friends attain to this exalted post is no unkindly wish. The duties are not unduly onerous; the pay is satisfactory; and promotion to a Commissionership is a fitting reward for the hardworking, often misunderstood, sometimes maligned, officer who is styled Magistrate and Collector. He must furnish the subject of the next character sketch.



Verse.

Peace.

In the soft depths of azure skies serene;
In the pure splendour of each planet bright,
Each star that gems the gorgeous crown of Night;
And in the Sun's and Moon's transparent sheen;
And in the lap of Earth's eternal green;
And on the solemn mountains' lonely height
Crowned with the gold of Heaven's eternal light;
Yea, in the heart of Nature's varied scene
There's holy Peace! shall then the heart of Man,
(With latest germs of heavenly virtue rife,
Deemed noblest in Creation's mighty plan)
Disdaining Peace, let Malice, Envy, Strife,
And dark Ambition crowd the narrow span
Of breathing space and blast the sweets of Life!

NIRAKAR JANA.



Social Intercourse.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Several paragraphs of your comments on my letter to the *Comrade* of June 7th. make me think of the words of Mahbub Ali in *Kim*, when he said: "The English do eternally tell the truth, therefore we of this country are eternally made foolish!" Why you should accuse me of a "litotes" when I referred to your reception of my letters as "courteous" I cannot imagine! If it is not "courteous" on your part to devote so much time and space in replying to contributions that certainly have no literary distinction, nor (according to you) exhibit any marked cohesion of thought, then the term must have a different meaning for you than it has for me.

Indeed, I have been greatly impressed throughout this correspondence by the total absence of anything like personal abuse directed against myself, because, on several previous occasions when I have ventured to write on a controversial subject for certain other purely Indian Journals, I have experienced much abuse for daring to suggest that anything is, or could be, wrong with Indian philosophy, politics, manners, customs or prejudices. Again, in regard to the anecdotes of the narrowly averted carriage accident and that of the episode in a 3rd. class railway compartment I have been either misbelieved or misunderstood so that throughout two whole paragraphs, "Mui lolo Andon par" I could give you, did I care to, chapter and verse of the story which caused your imagination to "faint." To disprove your assumption that the kindness and consideration that led to my being given the comfortable seat in a third class railway carriage was of the same sort which compelled the Indian Prince to shampon the European shikari's legs, I need only say that I was hoisted into the aforesaid carriage by two young Indian students who saw that unless I entered the carriage in which they were seated I should miss the train altogether. They saw my dilemma and threw open the door and hauled me inside, and then politely compelled me to take one of their seats rather than sit on the floor (as I proposed to do), until the train next stopped when I could return to my own compartment.

In case you will now assume that these two lads were aware of my identity and acted with ulterior motives I am bound to add that we were mutually and entirely unknown to each other! I hope now that I have justified at least one of my contentions, namely, that there are, in spite of your apparent convictions to the contrary, many Indians who (often too in spite of an English education), are still capable of showing real kindness and courtesy towards Europeans from whom they have nothing to expect. If, Sir, you will accept this statement and persuade others who may happen to hold your present views, to accept it also, the chasm which exists between the two races will, to a certain extent, be filled in, although, never entirely on account of many radical incompatibilities in the two natures involved.

I am, Sir, etc.,

O. BRINKLEY-HULL.

Old Delhi—A Memorial Tablet Scheme.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I greatly welcomed your editorial note published about this time last month on the situation at Delhi, as it touched our interests nearer home as well as afforded me an opportunity for putting forward a suggestion which I now do with your leave.

I am not prepared to hazard an opinion as to the extent of the responsibility of the Municipal Commissioners in the various measures connected with the making and unmaking of Delhi, but judging

from what you have said and from what I have been recently told by a Delhi man, who should know and who was almost in hysterics over the business, it seems to me that the situation is serious enough, and needs to be handled with utmost tact, thought and courageous effort. I cannot, however, believe that the local administration is not amenable to advice and guidance, but will the Delhi people rise to the occasion? There is the rub. So far as I know there is little or no public opinion at Delhi such as we are accustomed to see in other less backward parts of the country and which can organise itself into an effective force and make itself felt. The despair of English administrators in India in many cases is their failure to get to the truth, to know exactly what people want, and the failure is due chiefly to the people themselves, who will not speak out their mind and fight it out as they say. When they do actually make an attempt it is so shy and half-hearted, and it naturally fails. And really you cannot impress your view on a foreigner when you cannot convince your own countrymen. Of course the English administrators are also in many cases handicapped by a lack of a due proportion of imagination, but that only means that people should use tact and moral courage all the more energetically. Delhi is not Uster nor even Calcutta or Bombay, but still if the people will only exert themselves in the manner of men, if the public opinion, instead of pulling in different directions, will only combine and resolve itself into shape, and if it is led through proper channels, it is bound to make itself felt and to succeed, even though not in every detail. I personally think that matters can yet be set right so far as exigencies of the new situation and the requirements of the new capital will permit. As to the latter I have it from high authorities in the country that local susceptibilities and traditions will be carefully considered and that the public opinion in England is averse to building the new capital on the mouldering graves and bones of the dead.

Now to my suggestion. Whether or not local patriotism will assert itself and succeed, it is certain that within the city walls a great number of houses will be pulled down and whole *mohallas* cleared, and in course of time no traces of these will be left beyond plans and sketches for the benefit of history and research. Does it not, in the circumstances, behoove us all, Hindus and Moslems and others, to make one supreme effort to preserve some marks showing the spots where so many great men of India had lived, whom Delhi had produced or otherwise attracted to its courts and concerns throughout its centuries of chequered career. I dare say in many instances, owing to length of time, absence of records and general neglect, it would be impossible to fix the spots and locate the habitations of the great men. Research work, such as Sir E.D. MacLagan and his historical society have initiated in the Panjab, could do a great deal in this respect, but no such society exists in Delhi, nor is one likely to come into being for years to come and for the present therefore these many cases can be left out of consideration. In some other cases there are houses and *mohallas*, associated with names known to history, whereon are posted inscribed tablets—some real pieces of art in themselves and others of the kind of حوالی علی بی خان چادر کی

or tin boards indicating names and number of Municipal wards. These are valuable assets and should be lovingly looked after. But there are, I understand, scores of other cases of men of worth and fame who flourished in the last century, but who died in comparative poverty or whose unthrifty children and heirs sold out the properties 'for a song' to the moneylenders, and the latter converted them into small houses, shops, stables and *kutras*. In such cases it should be possible to spot houses and courts of historic value, and it is these I am most anxious about, as after a few years it would be very difficult indeed, even perhaps impossible to trace them. With a view to preserving the memory of these great men and of their homes and habitations, I suggest that we should institute a scheme of memorial tablets—bearing names and dates. These marble tablets may be fixed up in the walls, or, when houses have or will disappear, on stone posts on a side of the road nearest to the actual spot. The scheme is not at all expensive and the procedure seems to me to be simple enough. I understand it will cost on an average some 15 rupees per marble tablet, altogether a paltry sum, and gentlemen interested in the scheme can select their own heroes and subscribe for their tablets. You could easily manage where names selected should overlap. A local committee will be necessary both for locating houses and arranging for the make and posting of the tablets. The committee will also have to secure the consent and approval of the landlords and the municipal committee, and perhaps later on the latter body could be induced to take in their charge the care and upkeep of the tablets as a municipal trust. Perhaps Mr. Mohamed Ali will be able to take up this proposal—at least I can suggest no more suitable person from amongst those I know in Delhi—and if he can secure the assistance of men of the type of Nanne Khan Sahib, he should be able to find his way all right.

I must say I have little hope of finding support from the local people. As custodians of the wealth of traditions that abound in Delhi, as some of great men and as ordinary citizens they have failed in their duty in this respect. Some of them are said to have pulled old and out of the way mosques and mausoleums and cemeteries and exchanged tablets and gravestones, of valuable designs and inscriptions, for a handful of silver pieces. I therefore commend my suggestion to the consideration and support of the community at large, and appeal to their sense of appreciation of the bygone heroes of Delhi, of their deeds of valour, works of art and poetry, their achievements in theology, history, medicine, architecture and various other things, which are the delight, the source of wisdom and faith in so many thousand homes in the country. At this stage I regret I can only put forward the suggestion in a crude form, but if there is anything in it, I am sure, Sir, you will give it your support in your usual impressive and eloquent manner and suggest more practicable ways and means.

I had heard some years ago that the Government had some such scheme in view, but I don't know if it has materialised so far. Even if it did or will in time to come, we cannot depend on it to any great extent, as the names within the official parview will necessarily be few.

Yours truly,
AN XI-OTTER.



"In Deadly Earnest."

A STRANGE tradition came down from antiquity of two Buddhist monks who set out from India, while their religion still inspired a missionary zeal, with the object of converting the Hellenic world. They reached Athens, and it is easy to picture them with their bronzed skins, their simple robes, and mandarin-like rice-bowls, arguing in broken Greek for the life of renunciation and pity against the positive science, the optimistic theories, the passion for knowledge, and the contentment with beauty, which satisfied a city of philosophers. Of what they taught not even a summary remains, and no literary artist was moved to record their controversies and their preaching in dialogue or oration. They left behind them only the memory of their unintelligible end. They set fire to themselves and perished in a blaze of self-sacrifice. The Greeks wondered idly at their deed, and we can only wonder too. Were they moved by despair at the failure of their teaching? Had they been taunted to give a dramatic proof of their contempt for the sensual life? Did they hope by a deed to make clear what their halting discourses in a strange tongue had left unintelligible? Or were they simply seeking the extinction and oblivion which was for them the chief good? We do not know; but nothing which the utilitarian mind of the West would count an adequate result was achieved by their heroic self-sacrifice. They lit no candle, to use Cranmer's immortal phrase, which even flickered after their death, their blood was not the seed of any church.

An iron law of economy and utility binds even the self-sacrifices of the martyr and the saint. It is not enough to give prodigally, though the gift is life itself. Even the supreme devotion is sterile, unless it was made for some end that men can recognise as adequate, or forced upon the martyr in the choice between death and dishonor. Cranmer and Ridley lit their candle, which has never gone out, for there was no wilful or self-inflicted death; they burned because the alternative was recantation. There are doubtful cases, indeed, but on the whole the modern world, in spite of Shelley's verse, does not "approve" the death of Lucan, who killed himself rather than consent by living to the destruction of Roman liberty. It was an act which saved his personal dignity at the cost of proclaiming the defeat of his cause; it must have depressed instead of stimulating the civic courage of all who came after him. The typical martyr has received his crown from the hand of the inquisitor or the despot. But there are superb instances of devotion in which the sacrifice of life was wholly voluntary. Arnold von Winkelried, drawing the points of the Austrian spears into his own breast at Sempach, threw his own life away, but he opened a path for those behind him through the iron ranks of the invader's army. When English history is taught in our schools with more regard for moral values, the inspiring act of Joseph Gerrald will begeth its inspiration. He was charged, together with Skirving and Margaret, for his share in the Edinburgh Convention of 1793, called, under the stimulus of the French Revolution, to demand the reform of the British franchise. His comrades were tried before him, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation to Botany Bay. Gerrald obtained bail, but though his friends and leaders, from Horne Tooke downwards, implored him to escape, and the very men who had gone surety for him, begged him to forfeit his bail, he insisted on standing his trial, convicted himself by his unfinished speech from the dock, and went in due course, where he had known that he

went on, to join his comrades as a convict. He died at Botany Bay, and the Reform movement lost in him its most magnetic leader. Was this self-sacrifice justified? Only a narrow calculator would doubt it. Oswald indeed flung his life away. But the alternative was a retreat and a flight which would have encouraged the reaction and depressed the movement of reform. He gave an example of "Republican virtue," of minority, courage, and independence, that deserves to live among the finest deeds of English history. But in his case, as in Oranmer's, it was the enemy who forced the choice upon him between death and dishonor. Flight, to his high courage, seemed a virtual recantation. The candle of martyrdom does not burn unless it is the persecutor's hand that lights it.

We can think only with respect of the gallant and able woman who flung her own life away by a calculated self-sacrifice at the Derby, but it is not merely the proverbial blindness of the contemporary spectator which forbids us to approve her deed. It required a cold courage equal to von Winkelried's. Miss Davison must have known when she ran amid the closely massed troop of galloping horses that she might be maimed, if not destroyed; but, unfortunately, it was just as probable that one or several of the riders and their horses would be cruelly injured or killed. It was not an innocent heroism, and the lives which it risked were those of men who bear no conceivable responsibility for the mishandling of the suffrage question. If she were to be killed, she may have argued, she would have given the supreme proof of devotion to her cause. "What we obtain too cheap," wrote Thomas Paine, to cheer Washington's flagging armies in the American Revolution, "we esteem too lightly; it is dearer only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated." The women who have faced indignity, imprisonment, and starvation in this movement have all the while been "pricing" their goods. They have proved that the boon they sought was to them of supreme value; they have shown that they are literally in deadly earnest. To achieve that demonstration is the first step in every movement of reform. It has been harder for women than for men only because so much of the old brutal contempt still lingers among us. When men sought to keep women as playthings, they forgot that it was their own immaturity which they proved. It is the child who wants a toy. Smarting under this contempt, aware that the coarser and less observant type of man still affects to deny them courage, women have been goaded into a reckless display of their bravery and devotion. It reminds us of what Medea felt when the patronising egoism of Jason caused her to vow that henceforth women should be "terrible in story." There is always a Jason where there is a Medea, but in real life there is seldom a fiery chariot of escape.

Let us never forget, however, that if the reckless, gallant acts have often emancipated men, they have as surely raised the spirit of women. They have aggravated the opposition, but they have stimulated the demand. We regret for our part only that these displays of courage were not confined to activities which were innocent and useful. The women who stand in the gutter to sell their paper, face mobs in the parks from their platforms, and wear their colors in the street, are giving proof of a moral and often of a physical bravery which compels respect and carries conviction, where wilder deeds seem only to inflame the resistance of the thoughtless. Death has come at last to crown the long series of sacrifices. In some conditions of public opinion, under some circumstances of innocent and intelligible heroism, it would have hushed the whole controversy, shamed friends from their indifference, and silenced enemies into respect. But these results follow less surely amid a campaign of aggression, or from a death which seemed to be courted.

Another motive was at work to inspire this protest. Miss Davison probably hoped to invalidate the race. The logic of such an act is intelligible. "Will you spend your days and squander your wealth in idle sports," she might have said, if she could have addressed the crowd, "while children are neglected, girls ruined, and women sweated to death for want of the care to which alone a woman's electorate can stimulate the State?" A great preacher could hardly by a superhuman effort of eloquence and magnetism drive that moral home to a Derby Day crowd. But propaganda by violence inevitably fails, and it fails precisely where coercion itself breaks down. A base criminal may deserve a flogging, but civilized men do not flog him, because they know that pain and resentment and humiliation do not add to the moral stature of an offender, nor soften his heart, nor enlighten his mind. No one would endorse that general argument so heartily as the militant women themselves. Let us admit for the sake of the parallel that society is in a sense guilty of a sort of collective criminality by the social and political sins of omission and commission. It is in vain to fling it. From broken windows and burned houses and spoiled sports the same consequences follow as from corporal punishment—resentment and a still darker clouding

of the moral sense. Suffragists disliked the idea of flogging even a procurer; the same reasoning condemns the new punitive militancy. So far from enforcing argument, it begets a temper which is perversely resolved not to admit the cogency of argument until the annoyance is withdrawn. An exceptional man will sometimes rise superior to a provocation. Oranmer's bomb is said to have stimulated Louis Napoleon to liberate Italy, but Louis Napoleon had, with all his faults, a romantic and generous mind. Gladstone may have been moved to reflection by the Fenian outrages, but the event showed that his rare mind had travelled a generation faster than public opinion, and Home Rule had to wait until the outrages were forgotten. It is because we dread the repetition of that delay for the suffrage movement that we deplore these excesses, and not because we wish to stand by to censure or to affix responsibilities. For what is done to society, all society is, in some sense, to blame. The few who might have a right to cast the stone at these women would be the last to throw it. If headstrong leadership, autocratic discipline, and faulty political psychology are partly to blame, the larger responsibility falls on our traditional attitude towards women, on the supineness of so many ladies of influence and station, on the weakness of friendly politicians in our enervating party atmosphere, on the criminal incitements of some opponents, and, above all, on the cruelties and follies of our methods of suppression. All this has exacted from passionately devoted women an extreme degree of patience and self-restraint. The more they care for their cause, the more, to our thinking, ought they to restrain a needless and harmful exhibition of resentment. But the more we, who endorse their demands, call upon them for restraint, the more are we bound ourselves to remove the provocations which drive them to anger.—The Nation.

Mr. Trevelyan's Life of Bright.

"The Life of John Bright." By G. M. Trevelyan, (Constable. 15s. net.)

I HAVE heard a competent critic say that Sir George Trevelyan writes better than his uncle, and that Mr. George Trevelyan writes better than his father. This is the highwater mark of praise. Nor is it undeserved. Macaulay might well have been proud of the authorship of the "Early History of Charles James Fox," and (to paraphrase a famous saying) Mr. George Trevelyan is not merely a chip of the old block; he is the old block.

A distinguished publisher once said that any man could write a biography in two volumes; the point was to write a biography in one volume. Mr. George Trevelyan has achieved this feat. We hope that others of his craft will follow his example. The big biography in two volumes, closely packed with unnecessary and irrelevant letters and documents, has become a nuisance. Every man thinks that he is a politician, and every writer thinks that he can write biography if he only gets the chance. The fact that some special aptitude is necessary for the "business" in both cases is hardly realised. Biography is not history. This is a simple truth. Yet how often is it forgotten by the biographer! In biography we want a picture of the man, not a chronicle of the times; yet, as a rule, we get the chronicle and not the picture. "I am not writing history but lives," says Plutarch. Plutarch knew his art. The measure of a biography may be taken by considering whether it is a "history or a life." Great actions do not necessarily reveal character. To quote Plutarch again: "Some little thing—a word or a jest—may often show character better than a battle, with its ten thousand slain." One may read a history of the Anti-Corn Law agitation without learning anything of the man, Bright. Where, then, shall we find him? He himself tells us: "My life is in my speeches." In these great orations, indeed, he stands out boldly and nobly as the greatest moral force that ever appeared in the English House of Commons. Mr. Trevelyan quotes abundantly from the speeches. They are the sheet-anchor of the book: they are the sheet-anchor of Bright's character. The orator reveals the man. But it must not be supposed that Mr. Trevelyan has not other important material. Bright, to some extent, kept a diary and wrote letters to his family and friends. Mr. Trevelyan deals skilfully with these materials. He does not give us too many letters, and he does not give us too much diary, and he makes his extracts subservient to the main object of the biography—the production of a portrait.

To many the surprise of the book will be the revelation of the intimacy—the word is hardly too strong—between Bright and Disraeli. Next to Palmerston himself, one would have thought that there was not a man in the House to whom Bright would have felt more antagonism than to the future leader of the Tory Party. Yet it was not so. The idea of Bright and Disraeli chatting away over a chop at Bellamy's seems incredible. But Bright tells us the story himself. It was after the famous "Angel of Death" speech. Bright says: "I went into Bellamy's to have a chop, and Dinny came and sat down beside me, and he said, 'Bright I would give

all that I ever had to have made that speech you made just now.' And I just said to him, 'Well, you might have made it if you had been honest.' We get another glimpse of this ill-matched pair having a pleasant chat together. It was in 1861, when the question of the repeal of the paper duties was under consideration, and Lord Derby threatened to throw out Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the abolition of the tax. Bright wrote to Cobden:—

"I had a talk with Disraeli on Thursday night; he talks rather at random often, and it is hard to say when he is in earnest. He said: 'You brought in a Government to give you Reform and peace, and you will get no Reform, and within six months you will be at war: war is inevitable.' I blamed him for being a party to the murder of the Cheap Press, through this proceeding of Lord Derby. He laughed and 'chaffed' about it; said he read the 'Star' more than any other paper; it was the best paper published, &c."

This reference to the "Star" is delightful. To have been told by Bright that he was a party to the murder of the Cheap Press, and to have replied that he had read "Bright's paper" (as the "Star" was sometimes called, on account of Bright's well-known interest in it), was thoroughly Disraelian. Perhaps, indeed, these stories are the "little things" which "show character." We have Dizzy, frivolous and unprincipled; Bright serious and strenuous. He tells his companion in effect that he ought to be ashamed of himself for murdering the Cheap Press, but Dizzy only laughs, chaffs Bright about the "Star," and thinks it all very good fun; but fun which must one day make him Prime Minister of England. "Politics," he said to Charles Gavan Duffy, "are a wheel of fortune, always going round, so that sometimes you are at the top, and sometimes at the bottom, and that it was hard to say when he was in earnest. We can well believe it. Was he in earnest when he suggested that he and Bright might one day be in the same Cabinet? I quote from Bright's diary:—

"February 20th, 1855—Talk with Disraeli. He thought one or two speeches weekly like the one I made before Christmas would break up the Government in a month. I said I wanted peace, not to break up Government, but if they would not make peace, then I would make war upon them. He returned to an old topic, on my saying I thought they (Derby's party) would come in soon. He could not see why I should not join Lord Derby's Cabinet. I smiled, and said I could never lift up my head after such an act; it would destroy me."

I shall take one extract from these interviews between Bright and Disraeli. Bright writes:—

"March 16th, 1851—Yesterday had a talk with Disraeli in the Library; he insists that war is the result of the Coalition, any Government with a united policy under one head would have preserved the peace. We spoke of his shilling edition of his novels; he said he had sold more than 300,000 copies in less than a year, that 400,000 copies would give him a profit equal to his salary as Chancellor of the Exchequer."

This account of Bright and Disraeli chatting away in the Library of the House of Commons about Dizzy's novels throws a pleasant light on the personal relations of those two great political opponents. Perhaps they had one common enemy—Palmerston! It is extraordinary that both of them should have been wrong in measuring the force of this remarkable old "war-horse." Bright thought that he "was done" in 1851, and Disraeli thought that he "was done" in 1855. We all know that Palmerston died Prime Minister of England in 1865. His power was immense. He kept back the tide of reform while he lived. The struggle between him and Bright, well told by Mr. Trevelyan, was like the dashing of the waves of the sea against an immovable rock. But time vindicated Bright. Palmerston was not two years in his grave when Disraeli "educated" the Tory Party, and passed "*Bright's Reform Bill*." Mr. Trevelyan does not tell us if the pair ever chatted over this event. We can conceive Bright telling Dizzy that it was the most dishonest act of his life, and Dizzy laughing and praising Bright's speeches on Parliamentary Reform. No one, we think, could harbor resentment against the most fascinating political adventurer of his time. I have heard even Mr. Gladstone associate himself humorously with his famous rival. "Goldwin Smith," he said, laughing, and looking round the table, "declared that Dizzy and I were the two greatest impostors of our day, but that I was the greater impostor of the two, because I imposed upon myself." On the same occasion it was at a dinner party at Mr. James Knowles's—the Duke of St. Albans said to "Mr. G." "that minorities ought to be represented." "Not at all," was the reply. "But if you were in a minority," said the Duke, "you would like to be represented." "I agree with Dizzy," retorted "Mr. G." "He said that the only right of a minority was to turn itself into a majority."

Mr. Trevelyan is a true artist. He does not neglect those light touches which give vitality to the picture. Indeed, it is the capacity for appreciating little things, and the faculty of using them skilfully in the development of the portrait, which distinguish the genuine biographer from the amateur. In this book the personality of the

man is not lost in the narrative of events. The events are the background of the picture. This is as it should be.

We are told the story of Home Rule, but prominence is also given, and ought to be given, to that sudden meeting of Gladstone and Bright in Piccadilly, six months after they had parted company on the Irish question. Bright's brief narrative is a human document:—

"February 17th, 1887—Walking along Piccadilly, I met Mr. Gladstone—had not seen him since the defeat of his Irish Bill last year. We stopped and shook hands. I remarked, we had been far apart for some time. He said: 'I hope we may before long be nearer together again,' which I doubted or feared we might not be; I asked after his family his son Herbert is in India, but is soon expected home. Herbert told him how good in India had been the influence of Lord Ripon's Government. Mr. Gladstone took his glove off to shake hands with me as indicating more cordiality of feeling. We met at 1-30, just opposite the house where one of the Rothschilds lived—I think the house where Lady Rosebery's mother lived."

"John Bright,
Always right."

So once wrote "Punch," with good-natured chaff. But, as a matter of fact, was not Bright in the main, if not always, right? Ireland, the Corn Laws, the Crimean War, the American Civil War—upon all these questions he held a position which made for justice and righteousness. In the case of Ireland, Home Rule apart, of the Corn Laws, of Parliamentary Reform, of the House of Lords, he stands justified out of the Statute Book; and who will now say that he was wrong about the Crimean War or the American Civil War? The time has not yet come to judge whether he was right or wrong about India.

Bright committed one great mistake. He entered the Cabinet. He was a great teacher and a great moral force. His place in the House of Commons was below the Gangway. There he made his most famous speeches, there he won honor and renown. He should never have put on the fetters of office. Even in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry he was thrown away. The atmosphere of the Treasury Bench was foreign to his genius. His spirit lives in words which shall not be forgotten while his memory is revered. It is the spirit of lofty independence, unrestrained criticism, and moral eminence.

"I am not, nor did I ever pretend to be, a statesman, and that character is so tainted and so equivocal in our day, that I am not sure that a pure and honorable ambition would aspire to it. I have not enjoyed for thirty years, like those noble lords, the honors and emoluments of office. I have not set my sails to every passing breeze. I am a plain and simple citizen, sent here by one of the foremost constituencies of the Empire, representing sobriety, perhaps, but honestly, I dare aver, the opinions of very many, and the true interests of all those who have sent me here"—R. BARRY O'BRIEN in the *Nation*.

The Murder of Shevket Pasha.

THE following detailed description of the assassination of the Turkish Grand Vizier and Minister of War, Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, in Constantinople on the 11th June, was given to the *Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent in Constantinople by the Governor of Stamboul, Djemel Bey, immediately after the crime.

"You are aware of the fact," he said, "that the Grand Vizier divided his time between the Ministry of War, where he remained until noon, and the Grand Vizierate, where he stayed until midnight. This morning I was with the Marshal at the Ministry of War. I worked with him for a long time, and found him in very good spirits."

"Towards half past eleven he gave orders for his motor-car to be brought and entered it in order to go to the Sublime Porte. He was accompanied by two aides-de-camp, Echref Bey, a cavalry officer, and Kemal Bey, an officer of the navy."

"The carriage had barely entered the Place Sultan Bayazit, in front of the gates of the Ministry of War, when it was stopped by a passing funeral. At this moment another motor-car appeared, coming from the direction of Ak Serai. When it was close to the Grand Vizier's car two men who were seated in it stood up, and, with a revolver in each hand, aimed at Mahmoud Shevket through the open window of his car."

"Mahmoud Shevket and Kemal Bey were struck by the first shots. Echref Bey immediately drew his revolver to reply, but the weapon missed fire. Then he seized the Marshal's revolver, drawing it from the pocket of his dolman, but that, too, was out of order."

"Meanwhile, the assassins' motor-car had already got away, and was hastening at full speed towards Ak Serai. It is believed that the two murderers were recognised, but the fact is that they are in flight, and have not yet been arrested, so far only one person has been arrested, namely, Topal Kadri, who was on the spot and seemed to have some sort of an understanding with the assassins. It appears that he wanted to enter their vehicle, but had not sufficient time. He was arrested at the moment when he was throwing a revolver down a drain."

"The Grand Vizier's motor was brought back to the Ministry of War. Kemal Bey was dead; the Grand Vizier was dying. He lingered for an hour and then expired."

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

The official account of the assassination, issued on the same day, says: "On leaving the Ministry of War this morning the Grand Vizier entered a motor car with the intention of proceeding to the Sublime Porte but when going through Beyazid Divan Yulu-square the car was temporarily obliged to stop as the road was up. At this moment some persons in another car, whose identity may yet be established, fired ten shots at the car of the Grand Vizier who was severely wounded. He was immediately taken back to the Ministry of War, where he died half an hour later. Lieutenant Ibrahim Bey, who was accompanying Mahmond Shevket, was hit by some of the shots, and subsequently died. A Cabinet meeting was later held at the Ministry of War, and the necessary measures were taken to assure tranquillity."

"An individual named Topal Tewfik, who is supposed to be one of the assassins, has been arrested in a public convenience in the Guedik Pasha quarter. He had two revolvers in his hands, and a number of cartridges were also found in his possession."

"The city is quiet, although the assassination has produced a deep impression and considerable emotion in all circles."

Captain Fehref, who was with the Grand Vizier at the time of his assassination, has given the following description of the crime:—"As we were leaving the Bayazid Square, and our motor car was stopped by the roads being up, we heard an explosion, but attached no importance to it thinking a tyre had burst, but the next moment the Marshal fell forward. I took him in my arms to hold him up, and saw that his face was covered with blood. The reports continued. I got out of the motor car to arrest assassins, but they fled in a motor car with the exception of Topal Tewfik who did not have time to get in. One of the assassins at the back of the car repeatedly fired his revolver. I cannot understand how it was that I was not hit."

WARNING FROM PARIS

In the course of an interview on the 12th June Djemal Bey stated that he had that very day received a letter from Djavid Bey, who, writing from Paris, said: "The members of the Opposition here predict grave events in Constantinople this week and the fall of the Cabinet. For God's sake keep a watch over Mahmond Shevket Pasha." Djemal Bey went on to say that although most of the authors of the crime were Circassians he was convinced that its object was not to avenge the death of Nazim Pasha but to overthrow the Government.

"General Hadji Nazim Pasha whom we arrested yesterday," continued Djemal Bey, "is a Circassian. He was a spy under the old régime. He was an informer against the young Turks and was degraded after the revolution. He had an inextinguishable hatred of the new régime. In the motor car which was used yesterday for the perpetration of the crime were his nephew Djavid who was arrested yesterday and his son Abdurrahman for whom we are searching. Djavid alone took the car to the garage, his accomplices having disappeared on the way. Abdurrahman was driving the automobile when they fled after the crime." In conclusion Djemal Bey said that since the previous day more than 150 arrests had been made in connection with the assassination. Some of the prisoners were suspected of complicity in the crime, while others were merely political suspects.

THE GRAND VIZIER'S FUNERAL.

The funeral of the Grand Vizier took place at ten o'clock on the morning of the 12th June with great military pomp. Prayers for the dead were offered in the mosque of St. Sofia, and the body was afterwards interred in the mausoleum situated on the Hill of Liberty on the outskirts of the city, where are buried the soldiers who fell during the operations on the occasion of the occupation of Constantinople by the Young Turks in April, 1909.

Two of the Sultan's sons, the Ministers, a number of high military officers, and the foreign military attachés followed the coffin on foot. The funeral cortège included detachments of troops of all arms, many prominent politicians, members of the Committee of Union and Progress and about a thousand students.

All the newspapers published articles condemning in the strongest terms the crime.

The Egyptian Capitulations.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Everybody who has studied the Ottoman Capitulations, and especially their many and vexatious abuses in Egypt, will welcome Sir Edward Grey's promise to have the authorities examined by which the Adamovitch case is governed. At a time when we are chafing under the indefensible fetters of these antique privileges and the many illegal inferences which have been drawn from them and sanctioned by long impunity, it is not desirable that a new precedent

shall be created by which their extraterritorial operation may be further extended.

Sir Edward Grey will, I fancy, be not a little astonished when he comes to compare the actual text of the brief and bald articles of the Capitulations under which extraterritorial privileges are enjoyed by certain foreign States with the present claim of the Russian Consular authorities in Egypt. The whole question of extradition under the Capitulations has been ably dealt with by M. Salem, and his conclusions will be found set forth in Vol. II. of the "Revue Générale de Droit International Public," by M. Giulio D'Ena, an eminent advocate of the Appeal Court of Florence. They amount to this:—There is no right of extradition under the Capitulations, as the extraterritorial jurisdiction in criminal cases therein granted only relates to offences committed within the Ottoman Empire. Owing, however, to the unceremonious way in which this grant has gradually been enlarged so as to give local effect to the whole criminal law of the States enjoying it, and more especially through the facilities at the disposal of the Consuls for making arrests without consulting the Ottoman or Egyptian authorities, a right of extradition has grown up, and has been tacitly admitted. Great Britain has herself asserted this right—the fact has been overlooked by M. D'Ena—by extending the operation of the Fugitive Offenders Act (1881) and the Colonial Prisoners Removal Act (1884) to "Egypt and the Ottoman Dominions other than Egypt and those places were respectively British possessions and parts of her Majesty's Dominions." (Order in Council, August 8, 1899). The claim herein made is a singularly large one when compared with the letter of the Capitulations, and it is characteristic of the loose way in which the Capitulations have been interpreted that this Order in Council is careful to rest its provision not only on those very limited privileges, but also on "grant, usage, sufferance, and other lawful means."

Unfortunately for the treatment which Sir Edward Grey would assuredly be disposed to give to the Adamovitch case, this Order in Council furthermore recites a list of offences cognisable by the Consular Courts, and among them "treason" is especially mentioned. This would seem to give away the case in regard to political refugees. It is none the less a fact that the authorities are against the order on this point. M. Salem and M. D'Ena both declare that, although political refugees have been sometimes extradited by the Capitulatory Courts, "il y a une pratique abusive à laquelle ne peuvent pas se prêter les autorités locales si le Consul avait besoin de requérir leur assistance." It appears that this principle has actually been applied in Tunis, where the demand of Italy in 1884 that the Capitulations should be maintained was acquiesced in by France on condition that all arrests should be made through the Resident General. The French, however, made it clear that no Consular warrants for "infractions politiques" would be executed.

The classic case on this question, however, is that of the Hungarian and Polish refugees in Turkey, whose extradition was demanded by Austria and Russia in 1849. Although the Capitulations had then been long in existence neither Power relied on them in support of its demand, and it does not seem to have entered the mind of anybody at the time that they had any bearing on the question of extradition. The demand was based on the treaties of Belgrade and Karadjik, and was rejected by the Porte on the ground partly that the treaties did not apply to the case in dispute and partly that the system of affording asylum to political refugees had become a rule among civilized nations. Turkey was vigorously supported by Great Britain and France, and Lord Palmerston in ordering the British Fleet to the Dardanelles declared that there was no treaty right of extradition for political offences from Turkey (See Parliamentary papers on "Refugees from Hungary within the Turkish Dominions," February, 1851, and June, 1852.) If there was no treaty right in 1849 there is certainly none to-day, for no addition to the Capitulations dealing with this subject, and, I believe, no extradition treaty of any kind with Turkey or Egypt, has been negotiated in the interval.

Your obedient servant,

Gray's Inn, June 6.

LUCIEN WOLF.

Is Our Civilisation Dying?

THE present military crisis in Europe involves certain considerations of more permanent interest even than the perilous international rivalry with which it is immediately concerned. It brings us into contact not only with the question of European hegemony, but with the whole future of civilisation and the Western races. France is about to impose upon herself a burden which none of the greater nations has yet assumed. She is preparing to drill and arm almost her entire male population of the fighting age; she will require that every one of her young citizens, with a very few exceptions, shall devote the three best years of his life to the sole and undivided occupation of learning the business of a soldier. Only in the Balkan States, and perhaps only in Bulgaria among

them, has a similar sacrifice been exacted from the manhood of the country. Elsewhere universal military service is theoretically enforced; but in practice it has been far from universal. Neither Germany, Russia, Austria, nor Italy applies the principle with the same thoroughness. They do not attempt to train all or nearly all their young men in the ranks of the active army; a large proportion escape altogether, many others discharge their legal obligation by passing at once into the reserves or territorial force. In Germany only one young man out of four has been actually submitted to the full two years' discipline of the embodied regiments. Even under the new system much less than half the contingent will be called up, and that will suffice to give Germany in peace time a standing army 900,000 strong. France, in order to obtain 750,000, is obliged to press into the ranks every young man not physically unfit to bear arms. The only exemption of importance is that allowed to the sons of large families, where there are five or six children. This exemption is significant. It illustrates the real difficulty which besets French statesmen, the root cause of the danger which France is bracing herself to meet with a patriotic *clan* worthy of her gallant and chivalrous past. For the peril from beyond the frontier would be less menacing if there were not another peril more insidious at home. It is not the full German regiments but the empty French cradles which will compel 94 per cent of the young men of France to turn themselves into soldiers.

A hundred and fifteen years ago an English clergyman started the world over with one of the most famous books ever written. Malthus's *Essay on Population* was a solemn warning that civilisation was in danger of dying because too many children were born. The population, he suggested, would increase so fast under the improved conditions of modern order and progress that mankind would eventually be annihilated in a squalid and savage struggle for sheer existence. Just now scarcely a month goes by without some influential person, preacher, scientist, medical expert, or statesman, giving us an admonition which is the reverse of that of Malthus. Mankind, and particularly civilised mankind, they tell us, is in the greatest danger, not because there are too many children but because there are too few. The birth-rate is falling in the more highly civilised countries, and within those countries themselves the fall is heaviest among the most educated and comfortable classes. The International Congress on Eugenics, held last year in London, was brought together mainly to consider what this process means and how it can be averted.

As to the decline of the birth-rate there can be no question. It has been put forward as a "law" that the rate of increase falls with the advance of civilisation. It may not be a law, but it seems to be the fact. The complex, highly organised, materially prosperous, and intellectually developed communities increase more slowly than those which are simpler and more primitive. The further we get away from barbarism and want, the lower is the birth-rate. France, with a longer record of stable, highly finished culture than any other European country, has a birth-rate the lowest of all—a birth-rate so low that there are now barely enough persons born to compensate for those who die. But France is only some rungs farther down the ladder than the other great civilised nations, for they, too, are descending, though by slower steps. There is a tendency to retardation of the birth-rate in all the progressive and prosperous countries. It is extremely well marked in the Australasian States, where the general standard of material well-being is probably higher than anywhere else in the world. Amid the vile, comfortable, four-meals-a-day population of New South Wales, Victoria, and New Zealand, the rate has diminished by nearly half during the past thirty years. In the United States the increase of population (exclusive of immigration), which was over 35 per cent per decade in the middle of the last century, has now dropped to a little more than 20 per cent. In the United Kingdom the process is almost equally striking. In the ten years, 1861–1871, the increase by birth was 37·56 per cent. In the following decade it had risen to 37·89 per cent. In 1881–1891 it had fallen to 31·57 per cent, and the last report of the census of England and Wales shows that it had dropped further and descended to 28·56 per cent. The death-rate during the same half-century had fallen from an average of nearly 24 to 16·18, and it is owing to this diminution that the excess of births over deaths shows only a comparatively slight fall. But, as the Registrar-General points out in issuing the figures, "though the rate has been maintained during the last decennium as a result of the remarkable decline in mortality through the period, it must be pointed out that there is no present likelihood of prolonged continuance of this experience, since there is as yet no indication of any check in the decline of the birth-rate, while it is obvious that the death-rate cannot continue to decline indefinitely." In point of fact, over a large part of the United Kingdom the birth-rate is very little higher than that of France, although, owing to superior sanitation and hygienic laws, the death-rate remains at a

much lower level. This is still more the case in the Australian Colonies, where, in spite of the low birth-rate, the annual excess of births over deaths is proportionately larger than that of almost any other country because of the low death-rate, which in New South Wales is less than half that of France or Germany, and less than a third that of Russia.

Two interesting questions arise in connection with these facts and figures. The first, which is of extreme moment to France just now, is that of the relative decline in the population of the great nations. If most of them give indications of the same tendency at work they are not all affected to the same extent. In Russia, though the birth-rate is falling, it still remains much higher than that of any of the Western countries, and the subjects of the Tzar continue to increase by millions every year. In Germany, with a moderately high death-rate, there is still a high birth-rate, and the annual increase remains very large. During the last few years the process has been checked, and the stagnant condition of the population in the great cities and chief industrial districts has caused considerable anxiety to German statesmen, so that the Prussian Government has appointed a commission to inquire into the whole subject, and consider whether any remedies can be applied to check the decline. Nevertheless, in "the competition of the cradle," Germany still does very well in competition with its western neighbour. At the time of the Franco-German War, the population of France was very nearly equal to that of Germany, that of the former being a little over, that of the latter a little under, forty millions. During the intervening forty-two years, France has added nothing to her numbers, while Germany has put on some eight and twenty millions, so that she is now much more than half as large again as her old rival. Austria, too, Germany's ally and adjunct, has also made great advances, with the general result that France, which at the time of the Napoleonic wars and for a whole century before that, was the most populous country in Europe, except Russia, now only stands fifth on the list, having been surpassed not merely by the Muscovite millions, but by Germany, Austria, and the United Kingdom, and being now not far ahead of Italy.

It may be said, of course, that mere size and numbers are not everything. One may be quite willing to believe that forty millions of Frenchmen are of as much value to the world as four hundred millions Chinese or a hundred and sixty million Russians, mostly pauperised peasants. For many purposes perhaps they are. Unfortunately, there is one sphere of human activity in which numbers do count. In the conflicts of nations, whether they are fought out on the military, on the diplomatic, or even the industrial battlefield, man-power is an element of prime importance. As warlike appliances tend to be standardised, and as military science and discipline are no monopoly of any one country, there is a presumption that a State which can assemble a larger number of armed and drilled men than its rival is *pro facto* more likely to obtain success in a contest. The individual Frenchman is, no doubt, as good a man as the individual German, he may even be better, but there is no particular reason to suppose that two French soldiers, armed with the best modern weapons and trained under the best modern canons of the military art, would be equal to four Germans or Austrians similarly equipped and instructed, or even to four Russians or Chinamen. And it does nothing to abate the anxiety of French statesmen to know that fifty years or hundred years hence their rivals and neighbours will also become stagnant. All the nations may tend to slow down, but the process goes on more rapidly with some than with others. If the whole manhood of Germany were arrayed against that of France, the armies of the Republic would be completely outnumbered, and for a good many years to come, at any rate, the disproportion is likely to grow. Naturally, this makes the French nervous. Last year M. Millerand, the French War Minister, openly admitted in the Chamber of Deputies the weakness of France in this respect, and suggested that it might be necessary to remedy it by an extensive enlistment of negro soldiers in the African territories of the Republic. Half a million black Sepoys could be recruited for the armies of France by this means, but it is not exactly a sign of strength for a civilised nation to depend for its existence on mercenary troops levied from a semi-barbarous population. The Germans themselves are alive to the danger, and their opposition to the French acquisition of Morocco was largely based on this consideration. They were not anxious to provide France with another great recruiting-ground from which she could draw warlike reinforcements for her own stationary territorial armies.

But there is another point of equal importance. Most of the people who write about eugenics and kindred topics are less alarmed by the relative decline of certain countries than by the alleged shifting of the balance within these countries themselves. They contend that in England and elsewhere—perhaps to a greater extent in England than anywhere else—the better elements of the

population are almost stationary, while the less responsible and degenerate classes are increasing fast. This is the foundation of a good deal of talk about "race suicide," which is very common in England and America at present. It is urged that the registration figures taken as a whole, do not really give a true impression of the magnitude of the evil, for they fail to distinguish with sufficient accuracy between the birth-rates of the different classes. "It is known, however, that the rate is falling much faster among the educated and propertied minority than among the masses of unskilled labourers. In some of the agricultural countries of England, and in the slum areas of eastern London, and the great manufacturing cities, large families and early marriages still remain the rule, whereas in the favoured residential areas, and among the professional and well-to-do classes, the conditions are the reverse. So we have people pointing out that, year by year, the degenerates and the irresponsibles are gaining ground at the expense of those who are mentally, physically, and biologically "fit."

This induces them to draw pessimistic conclusions as to the future. We are in the presence, they tell us, of the survival of the unfittest. The law of natural selection, which weeded out the weakly, the unound, and the feeble-minded, is in abeyance, and modern protective legislation, assisted by modern philanthropy, not only allows the unfit person to increase and multiply, but also interferes with the stern decree of Nature that would doom a large proportion to speedy extinction. We are presented with appalling tables of statistics to show that, while the most capable and vigorous families barely maintain themselves, these feeble-minded and degenerate persons go on throwing out strains which ramify far and wide among the general population. There is an exhilarating catalogue compiled by American sociologists which professes to demonstrate that the union of a young New Jersey soldier at the time of the Revolution War with a feeble-minded girl resulted in 384 descendants, nearly all of whom have been feeble-minded, degenerate, criminals, insane, or confirmed drunkards. We are invited to believe that if this process is allowed to continue, the comparatively small number of the "biologically fit" persons will, in due course, be completely swamped by the other sort, and our civilisation will be in great danger of destruction from the internal disorders so produced. Professor Schiller, of Oxford, put the case plainly at the Eugenics Conference in these words:—"Evidence is accumulating and is already convincing the far-sighted that the present ordering of all civilised societies and particularly of our own is promoting the improvement of the human race to its degeneration, and that at a very rapid rate."

Arguing from such premises, some Eugenists are asking for drastic measures to check the process they deplore. But, as Mr. Balfour pointed out in his inaugural address at the Congress, they have not yet succeeded in convincing the great body of observers that their theories are quite so impregnable as they seem to imagine. It is by no means certain that the child of the unskilled labourer is much inferior at birth to the offspring of a university professor or a bank-director. We do not know that the innate physical and intellectual qualities of the newly-born infant bear any relation to the social standing of his parents. The baby of the gutter and the baby of the palace might grow up very much in the same way if they were supervised and educated in the same fashion from infancy upwards. Indeed, one of the American speakers at the Congress maintained that nine children out of ten in any stratum of society must be considered "well-born," and this hypothesis is probably as justifiable as the other. In India eugenics have been remorselessly practised for thousands of years; but it would be very difficult to prove that the mental and physical qualities of any individual member of a caste correspond at all closely to his hereditary, social, and economic status. Brahmins and other high-bred Hindus generally assume that the low-caste people are degraded specimens of humanity; and considering the lives of drudgery and poverty to which they are condemned, it would not be surprising if they were. But Englishmen in India who use their eyes know very well that the sweepers and other members of the outcast tribes, in spite of the misery and hardship of their environment, are often the equals of their social "betters" in physical development as well as in intelligence and character, and not seldom their superiors.

The same consideration has been suggested by Mr. Balfour in some very interesting observations which he has devoted to the subject. He throws some doubt upon the gloomy predictions of those who are inclined to dwell too insistently on the tendency towards race deterioration.

"Some of their speculations," he says, "although I do not pretend to have an answer to the arguments they advance, leave

me somewhat doubtful because I cannot see that experience supports them. For example, we are told, and I am afraid we are told truly, that the birth-rate is rapidly diminishing in the best class of the artisan population and in the middle-class, and, indeed, in all classes except the least fortunate class, and they deduce from that the uncomfortable conclusion that the population of the future will be entirely drawn from those whom they plausibly describe as the least efficient members of the community. I have no answer to that, but I have a question to put about it. If we really can divide the community in the way they divide it, I am unable to understand how we failed to have a segregation of efficiency in the past between those who are better off and those who are worse off. In other words, it seems to me there must be a cause in operation, on their theory, which would divide the efficient from the inefficient—I mean some have had gifts which made them prosperous, and they have married the daughters of those who had gifts which made them also prosperous, and, according to the theory of those to whom I have referred, they ought to have more efficient children. That has been going on for centuries. You see in history the able men making a success of life and rising in the social scale. This interchange has been going on, and we should, on this theory, expect to see those who are better equipped with everything which makes for efficiency at one end of the scale, and the least efficiently equipped at the other end, divided not merely by the accident of fortune, not merely by one man having better opportunities for education than another, but divided by an actual difference of physiological efficiency. But I do not see any trace of that in fact. I do not see that that is going on."

The truth is, the biologists are not as yet in agreement as to the very foundations of the evolution doctrine when applied to hereditary qualities. Eugenics is still attempting to deal with this disagreement, which must be reconciled or disposed of before their study can be said to rest upon a real scientific basis. So far we are in the purely tentative stage, and we are feeling our way in a mist of uncertainty towards an explanation of the physiological and biological factors which cause the decline of nations.

If science can still only shed a flickering and uncertain light upon this subject, history might perhaps lead us to some more definite conclusions. Whatever may be going to happen in the future, it ought to be possible by systematic research and careful analysis to gain some clear indication as to what has happened in the past. But it cannot be said that the attempts made in this direction have been so far particularly fruitful. Why is it that civilisations which have risen to a certain level of security and progress are suddenly arrested or else suffer under the effects of gradual weakness and decay, until at length they sink back into complete stagnation or are overwhelmed by barbarism? Why are some epochs decadent, and why do some civilisations become decrepit or moribund? Do races, like individuals, grow old and exhibit the phenomena of senescence, and why should they do so?

These are questions to which so far no complete answers have been given, and those which have come under one's notice are very far indeed from furnishing a satisfactory explanation of the facts. Most of those who have turned their attention to them seem content with broad generalisations based upon a somewhat superficial examination of such evidence as may be available. I turn, for example, to the latest work on the subject issued by Dr. A. J. Hubbard with a distinctly inviting title. I opened the book with all the more eagerness, since I had already read an admirable work by the same author on ancient dewponds and cattle-ways; but I am bound to say that my expectations were not entirely fulfilled. Dr. Hubbard is an accomplished student of history and antiquities, and what he writes cannot fail to be interesting. But he handles the large subject of racial and national decline with far less caution than he bestows on the vestiges of the neolithic age. A good deal of his essay is concerned with large assumptions as to these developments in the future which may be expected as the result of social and political tendencies assumed to be prevailing at present. This scientific and sociological clairvoyance is a kind of parlour game for literary persons which is more amusing than profitable, whether it is performed with the brilliant lucidity of Mr. H. G. Wells or adumbrated by that marvellous dialect which Mr. Benjamin Kidd regards as the language of philosophy. As to the past, Dr. Hubbard tells us that the great civilisations have in turn decayed because the force that previously made for growth was overmatched by that which made for dissolution. This does not help us very much; but the writer goes on to insist: "that the phenomena which attend this change are invariable, although they appear under the most dissimilar circumstances and in ages widely removed from one another."

(To be continued.)

* See Arthur James Balfour as *Philosopher and Thinker*, page 211, seq., and the Henry Sidgwick Memorial Lecture delivered at Newnham College, January, 1908.

* *The Fate of Empires: being an Inquiry into the Stability of Civilisation*. By A. J. Hubbard, M. D. (Longmans, Green and Co., 1913).

Rictorial Supplement.

The All-India Medical Mission.

The Landing of the Mission.

LATE on the evening of the 3rd July when Rubattino Company had already announced that the Company's steamship *Sutia* would not land earlier than the following night, a wireless message was received and communicated to those who were awaiting the Mission's arrival, stating that *Sutia* would try to arrive at 11 A.M. on the 4th instant. Although this was much more convenient hour than some time during the night, information about the change of time reached so late that it could not easily be announced to a very large number of people, who had been showing very anxious desire to welcome Dr. Ansari and his comrades back to India after their strenuous and splendid work. Steps were, however, taken to give information in the morning papers in time

home. A large steam tender was specially hired and taken out to meet *Sutia* in the stream, as owing to the congestion in the docks she was not fortunate enough to secure a berth for herself. There was some delay in the arrival of the steamer, but no sooner it had anchored than Mr. Mohamed Ali and some friends steamed away to *Sutia* and boarded her. The scene of the meeting was unique and had its sadness as well as its gladness. Dr. Ansari and nine of his comrades were lined up near the gangway and enthusiastically returned the greetings of the party that had come to welcome them. A smart drizzle had set in and made the work of carrying across the baggage to the tender one of some difficulty, particularly as the number of coolies was ridiculously small and the articles comprising the baggage both heavy and numerous. But evidently the members of the Mission had not slaved in Turkey for nothing. In about half



The All-India Medical Mission
(The Photo was taken at Bombay on the occasion of the departure of the Mission.)

for the next day's issue, but it was realized on account of Friday prayers it would not be possible for large numbers to gather together at the pier. A wireless message of welcome was sent by the *Comrade* before anything had been heard of the approximate time of arrival of *Sutia*. On the morning of the 4th every effort was made to learn when the boat would arrive, but to no purpose. At last a wireless message was received from Dr. Ansari acknowledging our greetings and stating that the boat would reach at 1 P.M. This was an unfortunate hour for the landing of the Mission as Moslem Bombay would be at its Friday prayers, but considering the hour and the weather, a fairly large crowd of enthusiastic admirers gathered together at the Ballard Pier to welcome the Mission

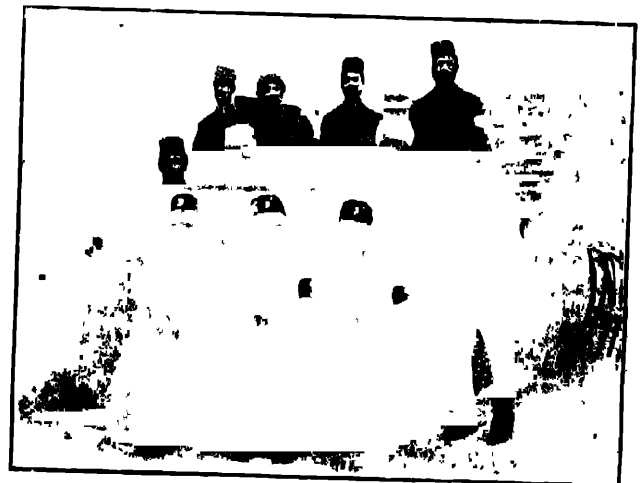
an hour the baggage was entirely cleared, and at about 1 o'clock the tender "Molly Brown" started for Ballard Pier. An Anglo-Indian worthy, who as fellow passenger had been trying hard at blinding Dr. Ansari and giving expression to weird apprehensions that with any decent luck he and his comrades would probably be delayed for the great sin that, being British subjects, they were what he in his all-knowing wisdom imagined to be foreign ambulators, provided an interesting episode by showering some sarcasm on the private tender which had come to take the Mission ashore. Rubattino Company's launches were allowed by the Mission to take only other passengers ashore, but some of them not choosing to wait for the return of the launches boarded the Mission's



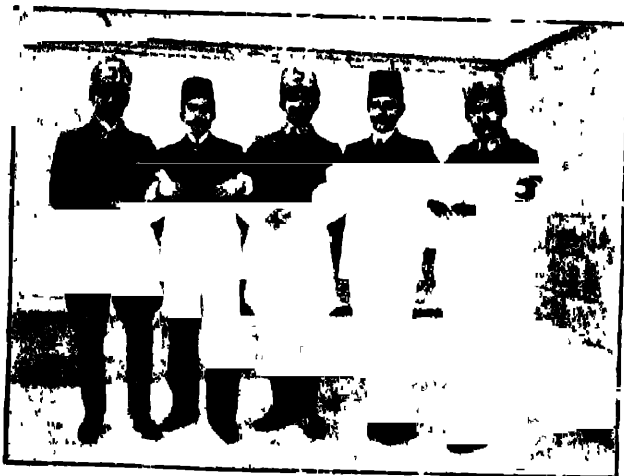
The All India Medical Mission Hospital at Chunar Kila



The Staff of the Hospital (Chunar Kila)
including two Turkish Naval Officers



The Staff of the Hospital



Dr. Anson (with members of the Mission and Capt. Arif Bey
and Capt. Umul Bey of the Turkish Navy.)



Ever Bey Ward (Chunar Kila Hospital)

special tender, and when they were politely but firmly informed that none but the members of the Mission and their friends would go in the tender, the Anglo-Indian worthy aforesaid waxed sarcastic and was treated in reply to a particularly piquant but unpublished note of the *Comrade* which, alas!

will not see the light of day in our *Tete d Tete* columns. Evidently the Mission's tender "Molly Brown" was not the lift of Messrs. Duxbury & Co., and this prototype of Mr. Evans in embryo thought it better to put up the shutters and wind up the business of sarcastic impertinence before he was treated to a hurried

5th July.

The Comrade.

iii



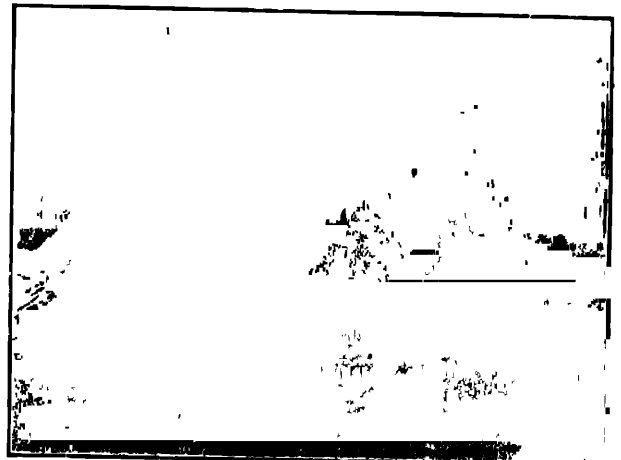
Ghazi Shukri Pasha Ward.



Hasim Omar Pasha Ward.



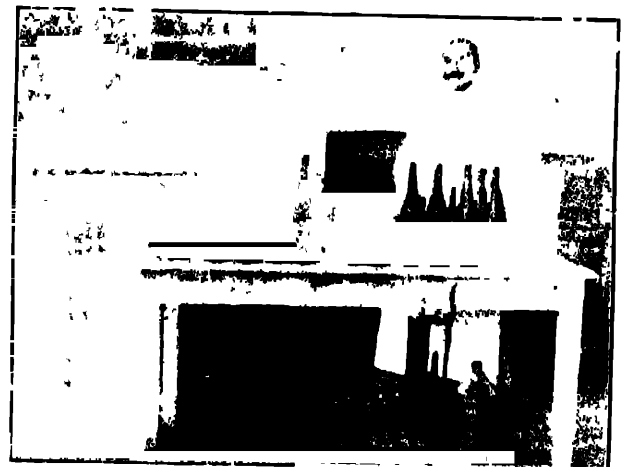
Mohamed Ali Ward.



Paid Bay Ward (Quarantine Camp).



The Dining Room of the H. W. (H. W. Ward).



The Dispensary
(Mr. Nur ul-Husn Dispenser)

and forced visit to Father Neptune and the waves that he evidently thinks he rules, in lieu of a fine of paltry Rs. 30 and a lecture with which the Presidency Magistrate had punished the swashbuckler Evans. Two younger Anglo-Indian stalwarts were hurriedly called together by the astonished, and frightened master of sarcasm and a counsel of war ensued. No declaration of war was made, nor did a state of war commerce, the only act of hostility was the shaking of a fist when "Molly Brown" had steamed away to a safe distance. In return a murderous-looking umbrella was immediately levelled in the direction of the



The Store Room (Mr. Abdul Aziz Ansari Store-Keeper)

haking fist, and we shall not sweat if a few drop-kicks were not practised on an imaginary football. Thus began and ended the naval war of the Mission and the Anglo-Indians, and after the booming of a few cannon the action closed and the rival fleets separated.

On reaching the Pier the Mission was greeted by Su Fazulbhoy Currumbho, Ebrahim and Mr. Omar Hap Yusuf Sobhani on their own behalf and on behalf of the Annamayi-Islam and by many others. They garlanded Dr. Ansari and the members of the Mission while an excellent brass band discoursed soft music.

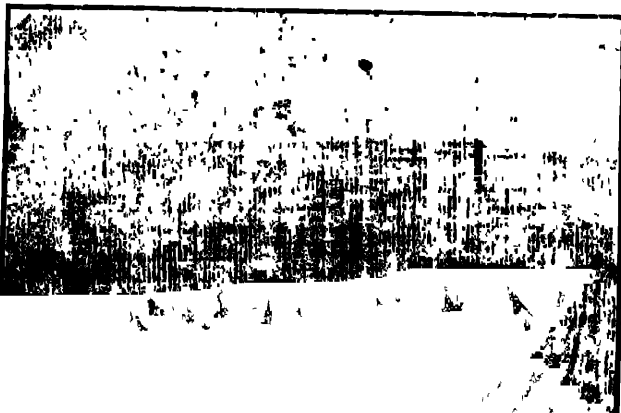


(A) Bazaar in Refugees' Camp, Secdes.

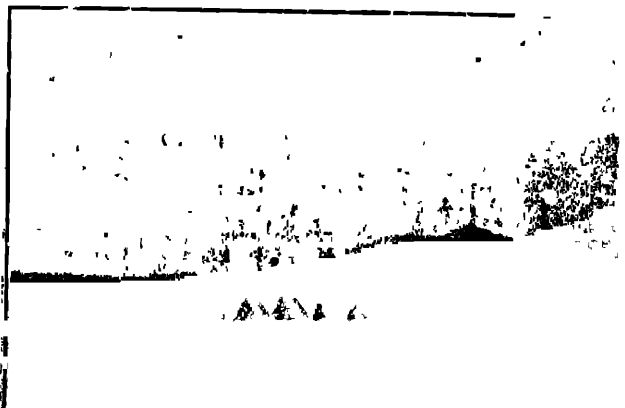
(This Photo along with the two following relates to the relief work organized through the British Consul General in the region near Sabana with funds supplied by the Comrade.)

at the Pier. The members as well as those who had come to receive them were most anxious to depart as soon as possible but they had evidently counted without their old friend, the Customs of India—that powerful agency that cries halt to every progressive movement. Nowhere throughout their long journey outward or homeward had the Mission been treated to such kind and persistent attentions as by the Customs people at the gate of India. It took much less for the Customs authorities to examine and pass the luggage of all the other passengers of the boat than of the ten returning from Turkey. But when it was made clear that it was worst came to the worst, the members of the Mission were prepared to undergo a quarantine of a fortnight at the Ballard Pier, provided the Customs authorities were also subjected to the same detention, the inquisitorial search came to a speedy end. The members of Mission had taken precautions declaring all the trophies and mementoes they had brought from the city of war. These were loaded and discharged cartridges, including cartridges served by Kiamul and Nazim, the pet patriots of ancient Turkey according to English opinion—when showed small holes from which a powder had been carefully extracted before they were served out to the soldiers of Turkey, wherewith to fight the enemies of Turkey and of Islam at the battles of Kirk Kisse

and Lule Burgaz. There were exploded and unexploded, but powderless shrapnel cartridges of all sorts and sizes. Altogether there was a small arsenal which was handed over on the table of the Customs officer and left there in safe custody till the authorities permitted the mementoes of a bloody and cruel struggle to be carried over to Delhi, where they would be exhibited along with the nucleus of a permanent Red Crescent Society of India, and numerous magic lantern slides which Dr. Ansari has brought with him. At last the Customs House barrier was cleared and the Mission departed to Noor Bagh to staidness of music and after an absence of more than six months came back to the place whence it had started on the memorable 15th December. It is the guest of Sir Fazulbhai Carrimbhoy Ebrahim. On Sunday the resident students of the Anjuman-i-Islam School entertain the Mission and on Monday the Anjuman itself is inviting a very large number of people to an evening party to meet the members of the Mission. As at present arranged the Mission will leave Bombay by the G. I. P. mail on Tuesday the 8th inst., breaks journey for some hours at Bhopal on the 9th at Har Highness, the Begum Sahib's kind invitation, and reaches Delhi on the 10th afternoon. On the way Lucknow, Jhansi, Muttra and Agra Mussalmans entertain the Mission.



(B) A General View of Refugees' Camp, Secdes.



(C) Isolation Camp for Small-pox cases, Secdes.

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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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The Week.

The Balkan War.

London, July 3.

A BELGRADE wire says that the Servians on Tuesday captured altogether 29 out of 70 guns belonging to the Rila Division, together with quantities of equipment and rifles. According to the latest reports the Bulgarians have now been entirely cleared out of the territory from which they ousted the Servians. The latter drove 24 Bulgarian battalions headlong across the River Zletvo. The cavalry charges are most effective. It is estimated that the Bulgarian casualties were 800 killed and 1,800 wounded.

A Greek official despatch reports heavy Bulgarian losses in yesterday's fighting outside Salonica. The Greek losses are admitted to have been considerable, but not excessive. Four quick-firers were captured by the Greeks. Servian report that a fight is in progress to-day near Kochana. The result is not yet known, and there are no further details, but the Ministers of Justice and Commerce, questioned on leaving a Cabinet meeting in Belgrade, declared, broadly smiling, that they were satisfied with the operations.

Reuter, wiring from Salonica, states that in a battle outside of Salonica the Greek artillery overpowered the Bulgarian artillery on which the Greek infantry made bayonet charges and pierced the Bulgarian line. The artillery cleared the Bulgarians from the whole plain of Kilkish. The Greeks, driving the Bulgarians northward, captured six officers and many other prisoners.

There is a strong feeling in diplomatic quarters here that it will be better for all parties in the Balkans if they fight it out now than they have begun. A satisfactory settlement will be easier after a short sharp conflict.

A Constantinople message says: The Press is urging the Government to hold the Tchataldja Army in readiness to take revenge on Bulgaria. It is declared here that the Porte has decided to maintain a neutral attitude towards the war keeping in view only the Enos-Midia line.

A Bukharest telegram states that the King has ordered a general mobilization.

A Sofia wire states that the Bulgarian Government flatly denies Servian successes and accuses Servia of making attacks which have been repulsed.

London, July 4.

The Greek official despatches announce the re-capture of Ghevgheli, reopening of communication with the Servians, and capture of Migrants. The despatches state that the Bulgarians in their headlong fight lost many drowned in the river Vardar. Two thousand wounded have arrived at Belgrade. A Servian official despatch says that the Servian casualties in three days' battle at Ovcepye were six thousand, and that the Bulgarians lost many more. Fighting is proceeding at Kotehana and Ishtip. Correspondents with the Greeks dwell on the extraordinary dash of the infantry. They waded for miles through marshes and stormed fortified positions with bayonets, unsupported by guns which it was impossible to use. Immediately the Bulgarians at Salonica were disarmed, the Greeks marched out. King Constantine took the command on Wednesday morning and ordered an advance of eight divisions. The first Bulgarian position was taken after a rush of the whole of the infantry for three thousand yards. A telegram from the Greek headquarters alleges that the Bulgarians massacred the inhabitants of Migrants and Bogdaniza. A telegram from Sofia states that the Bulgarians captured 1,500 Servian troops.

London, July 5.

In the absence of independent accounts of the fighting in the Balkans, the conflicting official accounts are most bewildering. It is officially stated in Athens that the Greeks gained a great victory at Kilkish in which they captured sixty guns of which seventeen were big siege pieces.

A Sofia message states that the invaders at Tezernok have been driven back across the frontier to Egri Palanka.

A Belgrade telegram states that the Servians, aided by 8,000 Montenegrins, have captured Kochana. The Bulgarian right, under the Minister for War, was annihilated. The Bulgarians have made repeated attempts to cross the Servian frontier near Zagetnar, but have been repulsed.

A Salonica telegram says that the Greeks pressing northward took Lachana, the key of Seres, after a most desperate fight in which both sides suffered heavy losses.

The Pioneer's London correspondent cables on the 4th:—Dr. Dillon telephones to the Daily Telegraph from Paris to-day, saying that Turkey contemplates intervention in the war. Dr. Dillon judges all the Powers are prepared for Roumania's incorporating the long-coveted quadrilateral strip of territory. Nobody believes she will take an active part in the hostilities.

London, July 6.

The announcement from Vienna that Rumania and Bulgaria have intimated their willingness to accept Austria's mediation has caused relief in London and Berlin. It is felt that the conflict of the Allies, at least for the present, will not be complicated by the armed intervention of Rumania.

The Greek and Bulgarian Ministers have left Sofia and Athens respectively.

A telegram from Salonica states that the Greeks have occupied Doiran.

The Greeks captured sixteen guns at Doiran.

A telegram from Sofia states that the Timok division of the Serbian army was surrounded at Krivlak and defeated yesterday after desperate resistance. Numbers of prisoners were captured together with quantities of war material. The main Serbian army on the adjoining heights looked on powerless.

A telegram from Sofia says that the Bulgarians are retaliating on the Serbians entering Bulgaria and have defeated six Serbian battalions near St. Nicholas' Pass, capturing six guns. The Bulgarians are now pursuing the Serbians.

London, July 7.

A Constantinople wire says that it is regarded here as certain that Turkey will for the present remain neutral, though she will endeavour by diplomatic means to obtain better terms compared with those embodied in the London settlement.

A Berlin telegram says that it is stated here that Turkey has requested Bulgaria instantly to evacuate Rodosto and the Marmora Coast, and commence a definitive demarcation of the Enos-Midia line.

A Belgrade message states that Serbia has sent a Note to Bulgaria breaking off relations and announcing that the Treaty of Alliance is now cancelled. Serbia officially breaks off all relations with Bulgaria from to-day, considering that Bulgaria has perfidiously broken the alliance.

Reuter, wiring from Sofia, says that a Bulgarian semi-official note denies that Bulgaria took the aggressive, and says that the alleged Serbian victories are not true. The note accuses Serbia and Greece of making a preconcerted attack on Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Ministers at Belgrade and Cetinje have been recalled. Bulgarian interests have been entrusted to Russia.

George has declared a blockade of the coast from Enos to the mouth of the River Struma. Neutral vessels proceeding to Bulgarian ports on the Black Sea will be searched.

A telegram from Belgrade says that Serbians have retaken Karivolak after desperate fighting, driving out the Bulgarians, who fled, abandoning rifles and ammunition. The Serbians are now pursuing the Bulgarians.

A Salonica message says: The Greeks are now marching on Seres. Eight thousand Greek wounded are now here.

A telegram from Belgrade says that the Serbians have fifteen thousand men *hors de combat*. The Bulgarians have from twenty to twenty-five thousand casualties. The Bulgarian losses have been enhanced by bad organisation and defective ambulance service.

An Athens telegram states that the Greek losses so far are estimated at ten thousand. The Bulgarian losses are also very heavy.

A Constantinople message states that the Porte has telegraphed to Dr. Danoff, the Bulgarian Premier, requesting an immediate evacuation of territory within the Enos-Midia line. Preparations for an advance of troops are in progress.

London, July 8.

Reuter wires from Belgrade that cholera has appeared among the wounded arriving here. It is reported to be raging among the Bulgarians at Ishtip.

Inasmuch as every statement from the Serbian side is instantly and flatly contradicted from Sofia and *vice versa*, it is very difficult to ascertain the truth; but the losses of all three combatants have undoubtedly been tremendous, and it appears that the Greeks achieved a remarkable success which the Bulgarians do not deny during the five days' continuous fighting ending in the capture of Doiran. According to some reports the Bulgarians are indifferent to the Greek successes and have now completed their concentration and are advancing from Kustendil upon Tiro and Vranja, by which they hope to cut the Serbians off from Belgrade, while effectually forcing a wedge between the Greeks and Serbians. Meanwhile, Turkey has demanded from Bulgaria the immediate evacuation of all territory south of the Enos-Midia line.

A telegram from Salonica says that a visit to the battlefield of Kilikish fully confirms the impression that the Greek troops displayed fine qualities. They had captured entrenchments and proceeded *en echelon* along an amphitheatre in the hills with trenches the height of a man and artillery carefully concealed, all-implying weeks of labour. Most of the trenches were connected by telephone with headquarters. The Greeks pressed on under a devastating fire and under a blazing sun, losing enormously, until they could use the bayonets. They then charged the trenches and thousands fell on both sides, but the

Bulgarians were eventually forced into a headlong rout and fled northward, pursued by cavalry. Many Greek soldiers are now decisively wearing decorations found on the battlefield conferred on the Third Division for the capture of Adrianople.

The Bulgarian Minister at Cetinje has been recalled.

A Bukharest message says that the Crown Prince has been appointed Commander-in-Chief.

London, June 9.

Correspondents at Bukharest state that the success of the Rumanian mobilisation has exceeded all expectations, 600,000, instead of 400,000, having joined the colours, including thirty thousand Jews. The enthusiasm of the population is greater than that at the moment of the declaration of the Rumanian independence.

The Rumanian Minister at Constantinople conferred with the Grand Vizier yesterday.

A Budapest message says: Rumanian soldiers yesterday fired on a Hungarian steamer carrying Bulgarian troops on the Danube, killing one.

A Belgrade message states that it is stated here that the Bulgarians have been routed near Ishtip, which the Serbians have re-captured. The battle was desperate, and casualties heavy.

Mr. McCullagh, correspondent of the *Daily News*, has been expelled from Serbia for sending a telegram describing jeering crowds in Belgrade heaping indignities on Bulgarian prisoners. Mr. McCullagh, in a later despatch from an Austrian town, described the Balkan peoples as being brutalized by war and actuated by insane hatred of one another.

An inspired German Note, while admitting that the localisation of the war may in certain circumstances be more difficult than in the case of the Turco-Balkan War, says there is not the slightest indication that any Power will be induced to depart from its affirmed resolve not to be drawn into the conflict. The best proof of the calmness of the situation is the departure of the Kaiser on a voyage to Norway accompanied by his Chief of Staff.

Reuter learns that Rumania intends occupying territory from Turtukoi on the Danube to Balchik on the Black Sea. Moreover, Rumania will not permit any disturbance of the balance of power in the Balkans prejudicial to herself. Therefore her army will intervene in favour of Serbia or Bulgaria, if either is dangerously threatened.

A Vienna message states that it is reported here that Bulgaria has intimated her readiness to sign peace, and that the Serbian and the Bulgarian commanders are negotiating an armistice, the losses on both sides having been so enormous and fears of cholera having arisen.

A Belgrade message says: The Serbians' reoccupation of Ishtip took place after the most sanguinary battle yet fought in the Balkans. The Serbians, with Greeks, advancing from Strumnitza are pursuing the Bulgarians.

London, July 10.

A Sofia wire says: It is officially stated that the Bulgarians yesterday recorded successes along the whole line, repulsing all the Serbian attacks, in which the Serbian losses were enormous, and then routing them with counter-attacks. The Bulgarians are pursuing the enemy towards Egri Palanka. An official statement declares that a sanguinary battle is in progress near Kochana where the Serbians have been repulsed with considerable losses. The Greeks north of Doiran have been repulsed with great loss.

A Belgrade wire says: The Bulgarians have been driven back along the entire frontier of Serbia with considerable loss. The wounded already arrived at Belgrade exceed the total of the wounded during the whole of the war with Turkey.

Reuter, wiring from Constantinople, says that the Bulgarian Plenipotentiary, M. Natchevitch, has arrived here to discuss the Porte's demand for the evacuation of territory within the Enos-Midia line. Warlike activity in Constantinople resembles that prevailing at the time of the war in Thrace.

The claims of Bulgaria to important victories are wholly incompatible with the Greek and Serbian accounts which the European public is disposed to credit.

A telegram to the *Times* from Salonica gives a graphic description of a journey made in the wake of the advancing Greeks. Waggon loads of wounded blocked the stations and ruined villages and smoking townships dotted the countryside. Roads were littered with discarded impediments, and in one place fields were encumbered and the air was tainted with unburied Bulgarian corpses.

A telegram to the *Times* from Sofia says that the firing of guns on the frontier was heard yesterday. Nevertheless complete confidence prevails that Bulgaria will be ultimately victorious. All reservists who have hitherto been excused, have been called to the Colours and are readily responding, even semi-convalescents returning to their regiments.

The latest reports represent the Greeks as being in possession of the St. Rumiata defile, and the Bulgarians in full retreat upon Patritch, abandoning numerous guns. The Greeks have occupied Kavalla which the Bulgarians evacuated after bombardment by the Greek fleet.

The reports, that Bulgaria has intimated at St. Petersburg and Vienna her readiness for peace, are not corroborated, but it is announced in Paris that the French Minister at Sofia has been instructed to advise Bulgaria very strongly to come to terms with enemy. Other Foreign Ministers are making similar representations.

Later.

It is understood that Bulgaria has made at Petersburg certain enquiries regarding the terms of peace, but nothing has been received officially in London in this connexion, the probabilities, however, points in that direction.

Tripoli.

A Rome message says: The Arabs have cut up a detachment of Italian engineers making roads near Cyrene. One hundred and seven Italians were killed and 110 wounded. The Italian soldiers who were cut up near Cyrene by Arabs consisted of three companies of engineers commanded by Major Billi, escorted by two companies of infantry, a half squadron of cavalry, and a field gun section. Major Billi retired fighting all the way and reinforcement commanded by Major Mighaccio came from Fort Salsa. The troops succeeded in reaching the fort, though they were harassed by fierce and continuous attacks. Seven officers were killed, including Majors Billi and Mighaccio.

Persia.

With regard to Sir Edward Grey's statement as to the withdrawal of 900 Russian troops from Persia during the last six weeks, it is probable that reference was meant to the departure of a battalion from Mashad.

Muscat.

A DETACHMENT of the 2nd Rajputs from Bushire landed at Muscat on July 9th.

Morocco.

FIVE thousand rebels furiously attacked Alcazar recently, but were repulsed losing a hundred killed. Spanish casualties were 8 killed and 21 wounded.

South Africa.

In the House of Commons on 10th July Mr. Harcourt informed Mr. Morrell that he was aware of the complaints of Indians against the South African Immigration Law and he hoped to lay paper on the table shortly.

The Public Services Commission.

Giving evidence before the Public Services Commission on 10th July Professor Lodge, of the Edinburgh University, thought that the ordinary teaching at the University was sufficient, given the requisite ability, to enable a student to compete successfully for the Indian Civil Service under the present system. He deprecated the lowering of the age of admission. His opinion in university was averse to the suggestion of the establishment of civilians. Replying to a question whether Indian students found difficulty in getting on with their Scottish colleagues, the witness remarked that it was difficult to answer. He did not wish his reply to be made public, and was therefore allowed to give the answer privately. Continuing, the witness expressed the opinion that the men now entering the Indian Civil Service were a much abler class than those who entered at an earlier age, prior to 1891. Dr. Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, likewise deprecated the lowering of the age of entry. He considered that India was at present getting from Oxford a most able and most industrious set of men. Asked his opinion as to why the Indian Civil Service was less popular than formerly, Dr. Warren said that the Home Civil Service was more popular as the appointments were more numerous. There was also the fact that the Indian Civil Service was more criticised both at home and abroad.

Giving evidence before the Public Services Commission Mr. Stanley Leather, Civil Service Commissioner, said that if the Commission decided that the lowering of the age was desirable, he would then be inclined to fix the age at eighteen and nineteen, with two competitions spread over one year, instead of one competition spread over two years. The witness was of opinion that examination could easily be adapted to the curriculum of any public school. A foreign language should be compulsory. He opposed separate training and instruction for Indian Civil Servants which might have a narrowing effect. Mr. Leather partially endorsed the views of Dr. Warren. Replying to Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Leather said the Home Civil Servant received five or six hundred a year at the end of fifteen years, with possible promotion to nine hundred, while the Indian Civil Servants had a reasonable hope of an income of two thousand.

TETE À TETE



In our leading article last week entitled "The Cawnpore Sacrilege,"

A Correction.

we had stated on the strength of a letter received from Cawnpore that "on 30th June Sir James Meeson visited Cawnpore and inspected the Machhi Bazar Mosque. The Mussalmans felt that His Honour's visit would lead to an amicable settlement of the matter." We are, however, informed by His Honour Sir James Meeson that this is incorrect. His Honour, we understand, has never seen the mosque and has not been in Cawnpore since last November. We regret an error of this kind should have crept into our statements, which we take the first opportunity to correct.

Now that a definite date has been fixed for the meeting of the

The Moslem University.

Moslem University Foundation Committee, we trust every effort will be made to decide one way or the other the vexed questions relating to the character and constitution of the Moslem University. One of the main points at issue is whether the University should be of the federal type or, what is generally described as a teaching University, localised at Aligarh. Another main point—and in the opinion of some, the most important point—is the character of the control and supervision to be exercised over the University by the Governor-General in Council. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler had, long ago, defined the attitude of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on these two important questions. The Secretary of State's decisions had, however, created intense disappointment and dismay among the Moslem community. Indeed, the feelings of the Mussalmans over the matter have been of such an emphatic nature that they have not yet been able to find a way out of the impasse. The mass of the Moslem opinion is decidedly against the terms offered by the Government. And it is equally hard for the community to abandon a project which embodies its cherished dream of forty years, which had been nourished by the thoughts, the sacrifices, the sorrows of its greatest men and which had only recently united every section of the people, the rich and the poor, the highest as well as the lowest in the land, in a supreme effort to bring it to fruition. This has been the one dilemma of the community, and it has naturally created the awkward situation that exists to-day. Those among the Mussalmans who urge that the scheme should be altogether abandoned under the circumstances, give a counsel of despair. The scheme cannot be abandoned as long as the community is loyal to its ideals and faithful to the memory of the gifted leaders who had in face of tremendous difficulties prepared its educational chart and pointed the way. The only course open to the Mussalmans, consistent with their self-respect and duty to themselves, is to clearly decide first of all what they wish to have, and then to press their demand on the Government. We doubt if the Government will deliberately go against the united wishes of a whole community. But even if no reasonable and fair solution of the difficulty is reached, the failure should lead to fresh exertions, the cause would become all the more sacred and the fight still more inspiring and full of hope. And no one need despair of the ultimate result. We hope, therefore, that the Foundation Committee will arrive at definite decisions on the main points at issue in a business-like and practical spirit and not waste its time in a sterile discussion of first principles or in a futile din about personal and sentimental trifles. A correspondent, whose letter we publish elsewhere, doubts the wisdom of deciding momentous questions by the vote of "people at large." It is too late in the day surely to set about to measure the capacity and conscience of democracies. They are, for the time being, as fundamental a fact of life as the air and the sea. The "people at large" have paid for the University, and they have every right to have a

voice in determining its broad character and constitution. And in deciding "momentous questions" people's instincts are more certain and surer than the judgments of the cynics.

A DRAFT of the National Bank of India for Rs. 7,099-12-0 was sent by us to the Grand Vizier on 26th April on behalf of Messrs. Mohamed Yasin and Mohamed Shafi, Merchants, Delhi, as a contribution towards the relief of war-sufferers. We from His Highness Prince Said Halim, the Grand Vizier, acknowledging the receipt with thanks of £472. The amount sent was £472-18-4 and Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, General Manager of the All-India Medical Mission, has sent us an informal receipt for the full amount given to him by the English-knowing Secretary of His Highness the late Grand Vizier. He writes to say that a formal one would be sent officially.

The latest Blue-book on Persia is a dismal record. Its perusal only serves to increase general anxiety respecting the safety and welfare of that afflicted land. All the departments of the State are utterly disorganised, especially the Treasury, which is literally empty and unable to pay the servants of the Government. Government itself under the circumstances is only a misnomer and a sham. The roads are absolutely unsafe, brigandage is of no infrequent occurrence, and civil strife has paralysed most of the provinces. The ponderous Blue-book throws little direct light on the causes that are responsible for this awful chaos. They have been repeatedly indicated and discussed in these columns, and we need not weary the reader with another dreary recital. Persia has never had a chance to shape her destiny, and now that all hope seems to be at an end she is being accused of a hopeless failure. The Anglo Russian Convention, which was ostensibly designed to preserve her independence, has wrought her destruction and sealed her doom. Russia has been the arch-villain of the piece, while England, mildly protesting, has followed tamely after heels. Sir Edward Grey's Persian policy has been all accommodation, surrender, drift—one long apology to cover the naked resolve of the Muscovites to partition the country. Can Persia still be saved? Is there any heroic remedy to preserve her from dissolution? The *Times* regards partition as inevitable. And the *Times* in such cases has rarely been a false prophet of evil!

We are informed that two young Moslems of the Ahmadiya community, possessing considerable qualifications, have left India on the 2nd inst. to assist Khawaja Kamal-ud-din in his missionary work in England. Both the gentlemen belong to the Ahmadiya sect, and are held in esteem by the followers of the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian. We hope, for the success of the undertaking, that missionary work in foreign lands will be essentially Islamic and will not be vitiated by sectarianism or insistence on some particular dogma or ritual in preference to broad Islamic teaching.

The past few days have been crammed with events of great magnitude in the Balkans. The Bulgarians, after sharp, swift struggles have been completely defeated by the Serbians and the Greeks, and the losses on both sides have been enormous. Rumania has also declared war on Bulgaria and her armies have entered and occupied Bulgarian territory. King Ferdinand's dreams have been cruelly shattered, and he is now loudly imploring for peace. Russian intervention has been invoked by the Bulgarian Government and an armistice is being arranged. Even if the struggle proceeds no farther, the Bulgarian pretensions to parts of Macedonia will have to be considerably revised. The end, however, is not yet, and many more surprises may be in store for Europe before its favourite brigands in the Balkans settle down in peace. Turkey's attitude has so far been merely passive, but it is doubtful if she would remain steadily indifferent if the struggle is prolonged. And we will like to know those in Europe who would be ready to accuse her of unworthy conduct, if she elects to practice the most European method of taking expediency as her supreme guide.

The Government of India were well advised in publishing the proposals of the Bombay Government relating to the Hedjaz Pilgrim Traffic, with a view to ascertain Moslem opinion on the subject. The proposals have been considered by representative Moslem leaders in every part of the country, and they have been unanimously

declared to be unsatisfactory and likely to lead to greater hardships, and, in any case, quite inadequate to meet the situation. We have already discussed the whole question at considerable length and would only repeat that the proposed grant of monopoly of the traffic to a single shipping company would aggravate the existing evils. The main object to be aimed at should be, not to restrict the volume of the annual traffic, but to increase facilities for pilgrimage by securing cheap rates of passage money and rendering the conditions of voyage to and from Jeddah as easy as possible. We have already indicated the broad lines along which this object can be attained. It is primarily the duty of the Mussalmans themselves to consider the whole question thoroughly and to formulate necessary and adequate measures in which Government help may be sought to the best advantage. The Government of India will have, in the meantime, to consider whether they can proceed further with the Bombay proposals in view of the strong and emphatic protests that they have aroused. In reply to a recent telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy, Mr. Badroddin Abdullah Koor was assured that "the Government of India do not propose to take any action in the matter without full consideration of the opinion of the Muhammadan public." The opinion of the Moslem public is no longer in doubt. The All-India Moslem League and other important Anjumanas have declared the Bombay proposals to be unacceptable. Reports of meetings continue to reach us from different parts of the country in which similar views have been expressed. In the circumstances the proper course for the Government of India would be to reject the proposals of the Bombay Government and to appoint a representative committee of Mussalmans, that would go into the whole question and formulate measures for its adequate solution.

We publish elsewhere a letter from "A Muhammadan" making certain suggestions for the consideration of Sir James Meeson's Government with reference to the vacancy in the cadre of the District Judges caused by the sad and untimely death of Mr. Hasan Ali. We trust His Honour in making his choice will accord these suggestions the weight they deserve. As the *Advocate* recommends, the post should go to some competent member of the Provincial Judicial Service in Oudh. Our contemporary puts forward the names of some Hindu Subordinate Judges as individually fit for promotion to District Judgeship. We have no desire to call into question the merits of these gentlemen; but, as our correspondent shows conclusively, the claims of some Muhammadan Subordinate Judge to promotion should receive preference in this case. The figures that he gives in support of his argument are eloquent enough in themselves and they will, we hope, be duly weighed by the Provincial Government in making the appointment.

We have received a copy of the code of regulations and curriculum for the Experimental Weaving Station, Benares, which was started by the Government in October, 1911. It is under the control of a committee of management consisting of eleven members. The Commissioner of the Benares Division, the Director of Industries (U. P.) and the Collector of Benares are its *ex-officio* members, while the rest of the members are Indians. The objects of the School are "(1) to undertake experimental work for the benefit of the weaving industry and, as far as circumstances permit, to afford assistance in technical difficulties, and (2) to provide practical instruction in improved methods of weaving, including preparation and finishing, and in hosiery making." Applications for admission into the School are considered by the Head Master. Candidates should be below 21 years of age and should apply through their legal guardians. The institution is divided into two branches—weaving and hosiery—in each of which a junior and an artisan course are provided. No fees are charged at present, and all tools and machines, books, stationary and instruments are supplied free to students. On the other hand, stipends and scholarships of varied value are granted to students at the discretion of the Committee. This pecuniary help is too small to enable professional weavers to support themselves, but it is gratifying to observe that a provision exists to the effect that payment is made to them for work done in the school. However, it is surprising that no hostel or boarding house is provided for students, who must make their own arrangements. It is to be noted that students at such institutions are ordinarily of humble parentage, and it is in cases extremely difficult for a large number of them to find healthy quarters in a big town like Benares. We trust that in their zeal to make the institution a real success the authorities would see to an early removal of this great defect in their present arrangements.

The Comrade.

The Cawnpore Sacrilege.

II.

LAST week we have, for the first time, referred to a matter which had been exercising many of our Urdu contemporaries for weeks and have explained, in the course of our comments on the Cawnpore sacrilege, the reasons for our own silence. It may possibly be considered to be no part of a journal's duty—and in fact contrary to it—to carry on an argument with the Government in private, while withholding the controversy, and even the facts of the case, from the public. But we have no belief in mere conventions; and, considering the position of the people and the Government in this country, we prefer to be guided by the needs of the situation rather than the precepts and the practice of journalism in other countries. But we confess success has not always attended our policy. Government officials, while only too anxious to suppress newspaper agitation against their pet policies and measures, indirectly invite newspaper agitation themselves, and teach the public to distrust efforts made behind the scenes to remove friction between the Government and the people. In connection with the Cawnpore sacrilege the *Pioneer*, that submissive handmaiden of the Services, writes of "the artificial agitation which has been industriously fanned in some of the Moslem newspapers." Evidently what the *Pioneer* does not know is not knowledge, and, to quote one instance only, it writes as if the neighbouring Hindu temple is not being spared—and rightly—in deference to the remonstrances of the Hindus, stating that "it does not interfere with the alignment of the new road." This is we suppose chiefly because it is right in the centre of the new road! But even if this ill-informed and misinformed journal had a ray of the light of non-official knowledge thrown on its editorial penitralia, we doubt whether it would have had the honesty and the courage to publish facts as they are. If the Moslem newspapers have written a line the Mussalmans of Cawnpore have pressed them to write ten columns on the subject of their grievance, and it is a lie—in spite of the fact that it is an Anglo-Indian paper that gives currency to it—that the agitation has been an artificial one and owes its origin or any of its intensity to Moslem newspapers.

For our part, we had been repeatedly pressed by a large number of visitors from Cawnpore, not to mention urgent requests by post and wire, to write on the subject; but as the correspondence with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, which we published last week, shows, we preferred to allay such excitement as already prevailed among the Mussalmans rather than add to it by airing the grievance of the Cawnpore Mussalmans, and we trusted that if no one else would appreciate our desire to settle this matter, so to speak, out of court, at least His Honour Sir James Meston would do it. But such appreciation, to be of any use, should have been shown in action rather than in words, and to the last we pinned our faith to the sagacity and statesmanship of Sir James Meston. But now that the sacrilege has been committed, and apparently under his orders, or at least with his approval, and we ruminate over all we felt and thought and did during the six weeks preceding the sacrilege, we confess we regret that we did not lead a public agitation against the proposed action of Messrs Sim and Tyler six weeks ago. It is much to acquire the good opinion of one of the character and attainments of Sir James Meston, it is still more to acquire a general reputation for allaying rather than creating excitement in a country where excitement is only too often apt to result in a breach of peace. But even now, after having patiently represented to him the Moslem point of view time after time in private letters and telegrams rather than commenting publicly on the affair, we are not sure that we shall retain the good opinion of Sir James Meston, or convince a single bureaucrat that we have in any way assisted the friends of law and order. It is at times such as this that one is tempted to follow the lead of Bengal journalism, for it has all the "sixpences" of the profession and none of the "kicks". These the bureaucracy keeps in reserve as a reward for those who have a weakness for official susceptibilities and who think in the words of the poet:

خیال خاطر احباب چاہتی مردم * ایسی نہیں نہ لکجائے آگینوں کو

Sir James Meston has acknowledged both the temperateness and the appropriateness of our request for a reconsideration of his decision, and the fairness and friendliness as well as the frankness with

which we approached him in this matter. We can do no less than to acknowledge the great courtesy which has characterized Sir James's replies to our letters and telegrams. But in spite of the extreme polish of his phrases and a manner which is entirely his own, we have never had any difficulty in understanding the true import of Sir James's words, so that it is bare justice to add that his courtesy never disguised his frankness. But grateful as we are to him for having taken such pains to make his own view of the matter clear, we confess what has been served before us has tickled our palate far more than it has satisfied the appetite of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore.

In one particular, however, even the taste in the mouth has not been pleasant. We certainly never expected after all this courtesy that the reply to our letter of the 9th June would be sent by His Honour a day after the accomplishment of that against which we had so earnestly pleaded. We acknowledge that the letter of the editor of a newspaper is not entitled to the same consideration that the petition of Udai Patni for mercy deserved but did not receive. But we wonder if there was a "forty-eight hours' rule" or some similar doctrine of bureaucratic ethics which prevented any greater consideration being paid by Sir James Meston to a memorial submitted in person by the famous Taluqdar of Sitapur than had been paid by his predecessor to the petition for mercy submitted by the infamous zemindars of the same district? Sir James's courtesy has been unable, even if it has ever attempted, to disguise his firm beliefs that what the officials say must be unreservedly accepted, that what the officials desire to do must receive the backing of the head of the Indian Civil Service in the Province, and that the best policy to deal with Moslem feelings is to teach the Mussalmans their proper place in an official cosmology wherein the Anglo-Indian at one time refused to occupy any place but the first, and after the sagacious and cheerful acceptance of the inevitable by the New Statesmanship equally persistently refused to occupy any place lower than the second! Evidently the Moslem "nuisance" was discussed in the highest circles recently and Sir James's view prevailed. The Cawnpore sacrilege may, therefore, be taken to be the first of a series of lessons which the undisciplined Moslem is to be taught, and it therefore mattered little whether a mere newspaper received a back number as an official reply to the advance copy of a non official application, or the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad was shocked out of a beautiful dream of promises.

We have seen how Sir James Meston has treated our request. But let us examine the request itself for a moment. We asked for no immediate orders accepting the resolution passed by the Municipal Board on the 1st April to spare the mosque and rejecting the proposal of the Municipal Chairman and his three supporters not one of whom was either a Hindu or a Mussalman. We trusted that Sir James at least would not make such a hollow mockery of local self-government in the one town of the United Provinces where business flourishes most and the Municipal Board is most likely to be composed of men of business. All that we had requested His Honour to do was to suggest a "consultation with Moslem ulama and lawyers before further action is taken." In His Honour's own words, this was a "very temperate and appropriate request," but—it remained unheeded just the same. Sir James did not think that this agitation was "based on a genuine religious grievance." The matter did not contain "any element of doubt." The outcry was "belated" and Mr. Sim, the Chairman of the Municipality, had given evidence which was considered "definite," and its correctness was "unreservedly accepted." When the demolition on which Mr. Sim had set his heart had become an accomplished fact and could be presented to the Mussalmans as one more "final" decision, we are assured that the matter had been "reconsidered with much care, and in consultation with many visitors of all classes." This is the worst feature of secret consultations that no one is permitted to judge whether the "visitors of all classes" contained any but seekers after titles which official almoners distribute so lavishly as a largesse among toadies just as willing to sell government as they are to sell their own consciences and their communities. But in a matter such as this we cannot conceive that any person with the least claim to be consulted advised His Honour to defy the Municipal Board, defy the Mussalmans of Cawnpore, defy the whole of Moslem India and defy the law of Islam and the law of the land which has secured to the Mussalmans of India the undisturbed observance of their Personal Law. Will His Honour favour the Mussalmans with the names of those of their co-religionists whom he chose to consult and who supported his decision?

But what is the use of re-considering with much care and in consultation with many visitors of all classes orders which Sir James Meston himself tells us were already "final so far as I was concerned"? We should have thought that His Honour would regard it as a compliment to himself that, instead of approaching, or being advised to approach, a higher authority, the

Muslimans of Cawnpore went to him, and were sent to him, once more with a humble memorial. If the Hon Mr Shahid Hussain had failed, it was hoped that the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad would succeed. When the second memorial was taken to Sir James Meeson to Simla by the Raja Sahib in person, every effort was made to keep the matter out of the papers—every lie that the *Pioneer* may invent to the contrary notwithstanding. Will the Raja Sahib now tell us whether he was not reassured by His Honour only a few days before the sacrilege was ordered? Did he leave Sir James with the conviction that his orders were final and would no more bear an alteration than the laws of the Medes and Persians, or did he return with hopes of an amicable settlement? The Raja Sahib owes it to the community that unreservedly followed him to explain all that took place, and Sir James Meeson owes it to him to explain whether His Honour had given him any assurance or encouragement. It matters little in comparison how we were treated in the matter; but Government can ill afford to place one in the position of Raja Sir Ali Muhammad Khan in so embarrassing a situation.

Even assuming that Sir James's orders were final, they were, as His Honour himself says, final only "so far as I was concerned." It is true that His Excellency the Viceroy has not hitherto condescended even to acknowledge the telegraphic appeals addressed to him. But it is not always in this manner that the Government of India treats the decisions of Local Governments. The Government of His Excellency Lord Carmichael has not recently met with the same good fortune, and if there is any sense and purpose in the subordination of all Local Governments to the Supreme Government, then surely Sir James Meeson owed it to the Governor-General in Council as much as to the Mussalmans to tell them clearly and frankly that his orders were final, and to give them an opportunity of appealing against them to the Government of India before he ordered the sacrilege.

Surely Sir James Meeson could not have thought, like the *Pioneer*, that "with the action taken by the Magistrate of Cawnpore on Tuesday morning in the matter of the Machhi Bazar mosque we shall have heard the last of an affair of which a good (sic) too much has been said already." He ought to know, even if he does not, that a Moslem can pray practically everywhere and under all circumstances. Forty thousand Tylers and Sims cannot prevent that. But the principle cannot be so lightly sacrificed that not an inch of ground dedicated to the worship of the One God of Islam can be given up for any other purpose so long as there is a single True Believer who holds his life as a feather's weight in the scale against the everlasting and exalted commandments of the Giver of all life. "To deflect the road or to allow the *dalan* to project into it," to quote Sir James Meeson himself, "would in itself have been a small matter." That this was not done was not because Mussalmans do not agree "to discriminate between the big things and the small," but because more than a century and a half after the battle of Plassey even the best of Englishmen are so woefully deficient in discriminating between the big things and small according to the Moslem scale of values. Sanitary roads and the prestige of Mr. Sim are not matters of conscience where no collection is possible and no projection can be allowed to remain. If the full observance of his faith is permitted to every Moslem subject of His Majesty by law and by Royal Proclamation, then no orders contrary to that are final, and His Honour is certainly mistaken if he thinks that without rebuilding the demolished portion of the Cawnpore mosque he can remove "any feeling of soreness" by his visit to Cawnpore next month. He has to deal with something far graver and far more deeply felt, namely, the universal apprehension that nothing is too sacred where official prestige is concerned. We owe a duty to Government, but we owe a duty to God as well, and let us assure Government that those who will deny what is due to God would never render unto Caesar what is due to Caesar. Sir James Meeson can yet retrace his steps by restoring the demolished portion of the mosque himself; and we hold it even nobler to acknowledge an error and rectify it than not to have cried at all. But if this sort of valour is regarded as the better part of discretion, and if obstinacy is flouted as firmness, "then goodbye to the usefulness of government," at least to the usefulness of Sir James Meeson's government. The Mussalman will then have to appeal to powers higher than Sir James, and to put their trust in God—the final source of all power and One in Whom none has ever placed his trust in vain.

We are tempted to discuss the details of the affair no farther, because it is clear from the action already taken that His Honour attaches little value to any evidence other than the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Sim, the correctness of which he unreservedly accepts. But we are unwilling to give way to such a temptation, and shall discuss the details of the affair still further in our next. In the meantime let us assure Sir James Meeson that Cawnpore Mussalmans are prepared to disprove the story retailed to His Honour that before or after obliging Mr. Tyler by permitting him to walk into the mosque with his shoes on and create evidence against themselves, the Mussalmans of Cawnpore obliged Mr. Sim still further by themselves crowd-

ing into the mosque in company with him in the same manner. If Mr. Sim has any pretensions to tell the truth, he must shame the unnameable forthwith by telling us when he had the honour of desecrating the Cawnpore mosque, and who were his companions in the sinful act. All cannot equally unreservedly accept his *ipse dixit*.

In the next place, let us assure Sir James Meeson that he is evidently misinformed if he is led to believe that even in the days of Mr. Campbell and Sir John Hewett the demolition of the mosque was decided upon and not of the temple. As a matter of fact it is just the other way. Well may the Mussalmans of Cawnpore say:

کن جانبد دیگران ی کند * ولی نیر بر جان مسلمان
زمی غمزہ کر شوخی و جابکی * کجای نماید کجای زند

(He draws the bow in the direction of others, but strikes the arrow on our life. Oh the coquetry, that with mischief and defiance he aims at one and strikes at the other!) If the Cawnpore authorities are sure of their facts why do they not publish all the papers in this connection? Why do they refuse to give to the Cawnpore Mussalmans a copy of the map showing the original alignment of the A B road? Why do they not produce the resolution of the Municipal Board of a date anterior to the 1th of March, 1919, sanctioning the demolition of the mosque, and why do they not publish a copy of the notice served on the *mutawallis* of the mosque in accordance with the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act bearing an earlier date than the irregular notice issued on the 29th of June?

We know what we write about, but of one thing we must emphatically say we are certain, and it is this that we shall not sit unmoved if the usual *zabardasti* tactics of the U. P. are resorted to and any undue pressure is brought to bear on the *mutawallis* of the Cawnpore mosque to accept a price for a sacrilege that concerns every Moslem subject of His Majesty. Having failed to tempt them with offers of making the mosque "an ornament to the road and the Bazar," are the authorities of Cawnpore bent on making the Mussalmans jealous of the Hindus? In this matter the Hindus have earned the gratitude of the Mussalmans by giving them every reasonable support in the teeth of Mr. Sim's headstrong opposition, and the Mussalmans would merit every opposition from the Hindus if, after all this, they give way to jealousy so assiduously sought to be created by means of letters addressed to the *mutawallis* which appear to be inspired and which we have reason to believe are written, or at least dictated by lurelings. Many of these have been sent to the Hon the Raja Sahib and two of them are at this moment before us. The *mutawallis* are exhorted to strike a bargain with the authorities immediately "lest the adjoining land now offered for the extension of the mosque be given to the Hindus for a temple." To our mind it would be preferable to worship the God of Islam in the temple rather than on a piece of land given as the price of an insult offered to Islam. We have heard a good deal about the mistaken belief of the people that the British policy is to "divide and rule." If Sir James Meeson would like to root out this mistaken notion from the minds of the people let him look a little more closely into the tactics of Cawnpore and the mean and mischievous letters circulated with such unusual assiduity. It will be by such resolute action that he will best prove his desire to unite the Hindus and Mussalmans.

Delhi's Welcome.

When the date of arrival in Delhi of Dr. Ansari and other members of the All-India Medical Mission was definitely announced, preparations began to be made here with eager enthusiasm to accord the distinguished party a befitting reception. Delhi is not only the place that claims Dr. Ansari as one of her eminent citizens, but the actual birth-place of the movement which took shape as the All-India Medical Mission with Dr. Ansari as its chief. It was naturally expected, therefore, that Delhi's welcome would be an event as unique as her position. There were, however, circumstances which made one pause and consider before venturing to predict that the expectation would be realised. Delhi, in spite of her newly-conferred dignity, is still dominated by her past which broods over the lives and activities of the living as well as the mouldering remains of the dead. An ever-present sense of her tragic history has remained in her people a cynical disregard for the needs, the joys and the sorrows of the present. She has rarely felt the new enthusiasms which render the lives of the modern cities so absorbing and fruitful, and have made them the nerve-centres of the common life of the country. Her biggest souls would seem to an outside observer to be engaged in an incessant personal struggle to keep their heads above the water-line. Their horizon almost exactly resembles that of any out-of-the-way mofussal town whose entire consciousness is filled with the enormous figure of the District Magistrate. It would not have been a matter of surprise if Moslem Delhi had remained indifferent to the woes of the Moslem world, and entirely missed the significance of the efforts

which resulted in the organisation and equipment of the All-India Medical Mission for Turkey. But Moslem Delhi did not remain indifferent. Her prompt and genuine response to the supreme call of duty is one more proof of the fact that Islam carries a more intimate and powerful appeal to its followers than any other secular force known to history. The mass of the Moslem population in Delhi is ignorant and poor, but its religious spirit is yet alive and its Islamic sympathies have not been smothered under the ruthless mutations of time. Only those who know how to reach the hearts of the people are aware of the wealth of goodwill and ready sympathy that those hearts contain for everything that is good and inspiring. The response of the Delhi Moslems to appeals for help to their distressed brethren abroad has been as encouraging as that of any other city in India; and if their contributions towards the relief of suffering in Turkey have not been still greater, the fault lies mainly with the defective organisation of the work. The magnificent send-off to the All-India Medical Mission in December last was an index of the Moslem enthusiasm in Delhi, and it would have been singular indeed, if the same enthusiasm had not been manifested in welcoming the Mission home. As a matter of fact, general expectations in this respect have been more than realised.

The train carrying Dr. Ansari and his comrades was timed to arrive at Delhi at 5-30 p.m. on the 10th July. Long, however, before the time of arrival large crowds of people had begun to assemble on the platform and along the approaches to the railway station. At about 5 p.m. the platforms, the cross bridges and every other corner of vantage within the station were packed to their utmost capacity, while the vast enclosure of the station and the road beyond were one moving mass of humanity. As the train moved slowly in, the air was rent with glad shouts of welcome. Thousands on the platform pressed forward to catch a glimpse of the man and his lieutenants, who had rendered good services to Islam, to kiss their hands and offer them flowers and garlands. It was obviously impossible to keep back the eager crowds that thronged all around and the crush that followed was terrible. It was with great difficulty that Dr. Ansari and party could find their way to the main entrance, and enter the carriages that were waiting outside. At last the procession moved, escorted by a body of mounted young Moslems, along the appointed route towards the Jam'i Masjid. The whole route was lined with spectators and thousands accompanied the procession all the way on foot. Dr. Ansari's carriage, in spite of his protests, was dragged by enthusiastic admirers all the way to the mosque. Several Moslem merchants had decorated their shops along the route and had made arrangements for the distribution of food *sherbets* and milk. The prosperous Moslem community of "Fanjahi" merchants displayed great enthusiasm on the occasion and spent a good deal in decorations and floral offerings and in dispensing lavish hospitality in *sherbet* and *pan*. The procession stopped at the foot of the vast flight of steps leading up to the eastern gate of the Jam'i Masjid. An *amir* on behalf of the Mussalmans of Delhi was presented to Dr. Ansari a beautiful casket, to which Dr. Ansari made a brief and graceful reply.

As the party entered the vast courtyard of the mosque it was greeted with loud applause by the thousands of Moslems of Delhi, including hundreds from other places, who had gathered there on the occasion. It is difficult to give the exact number of the people in the mosque and of the vast crowds that surged around it. But even according to a most conservative estimate they could not have been much below thirty thousand. They were all inspired by a single sentiment and filled with a single aim—to do honour to the men who had made sacrifices in the cause of Islam. Dr. Ansari and other members of the Mission remained in the mosque till the Maghrib prayers. It is worth mentioning here that a fine poem of welcome composed by Maulana Shibli Sahab for the occasion was recited which deeply moved the audience. After the Maghrib prayers the procession was formed again, and it started along a different route for the Fatehpuri Mosque.

Even the oldest inhabitants of Delhi describe the night procession as a unique experience of their lives. The entire route was brilliantly illuminated, and the enthusiasm of the immense crowds that accompanied it is indescribable. The entire Moslem Delhi seemed to have turned out for the occasion, and there was not an inch of available space along the route that was not crammed with eager and enthusiastic spectators. Nothing but surging masses of humanity were visible in unbroken waves as far as the eye could reach in either direction. From the shops and the balconies and roofs of the houses rained incessant showers of flowers and garlands, and the air was laden with the fragrances of the rose-water that flowed from dainty flasks over the surface of the moving sea of men. Every now and then loud and irresistible voices called Dr. Ansari to stand up and show himself, and he could not but obey the call. And one can never forget the emotion of the moment as the hero of the occasion raised himself bashfully from his seat, and in his char-

acteristically modest way acknowledged the vociferous greetings of thousands of his admiring brethren,—the lusty cheers of the youth, the applause of the grown-up men and the blessings of the aged. It was amidst such thrilling scenes that the long route was slowly traversed and the procession reached its destination. The *Isha* prayers were offered in the Fatehpuri Mosque, after which the party drove to Mr. Mohamed Ali's house for dinner. Dr. Ansari and his comrades were much exhausted by the exacting ceremonies of the day, but they must have felt gratified at the manner in which the Delhi Moslems expressed their appreciation of the services which they had rendered to Islam. Such remarkable tributes of love and admiration by people are ample rewards for men who serve a noble cause and prove themselves of some use to their fellow-beings.

The keynote of the magnificent reception accorded to Dr. Ansari and other members of the Mission was its spontaneous enthusiasm. It was not an affair made to order or due to the tireless and well-planned exertions of a masterful organisation. As a matter of fact, little organised preparation had been made for the purpose. And it is no use disguising the fact that those who usually organise public demonstrations of another character were almost conspicuous by their absence on this occasion. Some of these gentry would even seem to have tried to apply the cold douche to the enthusiasm of the Moslem public by spreading dark and sly hints about the attitude of Government. The common people have, however, learnt to measure them correctly, and the days when they could successfully hoodwink the public as well as the Government officials have happily ended. The rôle that this type of men have filled in the public life of the country has not been a very honourable one, and it would be ultimately to their own advantage if they are stripped bare of their inconvenient masks. Some of them are shrewd enough to perceive that the game is up and are making furtive advances to the people whom they at heart despise like the coy maiden that had been accustomed to woo another kind of lord and master. The people are, on their part, learning to do without those whose lives have been one long struggle to cultivate the art of making themselves indispensable. The only way to bring home to the latter a full sense of the changed condition of things is to severely and absolutely ignore them. It is only thus that they would realise the ridiculous absurdity of the values they have placed on their favourite tactics and the ends that they have always sought to serve. Let us hope that the spontaneous and whole-hearted reception given to Dr. Ansari by the Mussalmans of Delhi will once for all convince the self-seeking and the self-important among their "leaders" that they can only serve one master. Circumstances have entirely changed, and the type of men, who served only their own personal greed by trading on the people's name, have become mostly powerless for evil. They strike one as merely obsolete relics of a bygone era, interesting only as historical curiosities. Their situation is not without its tragedy and pathos. They see the movements of a new spirit over the surface of the waters, but they cannot fully understand its voice. Their old horizon has shifted, their old prospect and the colour of their old, familiar things are gone. Something new has come to claim the allegiance of the hearts of men, and its demand is insistent. Men of different texture, endowed with a wholly different will and character, are needed for such service. For this great task men of puny stature, who have been fed on soft words and favours all their lives and pursued indifferent occupations in a sort of hot-house atmosphere, are obviously unfitted. In the free air of the people's hopes and wishes only such can be of service as are verily of the people.



The All-India Medical Mission.

THE following letter from Dr. Ansari written on board the *SS. Sicilia* will be read with great interest:—

SS. "Sicilia," 25th June, 1913.

IN my last letter I had time enough only to describe the tragic murder of the greatest Ottoman soldier and statesman, Field Marshal Mahmud Shevket Pasha. But so many things had been crowded together during the few days between my return from the Anatolian tour and our departure that I will have to give you the whole in three different letters.

On my return from Anatolia on the 14th of June, I found that there was so little time left and so much to do that I decided

The Progress

...and it is being raised to the

Khalil-i-Ahmar and ... accounts still to be settled are those for the ... for your Turkish exhibition and a few minor ones.

Kamal Omar Bey, by his kindness, courtesy and ever ready assistance has, indeed, placed us under an everlasting debt of obligation to him. He compiled a complete list of all the Moslem industries and manufactures of the different vilayets of Turkey, and with Abdur Rahman spent three or four days from morning till evening in purchasing these articles and labelling them with full statements of their wholesale and retail prices.

I have been forced for want of time to leave the question of the orphan half-finished in the hands of our Manager. I have seen and selected ten children (six boys and four girls), their ages varying from six to nine years; but owing to the necessity of getting the final permission of Djamil Pasha, Chief of the Municipality, I was unable to bring them with me. But these children will follow in a week or two together with two Turkish ladies, the widow and the daughter of a Turkish officer, who have been left destitute and absolutely unprovided for. These ladies come from a respectable family and know French, Arabic and Turkish perfectly and are expert in needle work. As arranged with you, the ladies' services will be utilized as teachers in your family or in a girls' school. I have left Haji Abdullah, an Indian, who worked as interpreter in our Chanak Kila Hospital, to accompany them to India.

The visit of our Mission to Top Kapou Serai, the ancient palace of the Byzantine Emperors and all the Sultans up to the time of Sultan Abdul Aziz, is worth recording. This is the palace which meets the eye of a traveller when the boat enters the Bosphorus and rounds the Seraglio Point. Its palatial marble buildings with domes and minarets, its ancient towers and modern kiosks seen in the half light of the early morning, makes Constantinople look like an enchanted place, leaving an everlasting impression on the minds of those who are fortunate to see it. We entered the central court, which was guarded by soldiers, after passing the buildings containing the Imperial Museum of Antiquities, the School of Fine Arts, the Mint and the famous Court of Jennesaries, with its historical plain-tree where criminals were hung in olden days, and where good many plots and revolts were hatched by the Jennesaries. This courtyard which is beautifully green and leafy, with an avenue of fine majestic trees, led us to a square marble building of the period of Mohamed the Conqueror. The throne room, where the monarchs used to give audience to the foreign Ambassadors and where the Council of Ministers used to meet, has a small fountain in it, which flowed noiselessly but produced such a loud, roaring sound outside that no one could hear the conversation going on inside the room. Next to the throne room is the library of Sultan Ahmed. It is built of white marble with beautiful pillars of green marble. It contains most valuable Arabic and Persian books and manuscripts. The next building—which is built in pure saracenic style—is the Khirka-i-Sharif Jame. In this shrine are placed the Prophet's mantle, the javelin and the sword. The Sanjak Shariff, the sacred standard of the Prophet, is also kept here closely guarded. The place where these holy relics are deposited is a square hall with a central place shut from public gaze by beautifully worked green curtains. The marble screens surrounding this hall gave us a glimpse of the central shrine. In this building are also kept a carpet of Syedena Abu Bakr and four copies of the original Quran arranged by Syedena Osman. The Quran of Syedena Osman, when he was murdered is also preserved here, with blood stains on its pages. Syedena Omar's arms and turban are also deposited here. This shrine is opened only once a year on the 15th of Ramazan for the procession of the Khirka-i-Sharif. In the lobbies surrounding this central hall are kept some historical arms. The sword of Sultan Mohamed the Conqueror and the guns used in his time are to be seen here. A beautiful specimen of calligraphy executed by Sultan Mahmud II is hung in the lobby. Baghdad kiosk, built by Sultan Murad IV in true imitation of a kiosk he had seen in Baghdad, is a wonderful piece of pure saracenic white architecture. Built of spotless white marble, it commands an extensive view of the beautiful blue Bosphorus and the limpid, mobile waters of the Sea of Marmora. Here the Sultan retires when he visits the Khirka-i-Sharif Jame on the 15th of Ramazan. On the entrance to the central hall is executed the following couplet in mother-o'-pearl:—

كشاده باو بولك ميته اين درگه
بقى الشهدا لا اله الا الله

The walls of the kiosk are artistically decorated with blue tile, and the interior of the dome is covered with deer-skins wrought

We were shown the golden corridor and the the Harem where, after the murder of Sultan Murad, the Jennesaries rushed to kill all the royal princes, but they were turned back by the coolness and presence of mind of the Sultan's wife, who threw buckets of glowing charcoal on their faces. The window through which the Sultans made Sultan Mahmud jump out is adjoining this staircase, also the room where he was proclaimed Sultan in the very teeth of the revolt of the Jennesaries. There were secret ladders, hidden passages leading from one building to another, in fact all those contrivances which were necessary in those days when the palace intrigues and plots were the rule of the day. In passing out of the Harem we were shown the place where the chief of the eunuchs used to punish the offenders. On the gate could be seen the dried scalp of one of the eunuchs hung by Sultan Mahmud. A secret balcony which we entered from the Harem overlooked the hall, where the discussions of Vozara and Vokala used to take place. In this balcony the Sultan used to sit and over hear all the discussions without being seen.

The building on the extreme right with yellow domes is the remains of the Byzantine palace, used as the sweet kitchen in the time of Sultan Selim, where he had hidden himself from the Jennesaries.

The Military Museum, which is the ancient church of St. Irene, contains the most complete collection of the armaments, standards and others trophies from the time of Osman I to the present day, the latest addition being some guns, standards, uniforms and other articles captured during the Turco-Balkan War.

The greatest event of our stay in Turkey—the presentation of the All-India Medical Mission to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan—look place on Tuesday afternoon, the 17th of June 1918. Bassim Omar Pasha accompanied us to the Yildiz Palace whither we drove in carriage. We were received by Khalil Khourshed Pasha, the 2nd Chamberlain of His Majesty, and Dr. Kheri Bey, Chief Physician to the Sultan. We had only to wait for twenty minutes in the saloon, where we were treated to some refreshments. Then we were ushered into the audience hall where Bassim Omar Pasha presented me to His Majesty, and I in turn presented the members of the Mission individually. His Majesty bowing graciously as every member was presented. His Majesty then stepped forward and expressed his appreciation of our assistance to the Ottoman soldiers during the Turco-Balkan War. His Majesty was visibly touched as he spoke those words; he invoked God's blessing on the members of the Mission for their work of mercy and asked us to convey to the Mussalmans of India the eternal gratitude of His Majesty and the Ottoman nation. The cable which I despatched to you on our return from Yildiz Palace would have reached you by now.

On the evening of the 18th an official dinner was given to us by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society. His Excellency Bassim Omar Pasha, the vice-President, Dr. Akil Muktar Bey, the 2nd vice-President, Dr. Mohamed Ali Bey, the Inspector-General, Dr. Adnan Bey, Kamal Omar Bey, Dr. Ali Derwesh Bey, members of the Central Committee of the Ottoman Red Crescent and many other notable persons were present. Our valued and esteemed friend Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was also invited. After a most sumptuous meal Bassim Omar Pasha and several other members of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society made speeches, praising the work of the All-India Medical Mission and thanking the Mussalmans of India for the generous help they had given to the Ottoman nation in their trial and distress and expressing fervent hopes for a closer and more constant relations between the Mussalmans of India and Turkey. A suitable reply was made to these speeches by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and myself. An album containing photographs of the All-India Medical Mission from the time of its departure to the present moment, containing different views of the Hindia Field Hospital and the Hospital at Chanak Kila, was presented to Bassim Omar Pasha as a souvenir, and a watch to which Mr. Zafar Ali Khan added a gold chain was given to Dr. Ahmad Foad, as a remembrance for the most valuable assistance he had given to the Mission.

On the morning of the 19th, His Excellency Talat Bey, Minister of Interior, paid us a visit at the Kadrigah Hospital on behalf of the Turkish Government. A group of the members of the Mission was taken with His Excellency.

But the most overwhelming and touching expressions of fraternal regard and brotherly feelings were exhibited when our Ottoman brothers came out in strong numbers to bid us farewell at the

and deal with all the subjects. It is now time that different men specialise in the subjects in which they are interested and give the benefit of their mature views to the Conference. I would therefore ask you kindly to select your subjects and let me know so that I may send you to be available in the Conference Office. You may do so at the next session and I shall forward your mind and under-

passed over in favour of an Assistant Sessions Judge. If seniority is to be the only test in filling the higher posts then, I am afraid, no Muhammadan Judge will be appointed for another 15 years. If the "seniority rule" is to prevail then five Hindu Sub-Judges must first be appointed in the Agra Province before the turn of a Muhammadan comes, as the first five Sub-Judges in the 1st grade are all Hindus. In Oudh there is one Muhammadan at the top. But he has already been passed over twice and there is no chance of his ever getting a Judgeship. Below him, there are three Hindus who must get Judgeships before the turn of a Muhammadan comes. It is really a hardship to the Muhammadans if competent Muhammadans not given Judgeships simply because they are not at the top. The number of Muhammadan Judges in the post to a

us farewell and expressing gratitude to the British Government and the Ottoman people. He said that the last war had caused them much sorrow and entailed great sufferings, but the sympathy and the great help of the Mussalmans of India and the presence of the Indian Missions had consoled the nation and had made them forget their great trouble. They will never forget this brotherly help rendered by the Muslims of India. He then kissed and embraced every member of the Mission and said that he was leaving them in the care of God. All present followed Talaat Bey's example, and we departed with tearful eyes and sorrowful hearts, feeling that we were leaving our home and family in Turkey only to go to another home and family in India.

I must not forget mentioning our visit to *Hamidiyeh* yesterday morning. We had heard that the *Hamidiyeh* was cruising in the Red Sea, but never in our wildest dream did we think it possible that we would actually be able to visit her and meet her gallant and indomitable commander, Husain Rauf Bey; but by merest good luck that was what exactly happened. We found just enough time to spend half an hour on board the *Hamidiyeh* before our boat sailed.

Rauf Bey, who is a young, most handsome and frank Turkish gentleman, received us with that genuine and sincere cordiality which the Ottomans have shown us all along. He told us he was feeling very much depressed as he had just then received newspaper from home; our visit had made him happy and enabled him to forget the troubles at home. He was exceedingly kind and he thought that nothing he did to entertain us was sufficient or good enough. He related to us some of the most thrilling incidents of bombarding Greek ships, of chasing Torpedo boats, how he found the troopship *Zyros* and sank her, how he used to smuggle coal and articles of provision. He praised his officers' pluck and bravery and specially felt proud of his gunner Husain, who never sent a shot without severely damaging or sinking a boat. He has sunk altogether ten Greek boats and damaged a good many. He worked and showed us the mechanism of the big guns on *Hamidiyeh*, and told us that more than two hundred shots had been fired only by the front gun. On the covering of the gun a prominent place was written in bold letters the **آية كريمة**:

اِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُبِينًا

He also showed us his motto written in very large Arabic characters on the bridge of the boat, which were:

الجنة تحت ظلال السيوف
نصر من الله وفتح قريب

He thought that this motto was infinitely superior to that of the English Navy: "England expects every man to do his duty." As to his men, death had no fear but a welcome means to transport them to heaven. He gave us some interesting photographs of the *Hamidiyeh* in actual action and the sinking of the boat *Zyros* with his autograph on them. We also took some photographs with him and then departed among the loud and lusty cheers of his sailors, the band playing the "National Anthem."

MUKHTAR AHMAD ANSARI.



The "Hamidiyeh" and her Captain.

MR. BASHIR-UD-DIN, a member of the All-India Medical Mission, gives the following interesting account of their visit to the *Hamidiyeh* :—

Suez, June 25.

On the dark night of the 24th of June, we were walking along the sea-coast at Port Suez, on our way to the Custom House. An Arab belonging to the Custom House, who was with us, informed

The gallant *Hamidiyeh* welcomed us in his happiest, polite Turkish manner.

On the clean and well-washed deck, there was a square, big table with a red velvet cloth and chairs around the table. We all sat down and had a very pleasant talk with that brave, young man, which shall live, as a happy memory in our minds.

It was a great honour to all of us to have talked to such a man, but whenever we gave expression to our feelings he would say in his happy, forcible manner that it was he who was honoured by our visit.

Then I told him about "the English or American" Captain of the *Hamidiyeh*, the theory of different European journals, and he smiled at it. The experiences of the Turks have been unhappy all throughout this war, but if there is any small honour, any credit, that even is taken away by the generous Press of Europe. He related to us how he had sunk six Greek vessels of transport in one day. At another time he had to jam a Greek vessel and was forced not to shoot lest the noise should frighten away and thus make possible the flight of other boats.

Coffee was then served in small cups, after the Turkish fashion. He offered us cigarettes, gave us copies of photos which his officers had taken and, above all, was very hospitable and kind to us. He begged to be excused for the want of his hospitality as his boat had to live a vagabond life, not knowing in the morning where he shall be at night. He was very glad that time, but he told us how before our visit he was suffering from "a fit of blues" as the papers from Constantinople had brought gloomy news. Then he showed us the motto which he had adopted for his boat. It was engraved in black characters in Arabic on a steel wall of the cruiser opposite the biggest gun. Its English reading is "Paradise is to be found under the shadow of swords." Many verses from the Holy Koran were inscribed on different other parts of the boat.

We requested him to allow us to take his photo, which he very kindly permitted us to do. We all stood around his chair and Dr. Ansari, our much-loved director, took the photo. But it was after a great deal of entreaties that he occupied the chair. He said that he would like to remain standing with us. Then he ordered one of his naval officers to take a group of all of us and copies of which he promised to send us to India. The time was drawing nigh for our departure, and Dr. Ansari thanked him once more on behalf of the Mission for his great hospitality and kindness to us. He replied he wished he could do more, but in his present circumstances he had nothing to offer us and he was very sorry for that. If we had met him in Constantinople, then, perhaps, he could have shown to some small extent the love which he bore to the Muhammadans of India. There, constrained as he was, it was impossible for him to do anything.

Then, once more, Dr. Ansari told him how in those dark days the eyes of all the Muhammadan world had been looking at him and how by his brave actions he had proved to the world that, given the semblance of a chance, a Turk officer even now can vindicate his military honour, and we wished, prayed, and we were sure, that he would be a second Khairuddin Barbarossa. We all wished him an honourable, long and successful life.

He was very much touched by these words of Dr. Ansari and heartily thanked him for the same. He said that he had not been able to do even one-tenth of what he wished for his fatherland. "We have tried to serve our country and I, speaking as the captain of this boat, can only say that we have not disgraced our navy and our nation. To succeeding Ottoman generations will go down this heavy debt of gratitude which we owe to our Indian brethren for their humanitarian work, and long shall our country remember it."

Then with sorrow, we parted from this handsome, strong and true Muhammadan. Three cheers for the Sultan! Three cheers for Rauf Bey!

As we descended the ladder, the band was playing the Turkish national anthem, and the sailors were giving cheers.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Education of Moslems.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

Sir,—Allow me to invite your attention to the following lines which I have ventured to address to some Muhammadan gentlemen of education and culture in the hope that they will be pleased to respond to the appeal which has been made to their patriotism and high ideals, and will take part in the practical solution of the problem which needs the concentrated attention of all those who realise its importance and understand the necessity of united action without any delay. I should feel highly grateful if, after personal and due consideration, you will be pleased to favour me with opinion and suggestions.

1. It must be perfectly clear to every thoughtful member of our community, who has paid any attention to our present situation in the country and its causes, that our condition, as a community, is not only bad and deplorable at present, but that there are forces at work which, if not properly faced, will accelerate our speed towards further ruin and degeneration and may ultimately render our case absolutely hopeless and irretrievable.

2. It is true that the causes which lead to the rise and fall of nations are so numerous and complex that no one can be expected to determine or describe them adequately in a few words, but it is now generally recognised and understood that the essence of our national complaint consists in the loss of those moral and intellectual powers which constitute the real basis of all success and greatness in this life. Moral and intellectual poverty is our chief complaint, and its cure should be our main object.

3. The treatment of a complaint affecting the moral and intellectual health of seventy millions of human beings can never be an easy matter, and its difficulty and delicacy are greatly enhanced by the peculiar circumstances under which we have been placed in this country. A sick and backward people, if they be free and self-governing, may be treated and cured without much difficulty, and even a subject people under such an enlightened rule as the British can have a fair chance of recovery and regaining health if there be no conflict with other rival subject races but a people who are not only the most backward and weak but are also confronted with that communal struggle which we have to face on all sides in this country, their case naturally becomes most serious and needs special treatment and handling. After a long and careful study of the whole case the best minds in the community have prescribed education as not only the best but the most effective remedy for the disease.

4. The problem of education, therefore, is pre eminently the most important and urgent in our communal affairs and deserves the first and the best attention of all those who are in a position, by knowledge, wealth or influence to help in its practical solution. Our educational programme may be divided into three parts :—

- (i) The establishment and maintenance of a Central National Institution for the education and training of the most gifted and promising youths of the whole community under influences and arrangements calculated to implant in their minds love of learning, sense of unity and high ideals and ambition for the regeneration of the community.
- (ii) To wake up the community to a sense of their situation and implant in their minds the importance and necessity of education on modern lines.
- (iii) To take practical steps for the purpose of spreading education—primary, secondary and collegiate—among the various sections of the community in all parts of India.

The Aligarh College was founded, and it is being raised to the status of a Moslem University, to attain the first object.

The All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference was started 27 years ago to secure the other two objects. It has already succeeded to a large extent in achieving the second. It is now high time that united efforts should be made to attain the third. It is to solicit your help and co-operation in this work that I have taken the liberty of addressing this letter to you and other gentlemen of our community.

5. For a community which is scattered over such a vast continent as India and which has, in each province and part of the country, different conditions and circumstances to face, the need of such an organisation as the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference is obvious and needs no advocacy. Whether for representing our need to the Government or for appealing to the community we necessarily require some constitutional means of voicing the wishes and requirements of our people. This can only be done by some All-India institution such as the Conference, which has already been serving the cause of Moslem education during the last 27 years. But mere recognition of such an institution cannot make it useful unless and until the educated members of our community take active part in making it a success. It is for this purpose that I have ventured to make this humble appeal to you and others who can effectively contribute to the success of this cause.

6. It is a matter for congratulation that the number of highly educated Moslems and of those who have received education in Europe is on the increase. In every province and district and large city we have Moslems of learning and culture, who can put new life in the movement and make it a potent force of great good for the community.

It may be asked, in what manner or form they can be useful in this work. I may be permitted to make the following suggestions :—

- (i) By co-operating in the establishment of a Provincial Conference in each province and a Local Committee in each district.
- (ii) By co-operating by means of lectures or otherwise, in the work of focussing public attention, in a province or a district, upon the importance and urgency of education.
- (iii) By co-operating in the work of establishing at least one Moslem College in each province and a Moslem High School in each district and in the erection of Muhammadan Boarding Houses for each Government High School.
- (iv) By helping Muhammadan students in getting admission in to Government schools and raising funds for the help of poor Muhammadan students who can not afford to pay the fees.
- (v) By co-operating in the work of improving Maktabas in towns and villages of a district.
- (vi) By cultivating the patronage and sympathy of the district authorities in the object of establishing Moslem High and Middle Schools where needed.
- (vii) By taking part in the annual session of the Conference and selecting some important educational question for bringing it before the session in the shape of a resolution or lecture.

7. The problem of education is as vast as it is momentous, and it needs the co-operation of a large number of able and educated Moslems to deal with it in all its various branches and aspects, and I, therefore, respectfully request you to give some portion of your time and attention to this work. The subject may be divided under the following heads :—

- (i) Religious education.
- (ii) High education, Collegiate and Post-Graduate.
- (iii) Secondary education.
- (iv) Primary education.
- (v) Technical and industrial education.
- (vi) Training Colleges and Schools.
- (vii) Professional education.
- (viii) Government educational policy with special reference to Muhammadans.
- (ix) Comparison of our educational system with those prevalent in Europe and other countries of the world.
- (x) Female education with special reference to those special difficulties which stand in our way.
- (xi) Urdu Literature and its improvement.
- (xii) Educational requirements of Moslems in various provinces of the country and their special difficulties.
- (xiii) Proposals and reports about the improvement and conditions of particular Moslem institutions.

8. The above suggestions are given only to indicate the lines on which we can proceed, but it is not necessary that every one

should deal with all the subjects. It is now time that different men should specialise in the subjects in which they are interested and after study should give the benefit of their mature views to the Conference and the public. I would, therefore, ask you kindly to select any subject for yourself and let me know so that I may send you any material which may be available in the Conference Office. You have several months to prepare for the next session and I shall feel obliged if you will be pleased to make up your mind and undertake some definite work.

9. I may point out that in order to make this Conference a living and really useful movement it is essential to have Local Committees in every district and large city well organised and fully representative of the community, and provincial conferences in each province dealing with educational questions of provincial importance. There are at present Local Committees as well as Provincial Conferences, but with the exception of very few they are only on paper. So long as gentlemen of education and culture do not come forward to take up this work nothing substantial can be achieved. The greatest curse is that, whenever there is such movement it generally gives rise to differences among the workers, which practically stops all work. However, inspite of all the discouraging symptoms and experience something definite and determined must be done to construct national life and unity, and through failure and difficulties our aim is to be achieved.

It is now time that all sections of the community and men of all shades of opinion should have some common platform, and, on the whole, educational cause affords the best and safest ground for the fulfilment of this object. The All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference has great potentiality for good and needs the help of gentlemen like you. The work which it has done so far is known to all and has been a knowledge not only by the public but also the highest officials of the Government. The success of such movements is always in proportion to the awakening in the community—it cannot be achieved by one or a few but by the whole. But it is not my purpose to raise any discussion on this point. If it has been a failure so far, for God's and community's sake let us make it a success now. If those who have been its servants so far are incompetent, let those who are competent come forward and help in the work. I am perfectly sure that there are many in our community far abler and better fitted to do the work than myself. I regard you as one of those, and therefore ask to your help. I hope and trust you will not refuse it. The work is urgent and great, and therefore demands great and united efforts. May God Almighty show us the right path and direct our minds and actions to objects and deeds which may regenerate our people and thus revive the lost glory of Islam.

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
AKTAR AHMAD.

U. P. Provincial Judicial Service.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—Please allow me to draw your attention to an editorial which appeared in the *Advocate* of the 22nd June in connection with the vacancy among the District Judges in these Provinces, caused by the death of Mr. Hasan Ali. The *Advocate* is perfectly right in urging the claims of the Provincial Service to the post. Under the new scheme, which was introduced from the 1st of April 1915, three posts of District Judges were thrown open to the Provincial Service, but only one was given to a Provincial Service man. It is but just that the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Hasan Ali should go to a Provincial Service man. Had the editor of the *Advocate* contented himself with urging the claims of the Provincial Service to the post, I would have had no quarrel with him. But I object to his mentioning particular persons as best fitted for the post. Of course we do not know whether the post will be given to an Agra or an Oudh man; but I trust that in filling up the vacancy our popular and sympathetic Lieutenant-Governor will take into consideration the claims of Muhammadans. A look at the latest Civil List shows that out of thirty-one Judgeships five are held by the Hindus and only two by the Muhammadans. There were three Muhammadan Judges, but owing to the sad death of Mr. Hasan Ali there are only two now as against five Hindus. All the officiating appointments, during the last six or seven months, have gone to the Hindus. Not a single Muhammadan Sub-Judge was given an officiating chance. Seniority is no doubt an important factor in filling up the higher posts, but I submit that there are other considerations to be taken into account. The number of the Hindus is already comparatively large among the Judges. What the Government should do is to see if among the Sub-Judges in these Provinces there is a Muhammadan who is competent to fill the post. If there is, then he should be appointed. We know that only last year, a Muhammadan Judge, fully competent and of about 26 years' standing was

passed over in favour of an Assistant Sessions Judge. If seniority is to be the only test in filling the higher posts then, I am afraid, no Muhammadan Judge will be appointed for another 15 years. If the "seniority rule" is to prevail then five Hindu Sub-Judges must first be appointed in the Agra Province before the turn of a Muhammadan comes, as the first five Sub-Judges in the 1st grade are all Hindus. In Oudh there is one Muhammadan at the top. But he has already been passed over twice and there is no chance of his ever getting a Judgeship. Below him, there are three Hindus who must get Judgeships before the turn of a Muhammadan comes. It would be really a hardship to the Muhammadans if competent Muhammadan Sub-Judges are not given Judgeships simply because they happen to be in the lower ranks. The number of Muhammadan Judges, already small, has decreased by the death of Mr. Hasan Ali. I trust that the Government will be pleased to give the post to a Muhammadan.

A MUHAMMADAN

The Moslem University.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—The Foundation Committee of the Moslem University will sit shortly to come to a conclusion regarding the question of "affiliation" which has been a source of so much trouble to the promoters of the Moslem University for the last one year. Evidently there are two parties,—one which does not care so much for the "affiliation"; and the other which thinks that without "affiliation" the University would be like an empty egg-shell. The latter view has unfortunately secured the support of some newspapers which love to make a great fuss about it. They claim that the question should be placed before the community at large and be decided on the majority of votes. In their extra-zealousness for the introduction of democratic principle in everything in this world, they ignore the truth that it is always unsafe and often suicidal to decide questions of momentous importance on the majority of votes of people at large, who have certainly in most cases neither ability nor time to study the question so as to qualify themselves for the "electorate". It is a pity that the question of "affiliation" is claimed to be decided by such votes. May I ask them this question. Is there at present any town in Bengal or Assam, Madras or in Central Provinces, which can give as sound an "education" as the Aligarh M. A. O. College actually imparts? Will it be possible for such a school, if established, to create in the near future an environment such as Aligarh has? Every sober-minded man, who has seen something of the Muhammadan enterprise in the form of High English schools in Bengal, will certainly answer in the negative. Such is the case almost everywhere, as far as I have seen of the U. P. and read of other provinces, scarcity of Muhammadan teachers is an universal complaint. Let the doctrinaire philosopher say what he likes, but things are what they are.

The above remarks apply more vigorously to the establishment of colleges. Every effort to transplant Aligarh education in different provinces is bound to meet with failure. It is not possible at present either in Calcutta, Madras or even in Allahabad or in Bombay, to establish a college like that of Aligarh with its tradition and environment. An education which Bengal student imperceptibly receives at Aligarh by mixing with students of Burnah, Mysore and Hyderabad, not to speak of the Punjab or Lucknow, must be wanting in Calcutta. So let Aligarh be an imperial college, unique in its tradition and environment—a place of resort for those ambitious students of Islamic countries, who may aspire to receive that special training and education which Aligarh and Aligarh alone can impart, such as Cambridge is looked upon by every tiny mathematician of every part of Great Britain. Let the attention of the whole Moslem India be centralised to the turning of that college into a residential University, with well-equipped Arts and Science colleges, without crying for "affiliation" of which we cannot avail ourselves now. Educational questions can not be decided once for all, they must change in changed circumstances.

Sylhet

ALAUDDIN MUHAMMAD, B. A. (Utg.)



A Glimpse of a Social Problem.

I WONDER, whether, in using the term "domesticated classes" the majority of minds ever think beyond the communities of these people, that live in, and round the bigger towns of India. Yet there are a very great number dotted oasis-wise over many districts of whose existence little or nothing is known.

How they came to inhabit the tumbled down bungalow, or low thatched building that has replaced it, is in most cases easily explainable.

Some Englishman—European is a more comprehensive term—in the days when travelling was expensive, unskilful and sometimes impossible, tired of his lonely life, married or, at any rate, gave his name to a woman of the village. The larger number of these women

being of the lowest caste, their children in turn married into the village, or perhaps beings of the same parentage as themselves. And here we see the deplorable result. What is very hard to understand is how they live out of the world until some murder, very severe sickness, or internal feud suddenly brings them before the eye of a member of the outside community. Curiously apathetic are these people, indifferently conscious of their degraded state, utterly careless of past and future. In some isolated case a throw-back occurs, and one hears that Mrs. Smith or Brown (seldom are the names as common as these) has roused herself sufficiently to send her son to school. That son in turn, occasionally yielding to a sub-conscious influence, sends his offspring "home" to be educated. Not "home" as he knows it: a cracked, rambling bungalow in a lonely village, overcrowded with fat, good-natured, untidy idle aunts and uncles; yelling, screaming, thieving, lying little nephews and nieces, some very slightly removed from the village child in manners, and suffering considerably by comparison with it in looks. No, not that home, but the one his grandmother or great-grandmother describes in expansive moments, as it was described to her years ago when she sat at the feet of her lord and master, listening to his homesick rhapsodies. The old lady will snap her fingers with indignation when some convent-school-retained child talks of the hill flowers. "Chut, dat, flowers in this countree I tell you there may be, but arré why talk of flowers you who have not seen the primrose star the fields and the mossy beds of violets in cool shady woods. Chup baba, cease your talk of flowers." She relapses back into, what is often, an opium-created silence, where she hears again a loved voice repeat the phrases she quoted, which she heard so often in the dead past. There are cases of course where each generation degenerates till they become absolutely like the villagepeople, though the European name still clings.

They may live within 10 miles of you in the *deshat*, and their presence is unknown. If you happen to be an official or a zamindar manager you will one day find a gentle-voiced, timid, neat lady seated in your office. She has some complaint to lay before you: her tenants are giving undue trouble, her husband is insane, or perhaps being a Catholic she wants your permission to have a small piece of ground outside her estate consecrated as her own burial ground is full. In each case she is equally quiet, equally timid, equally dignified.

Or else one day a slovenly servant brings an ill-written note demanding your presence on business in the name of Mrs. Someone or other. You go, and find a dirty, untidy house where you are greeted by a fat, dirty, untidy woman, who weeps and screams continuously, whose business you discover mostly from the voluble comments of her near and presumably dear relatives, equally slovenly, whose torrential utterances remind you of a baboon at the zoo.

There illustrated for those whom it may interest are the two extreme types. Of the two, the latter is the happier, she knows her state and does not care. The other she cares too greatly. If one comes to cultivate her, some day she will remark, "It is terrible for us to have children. Thank God I have none. One must either give them the colour or money and I could give neither." A pathetic figure that commands respectful pity. That the originator of this analogy seldom outlives his companion, is a fact worth noticing. He, rarely is alive to see the outcome of his lack of grit, and his culpable drifting. Of course when he does not die he is duly punished. There are one or two cases of men marrying off their daughters to fairly respectable Indians, trying thereby to right the wrong. It seems, too, the only possible solution in most cases, but it is by no means easy to accomplish. When the woman is low born, it is strange to see how her children invariably inherit her colour and proclivities.

Exceptions of course there are, and have been, but with those we have no dealings. One of the laws of Nature, seldom understood, is that exceptional people breed exceptional circumstances. Therefore they come not under the ordinary rules and conditions

Ato.



Is Our Civilisation Dying?

(Concluded from our last.)

What, then, are these constants which give us the key to the history of humanity? Dr. Hubbard finds them in two circumstances: first, the arrest of the reproductive instinct among the higher stocks; and secondly, the increase of State-Socialism. In the earlier stages of development, pure instinct prevails and works in with the evolutionary process by adding to the numbers of the race and promoting its physical improvement through ruthless competition and the destruction of the unfit. Then, as civilisation grows, reason asserts its sway, and the growth of population and the prevalence of competition are alike checked by voluntary action and deliberate design. Reason suggested that it was better for the individual

to live comfortably than to be engaged in endless struggle for the preservation or even the elevation of the race. Socialism and the decline of the birth-rate are attempts to escape the stress of competition, since under the strictly individualistic system there is competition for wealth and comfort, and with a rapidly rising birth-rate there is competition, at any rate, among the great mass of the people for bare existence and a modicum of comfort. Thus, in an old and cultured community, where instinct is kept down and pure selfish reasoning asserts its sway, the tendency is to promote the socialistic or communal organisation of industry, by which it is hoped that life can be enjoyed without being turned into a prolonged conflict. The conflict, of course, is most severely felt by parents with large families, so that it becomes fashionable, or seems desirable, to have a small family, or perhaps none at all. We are asked to notice that in a state of society where religious sanctions are losing their force, where the primitive instincts have declined, and where material prosperity is the universal ideal, growing reluctance manifests itself towards the ties of parentage and even marriage. This tendency will be most noticeable among the educated and prosperous classes, so that the increase will be chiefly among the poorest and least capable elements of the population, and the more intellectual and energetic stocks, from which the leaders in politics, history, artistic achievement, and industrial enterprise have been drawn, gradually diminish and die out. The nation, deprived of those constituents which have been instrumental in securing its progress, loses its capacity and power, and either falls into disorganisation, or is overcome by external foes who retain more robustness and vitality.

This is all very interesting, and more or less plausible, though not particularly new. Very much the same thing has been said by various writers, among others by Dr. Flinders Petrie, in a gloomy little essay which he published a few years ago.* But one would like to know how far the historic evidence, if closely examined and tabulated by scholars who know as much about history as Dr. Hubbard does of architecture, or Dr. Petrie of Egyptology, would support these large and pessimistic inferences. Both writers rest their assumption very largely on the case of the Roman Empire, that fertile subject for many sermons. They tell us as so many other moralists have been telling us for the last two hundred years or so, that the most splendid and highly organised empire the world has ever known fell through its own internal weakness, this weakness being due to the growth of luxury, the decline of public and private morality, the ruin of agriculture, the demoralisation of the proletariat by public doles, and the canker of slavery. All these things were the efficient cause of Dr. Hubbard's two constant factors in the decay of nations, namely, Socialism and depopulation. Everybody in the Roman world wanted to be comfortable, nobody was interested in the future of the race, consequently the wealthy classes became corrupt and dissolute, marriage was almost unfashionable, and one eminent living scholar has even given his authority to the statement that "the large majority of men never married at all." The whole tendency of sentiment and thought was what Dr. Hubbard calls "geocentric," looking to the pleasant fruits of this bounteous earth, instead of being "cosmocentric," that is to say, concerned with infinity and the remote future.

As to Socialism, it is pointed out that the system of control and regulation went on growing in strength with the growth of the Empire. In the third century all trades were organised into corporations or unions recognised by the Government, instead of being only private societies as they had been before. All employees and craftsmen were bound to enter these combinations, and competition between traders was virtually eliminated. The State, by the abolition of free labour, granted a monopoly to the union, but it exacted considerable sacrifices and burdens in return. It required that a certain amount of work should be done either gratis or below cost price for the benefit of the poor. By A.D. 270 Aurelian had made unionism compulsory for life, so as to prevent the able men from withdrawing to better themselves by individual work. In the fourth century every member and all his sons and all his property belonged inalienably to the trade union, and the efforts of some men to emancipate themselves from the bondage were counteracted by enacting that any person who married the daughter of a unionist must enter his father-in-law's business. "So the Empire was an immense gaol where all worked, not according to taste, but by force." Yet we are told that the Roman understood the science of living better than we understand it; that he knew better than ourselves how to make the most of all the pleasures under the sun, from the noblest art to the vilest indulgences. This is Dr. Hubbard's summary of the matter. "History, showing us a population among whom the non-competitive system was maintained by any and every contrivance, reveals a

* *Janus in Modern Life*. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London, 1907.

leisured people, and corroborates the testimony of numberless ruins of baths and amphitheatres. Ease, it is true, was purchased by the loss of liberty, and it was found that the hand of the State was laid ever more and more heavily upon every man. But no mundane consideration—not the loss of liberty itself—could bring men back to a life of competition. The footsteps all lead one way: there is no sign of returning to the hard conditions of rivalry. . . . Ease was obtained for every class. Neither before nor since has pure reason been so greatly in the ascendant; never has the kingdom of this world been so splendid."

The moral, of course, is obvious, if rather trite. It was, indeed, being drawn in the Roman world itself by angry rhetoricians, sensational journalists, and bitter epigrammatists—Tacitus, Juvenal, Suetonius, Persius, and others—who insisted that no good would come of free-living and free-thinking. They, too, looked into the future, and said that Rome would collapse: which it did eventually, though not till after several centuries of prosperity, power, and exceeding welfare for a large part of the human race. However, the Roman Empire broke up at last, and Roman civilisation was submerged by barbarism; and the result is commonly ascribed to the steady decline of the antique virtues, with the profound demoralisation and corruption produced by the loss of liberty, the love of material comfort, and the decline of the best national stocks under the influences mentioned. "The splendour that was Rome" was bound to pass, so Dr. Hubbard thinks, because it was based on "geocentric" principles, and its ideas were fastened upon the kingdoms of this world and the glory thereof.

Whereas the 'cosmocentric' civilisation abides. For a proof Dr. Hubbard refers us to China. Chinese society is the most shining example of cosmo-centricity. There is intolerable social degradation, with a racial persistence that can withstand all the shocks of fate and history. "So immense is the power of their unrestricted birth-rate that war, plague, pestilence, and famine cannot prevail against it. Obedience to supra-rational considerations is successful in the preservation of racial life and the permanence of civilisation. It has conferred perpetuity upon the Chinese race and civilisation—a civilisation that has persisted so long and whose origin is so remote that no chronicle runs to the contrary. It confers upon them to-day a population of from 300,000,000 to 400,000,000." True, the condition of the vast majority of that population is described as appalling, ravaged by hunger, scarcity, the want of all the elementary comforts of life; they are ill-clothed, shockingly housed, the prey of horrible diseases. "The use of milk is unknown, and so the babe that cannot be suckled is doomed"; the mortality of children under twelve months old amounts to 80 per cent. of the number born in some of the provinces, and "perhaps one female in ten is deliberately done away with at birth." The average of adult life is about fifteen years shorter than in Europe, owing to the prevalence of plague, dysentery, malaria, and other maladies, and a general neglect of sanitation and hygiene. "Every piece of injustice and maladministration is rife." The State is impotent, the Chinese are incapable of scientific research, and commonly fail in large industrial undertakings. "China is filled by a population that is brutalised by overcrowding and rendered desperate by the struggle for food." I do not know whether this is a correct description of Chinese conditions; but it is that of Dr. Hubbard, who apparently has some personal acquaintance with the Far East. Gloomy as his picture is, he is full of admiration for the Chinese "conception of cosmo-centric duty." For, in spite of its narrowness and "the social death in life" it involves, it at least avoids the fatal error which destroyed Rome, the error of allowing Reason to prevail. "Reason is deadly to the race." Those peoples who are neither reasonable nor geocentric persist through the ages, while the great civilisations rise and fall, and the great Empires fade away and die. So the Chinese, with their famines and plagues and their incurable poverty, do not perish; nor, it may be added, does the rabbit or the codfish.

It is an interesting comparison, this of Rome and China, which Dr. Hubbard has drawn, and we have to thank him for the suggestion, though we may not be quite clear as to his conclusions, or as to the nature of that supra-rational religious motive whereby we are to find both racial and social salvation. The theme of the decay of civilisations, indeed, is too large to be treated in the slight and superficial fashion with which it is so often approached. One deprecates particularly the free-and-easy handling of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and the sermons so often preached at us by hasty commentators on doubtful texts. It may be true that ancient Rome presented a close parallel to modern Europe; but one would like better evidence than the *lex Julia* and verses from irritated satirists and the stories of gossiping biographers spread over a long period of time. To quote Tacitus and Juvenal in illustration of Roman decay under Marcus Antoninus or Julian is no more justifiable than it would be to adduce Pope's *Essay on Women* as a testimony to the shocking corruption of English society in the reign of Queen Victoria. When people talk of the wickedness and weakness of Imperial Rome, they are probably thinking of the Rome of Caligula and

Nero; they forget that this same decadent Empire continued to exist and flourish more than three centuries longer, and nobody for centuries afterwards really believed that it was dead even then. If Great Britain should be crushed by a German invasion we should probably not attribute any substantial responsibility for that calamity to the matrimonial adventures of Henry VIII. or the licentiousness of King Charles the Second.

Did the Roman Empire, in fact, decay through internal corruption or social disorganisation or the rise of rationalism and the failure of the domestic virtues? What were the real facts as to the alleged depopulation, and what the real causes? The subject has been admirably discussed by Seeck in his chapter on "Die Entvölkerung des Reiches" in his *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, and what he has to say about *die Ausrottung der Besten*—the extirpation of the finer human stocks—should be of particular interest to our eugenic students. But Seeck's examination of the subject still leaves it full of unsolved problems; and when he tells us that half the population of the Roman Empire was destroyed by the plague one may suggest that perhaps physiological causes had as much to do with the decline of Rome as psychological or ethical. Nor is there any quite easy explanation of the long survival of the Græco-Roman polity and culture in the East after the collapse in the West. The decline and fall of Rome calls for a new Gibbon, a Gibbon equipped with all the apparatus of modern science as well as modern scholarship, and when his work was done it would doubtless supply us with some valuable hints upon the probabilities of "racial decay" and the *Ausrottung der Besten* in our present world. Meanwhile one may deprecate insecure parallels and hasty assumptions, as when we are gloomily warned that our fate will be the fate of Rome—not such a bad fate, after all—if we read sex novels, amend the divorce laws, ignore the Thirty-nine Articles, increase the income tax, or encourage the trade unions. It is a pity that most of our real historians are so busy with their "special subjects" that they find small time to deal with the long results and larger tendencies of the historic and political process. These surveys are left too freely to the moralists: whose morals are often better than their history.—SIDNEY LOW in the *Fortnightly Review*.

The Balkan League.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA.)
Its Origin in Macedonia.

THE year 1912, which witnessed the extinction of Asiatic rule in Europe, will ever be memorable in the history of modern civilisation. Welcoming his guests at a Diplomatic reception at Sofia on the first day of the year, King Ferdinand described the coming twelve-month as *une année énigmatique*, before its close it had become an *annus mirabilis* for all time. Events have succeeded each other with such breathless rapidity that it is still difficult to realize the greatness of the change which has taken place. The problem which has taxed the brains of generations of statesmen has been solved; the Gordian knot has been cut by the Christian races of the Balkan Peninsula, the nightmare which brooded over Europe for more than a century has vanished, and an end has been put to a secular régime of tyranny and oppression. This great result has been achieved by the unaided strength of the young Balkan kingdoms united for the purpose of liberating their oppressed kindred—for that was the real object of the war. They have greatly dared, they have fought, and they have conquered, and the civilized world recognizes that the need of victory must be theirs.

There was nothing wonderful or novel in the idea of a Balkan Alliance. The wonder lay in the secrecy and, at the end, the rapidity with which the arrangements for joint action were carried out. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 a deep feeling of disillusionment prevailed among the Balkan States and the general dissatisfaction resulting from the provisions of the Berlin Treaty, which ignored the principle of nationalities to suit the interest of certain Great Powers, led to various suggestions for a combination of the young States with a view to the protection of their own interests. The movement was supported by M. Ristitch, the Serbian statesman, who believed that a reformed or constitutional Turkey might find a place in the proposed confederation. It was also regarded with favour by King Charles of Rumania and Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, but all hope of its realization was shattered by the revolt of Eastern Rumelia in 1885, which provoked violent agitations in Serbia and Greece. Both States demanded "compensation" for the aggrandisement of Bulgaria; King Milan, instigated by Austria, declared war against the neighbouring State, but was defeated at Shivanitz, in the following year Greece was coerced by a naval demonstration of the Powers, and Prince Alexander, whose patriotic policy rendered him a *persona ingrata* to Russia and Austria alike, fell a victim to a conspiracy organized by the partisans of Russia. After his fall Bulgaria, under the rule of Stamboloff, was for some years wholly engaged in resisting Russian pretensions, while Serbia, after the withdrawal of King Milan in 1888, fell under Russian influence.

The breach between the two States thus remained open; Austria lent a covert support to Prince Ferdinand, Prince Alexander's successor, and for some years nothing more was heard of a Balkan Alliance. AN EARLY GREEK PROJECT.

The idea, however, was revived in 1891, as in recent times, by a Greek statesman. Relieved for a brief period of the cares of office, Mr. Tricoupis, in the summer of that year, undertook a journey to Belgrade and Sofia with the object of inducing the Serbian and Bulgarian Governments to entertain his project of an alliance. He frankly proposed a campaign against Turkey with a view to the partition of the Ottoman possessions in Europe and advocated a complete understanding with regard to future boundaries as an indispensable preliminary to military action on the part of the allied States. He believed that such an understanding could be arrived at on the principle of *de ut des* by Balkan statesmen assembled in conference and foresaw that the Great Powers would "keep the ring" during the war he was ready to accept the co-operation of Rumania, though he refrained from making any proposal at Bukarest. The project, however, was premature: the principle of mutual concession had not at that time been assimilated by the politicians of the small States; the future will show how far it has now been assimilated. M. Tricoupis's plan was welcomed at Belgrade; at Sofia he was received with courtesy but Mr. Stamboloff was not prepared to sacrifice the relations he had already established with the Triple Alliance and the Porte. Prince Ferdinand's position was still very precarious: the fate of Prince Alexander was before all eyes, and a policy of adventure was to be avoided. It is said, indeed, that M. Stamboloff, at Austrian instigation, denounced the project to Constantinople. However this may be, the Porte was already informed, as, owing to an indiscretion committed at Belgrade, the Turkish Minister at that capital, Feridun Bey, had transmitted to his Government full information regarding M. Tricoupis's proposals. The lesson conveyed by this fact was not forgotten by those who conducted the recent negotiations.

After the failure of M. Tricoupis's scheme a period of 20 years (1891-1911) elapsed during which no comprehensive plan for a *rapprochement* of the Balkan States was proposed. The main obstacle to an understanding lay in the design of Bulgaria to revive the Macedonia of San Stefano as an autonomous State under Turkish suzerainty, while Greece and Serbia aimed at partition. Certain *ententes*, however, and even alliances, were concluded between separate States, due in the main to the rival efforts of Russian or Austrian diplomacy. Briefly speaking, it may be said that the object of Russia has been to bring the Slavonic States together under her hegemony, while Austria has endeavoured to sow discord between them and to form hostile combinations against them. On the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish War in 1897 the two Great Powers joined hands to prevent Serbia and Bulgaria from taking action against Turkey. From this time dates the Austro-Rumanian Convention, under which, it is said, Rumania has been promised a large portion of Bulgarian territory as a reward for a prospective invasion of the neighbouring State. During the war overtures were made by Greece to Bulgaria, which had then made her peace with Russia, a partition of Macedonia was proposed and a port on the Aegean was offered to Bulgaria. But Bulgaria preferred to maintain her policy of friendship with Turkey, Russian and Austrian pressure gained the day at Sofia, and M. Delvannis's ill-starred adventure ended in failure. Four years later (1901) a Greco-Rumanian *entente* directed against Bulgaria was arranged by Austria: a meeting between King Charles and the late King George took place at Abbazia in Austrian territory, and a number of Rumanian students visited Athens, where they were received with enthusiasm. But the compact, as might have been foreseen, proved short-lived.

MACEDONIAN RIVALRIES

The institution of foreign "control" in Macedonia under Austro-Russian auspices after the Bulgarian insurrection of 1908 did nothing to mitigate the conflict of races and creeds, which was sedulously encouraged by the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Numerous Greek bands entered the country in the following year, and their zeal in "converting" the Vlach population led to a rupture of diplomatic relations between Greece and Rumania in the autumn of 1905. At the same time reprisals carried out on the Greek population in Bulgaria produced the utmost tension between that country and Greece. Macedonia had now become more than ever the cockpit of the struggle between the rival Christian nations. An attempt, indeed, was made under Russian auspices in 1905 to bring Serbia and Bulgaria together by means of a Customs union, which, it was hoped, would form the prelude to an alliance, but Austria found means of strangling the new compact at the birth, and its collapse was followed by mutual recriminations.

Looking back on the bitter animosities of these years we can only marvel at the reconciliation which has enabled the Balkan States to unite their forces against the common foe. Such a miracle could only have been brought about by the appearance of a *deus ex*

machina—in this case the divine solution was provided by the Young Turks. The Young Turk revolution, with its promise of liberty, justice and equality for all, was welcomed by the Balkan nations with enthusiasm—tempered, perhaps, by the reflection that the regeneration of Turkey would perpetuate the political *status quo*, but nevertheless, on the whole, sincere. When reaction raised its head at Constantinople large numbers of Christian volunteers marched with the army of Mahmud Shavket to the capital. But the true character of the Turkish revolution was not long in revealing itself; the movement was, in fact, a last effort of the Moslem minority to retain its ascendancy in the face of growing resistance on the part of the subject-races and impending European intervention. The revival of the Constitution was little more than an ingenious device for appeasing Liberal sentiment abroad while furnishing a pretext for the abrogation of the historic rights of the Christian nationalities at home. That the subject-peoples would combine in defence of their rights, and that their reconciliation would react on the kindred States across the frontier, was not foreseen by the inexperienced but self-confident soldiers and politicians who now directed the destinies of the Turkish Empire.

At first, however the Young Turk movement produced little change in the mutual relations of the Balkan States, and the proclamation of Bulgarian independence which followed in October, 1908, tended to increase the jealousy with which Bulgaria was regarded by her neighbors. On the other hand, the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which took place at the same time, called into existence the first offensive and defensive alliance concluded in the Balkans since the Berlin Treaty. For some years the relations between Serbia and Montenegro had been exceedingly strained owing in part to dynastic jealousies, in part to the interference of Serbian Radical extremists in the internal affairs of the sister country. But in face of the common enemy all animosities were laid aside, a military convention was signed in October, 1908, and both States mobilized their forces. War was happily avoided through the good offices of the Powers, especially of Great Britain, but the readiness with which the two States combined was noteworthy and indicative of future possibilities.

THE BEGINNING OF CO-OPERATION.

It was not till 1910 that a series of events took place in Macedonia which precipitated the formation of a Balkan Alliance. In the spring of that year, after suppressing an Albanian revolt with merciless rigour, the Turkish military authorities turned their attention to Macedonia. No revolt had taken place in that country, but it was nevertheless decided to carry out a general disarmament of the population the same methods being applied as in Albania. The full history of the horrors which then took place has never been disclosed; the Great Powers, which had withdrawn their military officers from the country without obtaining any guarantee for its future good Government, refrained from publishing the reports of their Comsuls, and a conspiracy of silence prevailed in the greater part of the European Press. No hope of redress appeared on any side, and a community of suffering led the Christian races in Macedonia to forget their quarrels. The reconciliation which began from below—it would hardly be exaggeration to say that Macedonian peasants laid the foundation of the Balkan Alliance—passed upwards and outwards, the clergy, who at first opposed it, and the upper classes yielded to its influence. Eventually amenities were exchanged between the Greek Patriarch and the Bulgarian Exarch; joint representations were addressed to the Porte by the spiritual chiefs and friendly conversations began to take place between Balkan statesmen.

Towards the end of the year the writer had an opportunity of conversing with Apostol, the famous Bulgarian vojvode, who stated that for months past he had been sheltered from Turkish pursuit in the houses of Greek peasants in Southern Macedonia. The Greeks had always regarded Apostol as their worst enemy: he was now their friend. It seemed a miracle, but the fact brought home the conviction that a wonderful change of sentiment had taken place. In the early autumn the presence of King Ferdinand and the Heirs Apparent of Serbia and Greece at the celebration of King Nicholas's jubilee in Cettigne had tended at least to foster the growing harmony between the Balkan States. A few months later the announcement that Rumania had offered the co-operation of her army to Turkey in case of war with Bulgaria engendered serious reflections in the minds of Balkan statesmen. If Bulgaria succumbed to a Turco-Rumanian combination what would be the fate of the sister States? It was clear that one by one they would be compelled to accept every condition imposed by Young Turk chauvinism. Nothing could be expected from the European *Areopagus*, which, since the revival of the political and commercial rivalry of the Great Powers at Constantinople, had apparently ceased to exist. The instinct of self-preservation was awakened; the moment was approaching for the conclusion of a Balkan Alliance.

(To be Continued.)

The Islamic World.

The Ottoman Empire.*

ALTHOUGH proverbial philosophy warns us never to prophesy unless we know, experience has shown that political prophets have often made singularly correct forecasts of the future. Lord Chesterfield, and at a much earlier period Marshal Vauhan, foretold the French Revolution, whilst the impending ruin of the Ottoman Empire has formed the theme of numerous prophecies made by close observers of contemporaneous events from the days of Horace Walpole downwards. "It is of no use," Napoleon wrote to the Directory, "to try to maintain the Turkish Empire; we shall witness its fall in our time." During the war of Greek independence the Duke of Wellington believed that the end of Turkey was at hand. Where the prophets have for the most part failed is not so much in making a mistaken estimate of the effects likely to be produced by the causes which they saw were acting on the body politic, as in not allowing sufficient time for the operation of those causes. Political evolution in its early stages is generally very slow. It is only after long internal travail that it moves with vertiginous rapidity. De Tocqueville cast a remarkably accurate horoscope of the course which would be run by the Second Empire, but it took some seventeen years to bring about results which he thought would be accomplished in a much shorter period. It has been reserved for the present generation to witness the fulfilment of prophecy in the case of European Turkey. The blindness displayed by Turkish statesmen to the lessons taught by history, their complete sterility in the domain of political thought, and their inability to adapt themselves and the institutions of their country to the growing requirements of the age, might almost lead an historical student to suppose that they were bent on committing political suicide. The combined diplomats of Europe, Lord Salisbury sorrowfully remarked in 1877, "all tried to save Turkey," but she scorned salvation and persisted in a course of action which could lead to but one result. That result has now been attained. The dismemberment of European Turkey, begun so long ago as the peace of Karlovitz in 1699, is now almost complete. "Modern history," Lord Acton said, "begins under the stress of the Ottoman conquest." Whatever troubles the future may have in store, Europe has at last thrown off the Ottoman incubus. A new chapter in modern history has thus been opened. Henceforth, if Ottoman power is to survive at all, it must be in Asia, albeit the conflicting jealousies of the European Powers allow for the time being the maintenance of an Asiatic outpost on European soil.

It is as yet too early to expect any complete or philosophic account of this stupendous occurrence, which the future historian will rank with the unification first of Italy and later of Germany, as one of the most epoch-making events of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Notably, there are two subjects which require much further elucidation before the final verdict of contemporaries or posterity can be passed upon them. In the first place, the causes which have led to the military humiliation of a race which, whatever may be its defects, has been noted in history for its martial vitality, require to be differentiated. Was the collapse of the Turkish army due merely to incapacity and mismanagement on the part of the commanders, aided by the corruption which has eaten like a canker into the whole Ottoman system of government and administration? Or must the causes be sought deeper, and, if so, was it the palsy of an unbridled and malevolent despotism which in itself produced the result, or did the sudden downfall of the despot, by the removal of a time honoured, if unworthy, symbol of government, abstract the corner-stone from the tottering political edifice, and thus, by disarranging the whole administrative gear of the Empire at a critical moment, render the catastrophe inevitable? Further information is required before a matured opinion on this point, which possesses more than a mere academic importance, can be formed.

There is yet another subject which, if only from a biographical point of view, is of great interest. Two untoward circumstances have caused Turkish domination in Europe to survive, and to resist the pressure of the civilization by which it was surrounded, but which seemed at one time doomed to thunder ineffectually at its gates. One was excessive jealousy—in Solomon's words, "as cruel as the grave"—amongst European States, which would not permit of any political advantage being gained by a rival nation. The other, and, as subsequent events proved, more potent consideration, was the fratricidal jealousy which the populations of

the Balkan Peninsula mutually entertained towards each other. The maintenance and encouragement of mutual suspicions was, in either case, sedulously fostered by Turkish Sultans, the last of whom, more especially, acted throughout his inglorious career in the firm belief that mere mediæval diplomatic trickery could be made to take the place of statesmanship. He must have chuckled when he joyously put his hand to the sultan creating a Bulgarian Exarch, who was forthwith excommunicated by the Greek Patriarch, with the result, as Mr. Miller tells us, that "peasants killed each other in the name of extending ecclesiastical establishments."

In the early days of the last century, the poet Rhigas, who was to Greece what Arndt was to Germany and Rouget de Lisle to Revolutionary France, appealed to all Balkan Christians to rise on behalf of the liberties of Greece. But the hour had not yet come for any such unity to be cemented. At that time, and for many years afterwards, Europe was scarcely conscious of the fact that there existed "a long-forgotten, silent nationality" which, after a lapse of nearly five centuries, would again spring into existence and bear a leading part in the liberation of the Balkan populations. But the rise of Bulgaria, far from bringing unity in its wake, appeared at first only to exacerbate not merely the mercurial Greek, proud of the intellectual and political primacy which he had heretofore enjoyed, but also the brother Slav, with whom differences arose which necessitated an appeal to the arbitrament of arms.

Although the thunder of the guns of Kirk Kiliçe and Lüle Burgas proclaimed to Europe in the words of the English Prime Minister, that "the map of Eastern Europe had to be recast," it is none the less true that the cause of the Turk was doomed from the moment when Balkan discord ceased, and when the Greek, the Bulgarian, the Serb, and the Montenegrin agreed to sink their differences and to act together against the common enemy. Who was it who accomplished this miracle? Mr. Miller says "the authorship of this marvellous work hitherto the despair of statesmen, is uncertain, but it has been ascribed chiefly to M. Venizelos." All, therefore, that can now be said is that it was the brain, or possibly brains, of some master-workers which gave liberty to the Balkan populations as surely as it was the brain of Cavour which united Italy.

Although these and possibly other points will, without doubt, eventually receive more ample treatment at the hands of some future historian, Mr. Miller has performed a most useful service in affording a guide by the aid of which the historical student can find his way through the labyrinthine maze of Balkan politics. He begins his story about the time when Napoleon had appeared like a comet in the political firmament, and by his erratic movements had caused all the statesmen of Europe to diverge temporarily from their normal and conventional orbits, one result being that the British Admiral Duckworth wandered in a somewhat aimless fashion through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, and had very little idea of what to do when he got there. Mr. Miller reminds us of events of great importance in their day, but now almost wholly forgotten: of how the ancient Republic of Ragusa, which had existed for eleven centuries and which had earned the title of the "South Slavonic Athens," was crushed out of existence under the iron heel of Marmont, who forthwith proceeded to make some good roads and to vaccinate the Dalmatians; of how Napoleon tried to partition the Balkans, but found, with all his political and administrative genius, that he was face to face with an "insoluble problem"; of how that rough man of genius Mahmoud II., hanged the Greek Patriarch from the gate of his palace, but between the interludes of massacres and executions, brought his "energy and indomitable force of will" to bear on the introduction of reforms; of how the Venetian Count Capo d'Istria, who was eventually assassinated, produced a local revolt by a well-intentioned attempt to amend the primitive ethics of the Mainote Greeks—a tale which is not without its warning if ever the time comes for dealing with a cognate question amongst the wild tribes of Albania; and of how, amidst the ever-shifting vicissitudes of Eastern politics, the Tsar of Russia, who had heretofore posed as the "protector" of Rumanians and Serbs against their sovereign, sent his fleet to the Bosphorus in 1833 in order to "protect" the sovereign against his rebellious vassal, Mehmet Ali, and exacted a reward for his services in the shape of the lionine arrangement signed at Hunkiar-Iskelesi. And so Mr. Miller carries us on from massacre to massacre, from murder to murder, and from one bewildering treaty to another, all of which, however, present this feature of uniformity, that the Turk, signing of his own free will, but with an unwilling

* *The Ottoman Empire 1801-1913*. By W. Miller. Cambridge At the University Press. [7s. 6d.]

mind—*stare deliriosi* *se Orum*—made on each occasion either some new concession to the ever-rising tide of Christian demand, or retitled the loss of a province which had been forcibly torn from his flag. Finally, we get to the period when the tragedy connected with the name of Queen Draga acted like an electric shock on Europe, and when the accession of King Peter, "who had translated *Mill On Liberty*," to the bloodstained Serbian throne, revealed to an astonished world that the processes of Byzantinism survived to the present day. Five years later followed the assumption by Prince Ferdinand of the title of "Tsar of the Bulgarians," and it then only required the occurrence of some opportunity and the appearance on the scene of some Balkan Cavour to bring the struggle of centuries to the final issue of a death grapple between the followers of aggressive Christianity and those of stagnant Islamism.

The whole tale is at once dramatic and dreary, dramatic because it is occasionally illumined by acts of real heroism, such as the gallant defence of Plevna by Ghazi Osman, a graphic account of which was written by an adventurous young Englishman (Mr. W. V. Herbert) who served in the Turkish army, or again as the conduct of the Cretan Abbot Manasses who, in 1866, rather than surrender to the Turks, "put a match to the powder-magazine, thus uniting defenders and assailants in one common holocaust." It is dreary because the mind turns with horror and disgust from the endless record of government by massacre, in which, it is to be observed, the crime of bloodguiltiness can by no means be laid exclusively at the door of the dominant race, whilst Mr. Miller's sombre but perfectly true remark that "assassination or abdication, execution or exile, has been the normal 'fate of Balkan rulers,'" throws a lurid light on the whole state of Balkan society.

But how does the work of diplomacy, and especially of British diplomacy, stand revealed by the light of the history of the past century? The point is one of importance, all the more so because there is a tendency on the part of some British politicians to mistrust diplomatists, to think that, either from incapacity or design, they serve as agents to stimulate war rather than as peace-makers, and to hold that a more minute interference by the House of Commons in the details of diplomatic negotiations would be useful and beneficial. It would be impossible within the limits of an ordinary newspaper article to deal adequately with this question. This much, however, may be said—that, even taking the most unfavourable view of the results achieved by diplomacy, there is nothing whatever in Mr. Miller's history to engender the belief that better results would have been obtained by shifting the responsibility to a greater degree from the shoulders of the executive to those of Parliament. The evidence indeed rather points to an opposite conclusion. For instance, Mr. Miller informs us that inopportune action taken in England was one of the causes which contributed to the outbreak of hostilities between Greece and Turkey in 1897. "An address from a hundred British members of Parliament encouraged the masses, ignorant of the true condition of British politics, to count upon the help of Great Britain."

It is, however, quite true that a moralist, if he were so minded, might in Mr. Miller's pages find abundant material for a series of homilies on the vanity of human wishes, and especially of diplomatic human wishes. But would he on that account be right in pronouncing a wholesale condemnation of diplomacy? Assuredly not. Rather, the conclusion to be drawn from a review of past history is that a small number of very well-informed and experienced diplomatists showed remarkable foresight in perceiving the future drift of events. So early as 1837 Lord Palmerston supported Milosh Obrenovitch II., the ruler of Serbia, against Turkey, as he had "come to the conclusion that to strengthen the small Christian States of the near East was the true policy of both Turkey and Great Britain." Similar views were held at later period by Sir William White, and were eventually adopted by the Government of Lord Beaconsfield. An equal amount of foresight was displayed by some Russian diplomatists. In Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (vol. I., p. 479) a very remarkable letter is given, which was addressed to the Emperor Nicholas by Baron Brunnow, just before the outbreak of the Crimean war, in which he advocated peace on the ground that "war would not turn to Russian advantage. . . . The Ottoman Empire may be transformed into independent States, which for us will only become either burdensome clients or hostile neighbours." It may be that, as is now very generally thought, the Crimean war was a mistake, and that, in the classic words of Lord Salisbury, we "put our money on the wrong horse." But it is none the less true that had it not been for the Crimean war and the policy subsequently adopted by Lord Beaconsfield's government, the independence of the Balkan States would never have been achieved, and the Russians would now be in possession of Constantinople. It is quite permissible to argue that, had they been left unopposed, British interests would not have suffered; but even supposing this very debatable proposition to be true, it must be

regarded, from an historical point of view, as at best an *ex post facto* argument. British diplomacy has to represent British public opinion, and during almost the whole period of which Mr. Miller's history treats, a cardinal article of British political faith was that in the interests of Great Britain, Constantinople should not be allowed to fall into Russian hands. The occupation of Egypt in 1882 without doubt introduced a new and very important element into the discussion. The most serious as also the least excusable mistake in British Near-Eastern policy of recent years has been the occupation of Cyprus, which burdened us with a perfectly useless possession, and inflicted a serious blow on our prestige. Sir Edward Grey's recent diplomatic success is in a large measure due to the fact that all the Powers concerned were convinced of British disinterestedness.—(LORD) CROMER in the *Spectator*.

The Death-bed of an Ancient Kingdom.

THE new Persian Blue-book is an astonishing publication. It unfolds with relentless candour and completeness the story of the final stages of the decay of an ancient kingdom. Could some later Gibbon give form and cohesion to its masses of authentic details, he might draw a picture which would certainly have no present parallel anywhere in the world, not even in China. It is impossible to close its perusal without a deep impression of the utter hopelessness of the Persian situation. The child Shah, the absentee Regent, the helpless Cabinet which resigns once a week, the Treasurer-General wringing his hands in agonized appeal for money to fill an empty Treasury, are only the more conspicuous figures adrift upon a sea of dismal anarchy. Wherever we look in Persia the same spectacle of a lapsed civilization is presented in varying forms. It is not misrule, but the absolute disappearance of all ordered and coherent rule. The position in the South almost passes belief. We knew it to be bad, but the collective statements in the Blue-book make us rub our eyes. "The Central Government is ignored in Fars," says Sir Walter Townley. "Not only Government authority, but also tribal authority, is in complete dissolution," says Mr. Consul Smart. The tribes have split up into warring units in despoiling caravans and stripping chance travellers. The list of exactions usually levied on passing merchandise—when it is not stolen altogether—makes a formidable document. Elsewhere similar disorder obtains. Kerman is threatened by a robber horde, the Governor ineffectually bolts to the shelter of the British Consulate, and Sir Walter Townley goes to the Teheran telegraph office in the middle of the night to urge him to play the man. The Bakhtiari and the Mohammereh Arabs chase each other in and out of the town of Shuster, and again British officers seek to patch up their differences. The Governor of Isfahan and "some of his friends" make a corner in grain while the populace is starving, and then proceed to collect the local revenue without regard to the Treasury officers. Some Ministers in Teheran engage in similar speculations in grain during a time of scarcity. The people of Tabriz, once the stronghold of Nationalism, grow weary of the incessant strife which is ruining their city, and pray for a return of autocratic rule. Bluejackets and Indian infantry are repeatedly landed at Gulf ports to save the inhabitants from bands of raiders. Amid this medley come many stories of attacks on foreigners, such as the stirring narrative of Lieutenant Bullock, of the 27th Punjabies, who fought a gang of robbers with his fists until he was struck down. All through the volume flits the will-o'-the-wisp figure of Prince Salar-ed-Dowleh, the ex-Shah's brother, the victim of megalomania, who is "so carried away by dreams of future greatness that it is impossible to convince him of the reality of his position." The shot through his arm last week may dissolve some of his dreams, but meanwhile he has roamed over half Northern Persia, fighting and plundering.

There are redeeming features, but they are very few. Makhbir-es-Sultanch, the new Governor of Fars, seems to be an energetic man who is doing his best under terribly adverse conditions. His appeals for money—every Persian reformer clamours tearfully for money—have now been met by Great Britain. Colonel Hjalmarssen, the Swedish officer at the head of the Gendarmerie, is a robust optimist who still hopes that his force may save the situation in both South and North. We do not share his confidence, but think he should be given every encouragement. The Customs returns show surprising vitality in the midst of appalling chaos. These things are to the good, but they do little to relieve the depression induced by an examination of Persian affairs. Some people ask us to accept the view that the whole country would undergo a magical change if the Russian garrisons were removed from Northern Persia, if the Mejlis was summoned again, and if the financiers of London and Paris unbelted their pockets to the tune of several millions sterling. We do not believe that any or all of these expedients would now produce salvation. We dislike the presence of large Russian

garrisons in the North, but they act as a salutary check upon disorder, they have saved Tabriz and other cities from destruction, and Sir George Barclay hints that the Persian Government secretly prefers them to stay, lest worse troubles befall. A new Mejlis would only make confusion worse confounded. Representative government has ludicrously failed in Persia. No one will lend vast sums to be placed at the uncontrolled disposal of a body of Persian Ministers to whom corruption is an agreeable and natural diversion.

What, then, must be the course of British policy in Persia? We fear its ultimate course will be shaped by events beyond our control, and will become to a great extent involuntary. It is clearly imperative for us to keep out of Persia if we can, in view of our heavy commitments elsewhere. We approve of Sir Edward Grey's strenuous endeavours to exhaust every possible alternative before resorting to intervention. The persistence with which he telegraphed begging the Persian Government to pawn the Crown jewels would be almost amusing if the situation were not so serious. He has withdrawn the Central India Horse, he has found money for the Governor of Fars, he has backed up the Swedish Gendarmerie, he has striven continuously to bring about the formation of a Persian Ministry which will do something instead of resigning. But if all these efforts fail, as the evidence of the Blue-book leads us to anticipate, what then? The assailants of British officers and Indian troopers are still unpunished. We have even offered not to press for their execution if they are surrendered, but they still roam the mountains in freedom. Not so much because isolated outrages have been committed, but far more because we cannot idly watch the dissolution of Persia, we fear that some change of policy may ultimately be forced upon us. In April, 1912, Sir Edward Grey talked of taking "forcible measures" against a petty chieftain in the South, the Khan of Borasjun. When Captain Eckford was killed—his death now seems to have been almost tantamount to an accident—Sir Walter Townley recommended an expedition "to restore order." In January the Government of India advised the postponement of the question of an expedition "till the autumn," though one would have thought some one at Delhi ought to have known the conditions on the Persian passes in winter. Sir Edward Grey quite rightly expressed his grave objections to any expedition. It would cost a great deal, he said, the force must be a large one, and its sequel would probably be the permanent occupation of a large part of Southern Persia. We should destroy Persian independence and bring about the partition of the country. This diagnosis of the probable results of an expedition to Southern Persia appears to us entirely correct; and we may add to Sir Edward Grey's list of objection that, in our belief, it would also permanently impair the efficiency of the Indian system of defence. Nevertheless, we are bound to express our conviction that the time is coming when the state of affairs revealed in the new Blue-book will limit our choice to two alternatives. We shall either have to shoulder fresh and dangerous burdens in Southern Persia, or abandon our considerable interests in that region altogether.—*The Times*.

Capitulations in Egypt and Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—It would be impossible within the limits of an ordinary letter to deal adequately with the question of the Capitulations. The case of Adamovitch, which has naturally attracted a good deal of attention in this country, is only one out of many instances which might be cited to show the need of reform. I have long since expressed my opinion that the root of the whole evil lies in the absence of any local legislative machinery capable of enacting laws binding on all residents in Egypt, whether European or native. The particular scheme which I advanced during the closing years of my tenure of office in Egypt is, without doubt, capable of much improvement, but I still hold strongly to the principle which I advocated—viz., that the only serious remedy for the existing state of things is to create some legislative body in Egypt which will inspire the confidence of European residents to such an extent as to justify the demand that they should cede the special privileges which they now enjoy.

I should wish to add two further remarks.

In the first place, in dealing with this question, it is impossible to have regard only to the text of existing treaties. It is also necessary to make a distinction between the practices existing in Egypt and in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. In my "Modern Egypt," Vol. II., page 427, I wrote:—

"The rights which have been conferred by, or which have grown out of, the Capitulations are not the same in Egypt and in other parts of the Ottoman Dominions. The Turkish Government have been watchful of European encroachment, and have, relatively speaking, been powerful to resist it. The Khedives of Egypt, on the other hand, being wanting in vigilance, allowed a plentiful crop of European privileges, which are not sanctioned by treaty, to be drifted on the

wave of custom into the position of acquired rights, and if, as at times occurred, they tardily awoke to the consequences of their own heedlessness, they were either too weak to offer resistance, or the impetuosity, which was the result of reckless extravagance, rendered them willing to barter a portion of their political birthright for the sake of some temporary concession. Thus it came about that the European who is privileged in Turkey is ultra-privileged in Egypt.

Further, with reference to a question asked by Mr. Morrell as to whether the views expressed in my former letter constituted "only Lord Cromer's dictum," I should wish to explain that the reasons I adduced in my report for the action taken in 1907 were in accordance with the views of the highly-qualified law officers on the spot. I cannot for a moment doubt that their interpretation of the law was correct.

I am, Sir, yours &c.,

36, Wimpole-street, W., June 14.

CROMER.

Sir E. Grey and the Capitulations.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, June 15.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S reply to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons on Thursday is taken to imply that the Government intends to raise the whole question of the Capitulations with the other Powers. This prospect causes no surprise here, since it has been recently understood that some step in this sense would be taken this summer. It is considered that any modification of the Capitulations must necessarily entail other and no less important changes, and all communities express satisfaction at the prospect of a further lightening of international fetters, and at the consequent relief in the administration of Egyptian affairs, and the increased facilities which will thereby be afforded to commerce in general.

Tangier.

(By E. D. MORRELL.)

I suppose that to-day Tangier is the most "internationalised" place in the world. It boasts an international police force—smart men in dull-red jackets and fezzes, commanded inside the town by Spanish officers, outside the town by French officers. Groups of French and Spanish blue-jackets from the cruisers anchored in the bay perambulate the streets. Yesterday a number of "Tomnies" came over from Gibraltar on holiday bent, their scarlet coats striking a gay note of colour. French officers of the Spahis in their light blue tunics ride about the streets, and troopers of the same famous regiment or of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, sip coffee in the cafés. It is all *très militaire* and spectacular. There is another and more interesting side to the "internationalisation" of Tangier, the social side. You expect to see, and you do see, in its streets and alleys Europeans tourists of all nations and fashionably dressed women, folk from the Spanish colony or from the various legations, threading their way among white and "tawny" Moors and pack-donkeys innumerable. But these are exotics, like the legations themselves, situate within a stone's-throw of one another near the market-place, their respective flags flying in the breeze with a certain air of defiance. What, however, cannot but impress the newcomer is the absence of the "colour-line" in the real indigenous Tangier, or, to put it in another way, the proximity in which settlements of "white" and "brown" peoples, each mingling freely in business and the general avocations of the day, exist to all outward seeming (confirmed by inquiry) without a trace of racial friction, but in a social sense keeping themselves to themselves. The Moorish quarter, the Spanish quarter, the Jewish quarter are well recognised, and yet all are inextricably woven together with the threads of narrow, winding, cobble-paved streets and still narrower passages and by-ways—so narrow in parts that two pedestrians can scarce walk abreast, a very rabbit-warren, this Tangier. It is in a measure startling to observe white women, fair and dark (Spaniards for the most part, with a sprinkling of Portuguese), hairless, living their life, attending to their pretty children, chatting at their doors, and moving about unconcerned and unmolested amidst a numerically overwhelming population of Africans of every hue from a shade hardly darker than their own to black. One remembers that the original Moorish stock was probably white. But many centuries have come and gone since then, and this visible promiscuity of contact, unaccompanied by features which to the Anglo-Saxon outlook would seem inevitable, is instructive and significant. And as with the people so with their places of worship. Numerous synagogues, four mosques, an Anglican and a Catholic Church are all packed together, like their devotees, in this confined space. And I am told by old residents that religious and social affairs alike are virtually unknown. It says a good deal for the reputedly fanatical Moor, who is probably the least fanatical person, in a

religious sense, you could wish to meet. Politically it is another story. He has certainly striven hard to keep the European out of his country, and away, beyond this beautiful panorama of hills and mountains running up to 7,000 feet, whose alluring call it is difficult to resist, he is still fitfully, incoherently endeavouring to do so. The papers printed in Tangier are full of accounts of the exploits of French columns operating in various parts of the interior, and the Spanish occupation of Tetuan does not seem to be working quite as smoothly as had been anticipated.

Tangier, too, is a sort of mosaic of Moorish history, ancient and modern. Its past is familiar to all students. But its present condition symbolises at once the rivalries of the Powers and the chequered careers of Moorish rulers in their relations with them. Abd-el-Aziz, the weakling, the Europeanised ex-Sultan whom Mulai-Hafid drove from the throne (only to abdicate it himself a few years later), has built a spacious residence, commanding glorious glimpses of green hills and blue sea, on the heights north of the town. Mulai-Hafid himself is constructing another at a cost of something like £100,000. The brothers are still enemies, and so far it has been found impossible to find a neutral meeting-place where they may accost each other and patch up the quarrel. Both are pensioners of the French Government, and both, I am assured, have nothing to complain of in their treatment. Of Mulai-Hafid I will speak later. The famous Raisuli, so long the terror of Tangier and neighbourhood seems likely to play an important part under the Spanish, with whom he is on good terms at present. His sphere of influence lies in the Spanish zone. Just now he is encamped somewhere in the hills outside the town. The other day, in the course of a ride into the hills, I passed his outposts, whose tents were pitched in a small wood of eucalyptus trees.

Great things are expected of the Tangier "municipality," upon which the Powers will be represented, and the Moorish authorities. Its future machinery is now being discussed in Madrid. Now that the French and Spaniards have patched up their differences, that Franco-German local friction is reputedly a thing of the past, and that France has finally shown herself amenable to certain representations we have ourselves recently seen fit to make, it is hoped that the International Syndicate des Travaux Publics (upon which French, British, German, and Spanish capitalistic interests are represented) will soon get to work and provide this place of great possibilities with the pier, harbour works, and docks it so urgently requires. I hear that the Tangier-Fez railway route has been decided upon, and that work will "shortly" be commenced at both ends simultaneously. But "shortly" in Morocco bears a peculiar significance, and how heavy railway material is to be landed here under present conditions it is not easy to conjecture.

And what does the Moor of Tangier and its neighbourhood himself think about all these things—this "internationalisation," these deposed Sultans, reformed bandits, and the rest? Probably very little. He drives his donkeys up and down the tortuous streets, crying "Balaki! "Balaki!" ("Look-out!"), with imperturbable countenance. He comes in from the country with his vegetables and flowers, cultivates his magnificent soil with peas, beans, potatoes, onions, and wheat; attends to his orange-groves, whose scent everywhere perfumes the air; sits cross-legged in his little booth, replete with everything the soul of a Moor or a foreigner may desire, cuts out his leather slippers, embroiders his imported cloth, chews the end of reflection, and, lucky beggar, enjoys the sun which ministers so greatly to the sum-total of human contentment.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Is "Central Asia" Dead?

VERY recently some few of us, interested in the welfare of a Society which under the title of the "Central Asian," has drawn into its fold many distinguished names and into the lecture-room of the Royal Asiatic Society—so kindly placed at the disposal of the younger but too politically disposed, sister—many famous thinkers, administrators and travellers, were debating whether that title any longer conveyed anything to the mind of the few men-in-the-street who had any knowledge whatever of "Central Asia." One asserted that the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 had dealt the death-blow to "Central Asia," and we were all, I think, unprepared to assert that the spark of life was still burning. But, afterwards, it occurred to me that, two years or so ago, when I was interesting myself in the present and future of the Trans-Persian Railway, an extremely well-known figure in the Russian embassy in London, and in one or two London clubs had suavely invited me to believe that the Central Asian question was dead and gone, and the last

funeral obsequies—possibly the Tabriz victims of 1911, dangling at the gallows played a prominent part in the ceremony—pronounced over it. A Russian diplomat is a man blessed with an elastic and roseate imagination, ever ready to prognosticate "peace where there is no peace," and under circumstances which inevitably under the fostering care of a Sobouvaloff, Ignatieff, de Giers, Isvolsky, or Sazanoff, blossom into the spoliation of a neighbour—or war. It was war with Japan—and from the ashes of that war the Russian Phoenix is only just beginning to raise its head. It was very nearly war over Bosnia and Herzegovina; but the Phoenix at that moment had only just begun to open an eye and the flash of the "shining armour" dazzled and bewildered it. So it "lay low" and the Triple Entente had to "lie low" too. But now the balance of power in Europe is so exquisitely regulated that the "Concert," defied as they have been for the past year by the Balkan confederates, have at last brought the four rebellious Balkan necks under one yoke or rather—if a vulgar metaphor may be used—brought their heads to reason by knocking them together. It is not unsatisfactory to recall that the first admonitory taps were administered by our own Foreign Secretary, and in a more august and ceremonious fashion by our King himself.

Russian Activities.

To revert however to Russia. She has not let the grass grow under her feet during the past two years. What do we see? China in the throes of a new constitution, Persia in complete anarchy, Turkey disabled by War. There is a law of magnanimity which says "Kick not thy neighbour when he is down." Shall we enquire whether Russia has obeyed that law? What about Mongolia? Is there no truth in Mr. Shuster's "Strangling of Persia"? Is it for nothing that Russian troops have penetrated through Azerbaijan to Armenia and Kurdistan and so placed Russia in a position to regulate the Turco-Persian frontier and railway construction in that neighbourhood to suit her own requirements? If there is any magnanimity about this policy and this action, the greatness of it lies in a relentless pursuit of Russian interest. But the activity of Russia does not end here. "The Central Asian Question" shows signs of reawakening. We may presume that the British and Turkish Governments will settle the Baghdad Railway and Persian Gulf problems in a manner which both Powers may regard as satisfactory. As to Persia—the signs of the times point to partition. As to the Trans-Persian Railway—let us keep the Russian section as far from India, Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf as it is possible to keep it.

But we have yet one other quarter to watch—the old quarter which more than any other gave rise to the "Central Asian" watchword. I refer to the Russian territory which borders Badghis and the Oxus on the north. Since the conclusion and ratification of the Anglo-Russian Convention that region formerly most closely watched by India and England has been almost forgotten. It is not likely that the Amir of Afghanistan forgot it, but certainly the eyes of the general public have not been rivetted upon it as they were 15 or 20 years ago. But now, Russia is ready to resume projects which have lain dormant. We had almost forgotten that a railway from Samarcand to the Oxus has been spoken of ever since the work of the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1884-6 was completed. For the last year or two our Foreign Office and the Government of India have been intent on the problems created by railway projects in Persia and Turkish Arabia. India seemed far more anxious to protect Afghanistan than to protect herself from the possible results of Russian Railway enterprise in Persia. And now a paragraph in the newspapers reminds us that, protect as we may Afghanistan on the west the entire north frontier of that country is only protected from Russia by the prestige of the British Empire, and the military forces of the Afghan kingdom, backed by those which India can spare in the hour of danger. The place on the Oxus which could be the objective of a line from Samarcand is Termez which is situated close to Patta-Hissar, the point at which the navigation of the Oxus by steamer from the sea of Aral ceases. Report even shows that the Russians talk of bridging the Oxus at this spot; but in that the Amir of Afghanistan has a voice. Termez leads straight on to Mazar-i-sharif, and from there several routes lead on to Kabul. It would require some careful calculation to state whether the Russian at Termez or the Briton at Landi-Kotal would be most easily within military reach of Kabul. Various considerations would have to be weighed, not the least being the attitude of the Amir when the crisis came. Suffice it now to point out that the "Central Asian question" is not dead; and that, just as he did thirty years ago, the Russian statesman may now with equal felicity remark:—"When we want to put pressure on England in Europe, we make a little demonstration on the North-West Frontier." That game is not yet played out; and the fact that that is so once more awakens us to a sense of the incalculable value of India—India, be it understood, royal and faithful—to the British Empire.—A. C. Yarn in the *Times of India*.

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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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The truth thou hast, that all may share
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They only live who dare!

—Marx.

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We regret we forgot to announce in our issue of 12th July that there would be no issue of the "Comrade" on the 15th on account of Shab-barat.—Ed. "Comrade"

The Week

The Balkan Crisis.

London, July 11.

DISPATCHES from Athens and Belgrade indicate that the Greeks and the Serbians have joined hands near Ishtip, the former after severe fighting in the passes of Mount Beliani, threatening the rear of the Bulgarian Army Corps whose front was engaged by the Serbians. An unconfirmed report says that two divisions, under General Ivanoff, Victor of Adrianople, surrendered after their retreat caused by the Greeks and the Serbians.

Turkey is determined to occupy forthwith the whole of the territory southwards of the Enos-Midia line. Troops are already moving and horses for transport are being requisitioned wholesale.

A telegram from Paris says: It is officially confirmed that Bulgaria has appealed to Russia for intervention. It is understood that Russia will readily accept the office of peacemaker, provided there is no more haggling and Bulgaria shows a more conciliatory attitude to the claims of Serbia and Greece. The road to Sofia is practically open. It is expected that an armistice will be concluded immediately.

A telegram to the Times from Sofia says that the King of Rumania has declared war on Bulgaria and has recalled the Rumanian Minister at Sofia.

A Vienna message states that it is stated here that Rumanian troops crossed the Bulgarian Frontier yesterday afternoon.

London, July 12.

It is semi-officially declared in Athens that Greece, replying to the representations of the Powers, has intimated that peace would be signed on the battlefield. There is a complete lull in the theatre of war. The representation of Russia and the other Powers are apparently making themselves felt with the armies. The Greek papers talk of marching on Sofia to avenge the dastardly cruelties perpetrated by the troops of the Red Tsar upon wounded soldiers and aged men and women, and children. It is improbable, however, that the Allies will push their advantage so far, specially in view of the declared intention of Rumania to protect either side in the struggle which is dangerously threatened. Many preliminaries will doubtless require settlement before a Conference is held in St. Petersburg. Bulgaria will apparently have to acquiesce in the others quietly possessing territory which she fully intended to have. There is some apprehension that Greece may demand overmuch, including the whole of the coast to Enos. The exhaustion of men, money, and supplies from which all are suffering will probably have a calming influence. There is extreme exasperation in Greece at the reports officially published by the order of the King of the massacre of a Greek Bishop, priest and prominent men by Bulgarians, when evacuating Demirhissar. Similar reports come from Serres.

A Sofia message states that speaking in the Chamber, the Premier declared that Government had always favoured peace, and had accepted the Tsar's proposals for arbitration. He maintained that there was no question of an unpremeditated attack on the part of Bulgaria. He thought the declaration of war against Bulgaria absolutely unjustifiable. Bulgaria was prepared to submit to the tribunal of the conscience of Europe.

While Sofia is silent regarding the operations, beyond briefly chronicling the advance of the Rumanians, who have occupied Tchifontekui and Dobritch (also known as Bazarjik), and stating that thousands of refugees are flocking into Sofia, telegrams from Athens and Belgrade are full of gruesome details of alleged atrocities by the fleeing Bulgarians. King Constantine has telegraphed to the Greek Foreign Minister on the subject. He says: "Protest in my name to the representatives of the civilised Powers against the acts of these monsters in human form, and say that I, to my regret, have been compelled to wreak vengeance in order to inspire terror in these monsters, who have surpassed all the horrors of barbaric times, and have proved that they have no longer the right to be reckoned among civilised people."

London, July 13.

Meanwhile, Turkey has rejected concessions regarding the frontier offered by the Bulgarian plenipotentiary sent to Constantinople for that purpose, and has ordered the troops at Tchataldja, Bulair and Gallipoli to hold themselves in readiness to advance. Izzet Pasha who is commanding in Turkey, will sign an agreement with Serbia to-day, and is negotiating an agreement with Greece.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that the Turkish army yesterday evening started on march to Adrianople. The Turks' move is apparently actuated by the uncompromising attitude of Bulgaria and also by the feeling that they cannot allow Greece to become master of the whole Aegean coast.

A Constantinople message states that the Bulgarians' plenipotentiary Natchevitch on visiting the military Governor of Stambul, said he regretted the failure of his mission which he had hoped would have resulted in a Turco-Bulgarian Alliance.

The Bulgarian Government has ordered the military authorities to arrange with the Ottoman commanders for Bulgarian troops to evacuate those territories which, according to the Treaty of Peace, are to be handed over to Turkey.

According to Turkish accounts, Turkey will recover a large part of Thrace under the agreement with Servia.

Official circles state that Rumania proposes to annex the quadrilateral formed by Silistria, Rustchuk, Shumla and Varna.

A Sofia message states that it is officially stated here that the story of the capture of General Ivanoff with two Divisions is ridiculous. He was with the Second Bulgarian Army and carried out a brilliant retreat before an overwhelming force of Greeks.

A Constantinople message says: The Minister of the Interior has decided to despatch a commission composed of Captain C. P. Deedes, of the British army, and three Turkish officials to Armenia to study the demands of the population.

London, July 14.

The Rumanians have already occupied Dobritch and Paltchik to the eastward, and are reported to be at Rustchuk and Korabia on the Danube. It appears certain that the Greeks and Servians intend to make Bulgarian excesses an important factor in the ultimate settlement. Semi-official statements declare that they cannot allow Servian and Greek subjects to be again exposed to the tender mercies of any Bulgarian administration whatever. This points to a considerable enlargement of the Greek and Servian aspirations for territory. Both the States seem to be hardening their hearts against any treating with Bulgaria except upon the battlefield. The causes of the Bulgarian collapse are much discussed. It is ascribed primarily to contempt for the enemy, further to a disbelief in the capacity of the Greeks and Servians for vigorous aggression, divided counsels, excess of untrained troops, and scarcity of officers. It remains to be seen whether the plans attributed in Constantinople to the Turkish Government of re-taking possession of Thrace, and thrusting Bulgaria back to the old frontier will be carried out. Bulgaria is incapable at the present time of offering serious resistance.

A Salonica message says: A Greek journalist sends a sensational account of Bulgarian proceedings at Serres, saying that before burning it, they pillaged the whole town, not even sparing the Austrian Consulate in spite of the representations of the Consul, who was wearing his official uniform. The Austrian consul's wife's jewels were stolen. The Italian Consulate only escaped through the Consul paying a ransom.

It is officially stated that prior to evacuating Serres, the Bulgarians fired the city nearly the whole of which was destroyed. Twenty thousand, out of 37,000 inhabitants, are homeless.

King Ferdinand is reported to be in bed at Sofia with acute rheumatism. The stories of Bulgarians' atrocities are flatly denied at Sofia, where counter-charges of a similar character are made against the Servians and the Greeks. An international enquiry is suggested.

The armies from Tchataldja and Bulair are advancing by forced marches. They have already reached Ohrida unopposed. The Bulgarians have evacuated Rodosto, devastating the villages along the route of retreat. There is great military activity in Constantinople. Troops, artillery, and provision convoys from Asia Minor are constantly arriving.

The Turkish Embassy emphatically contradicts any intention of Turkey to go to Adrianople or anywhere beyond the Enos-Midia line.

A Sevastopol wire says that a Bulgarian gunboat and six torpedo boats have taken refuge here from the Rumanian fleet.

Mr. F. D. Asland, in reply to Sir Mark Sykes in the House of Commons to-day, said, with reference to alleged Bulgarian atrocities: "I have hitherto taken action only in cases of alleged ill-treatment of Mussulmans, as it is natural that when Turkey has evacuated a territory in which Mussulmans are in minority a neutral power with Mussulman subjects should interest itself on their behalf. I cannot undertake to investigate all charges of ill-treatment on the part of the Balkan States against one another while the war is in progress."

M. Venezelos, the Greek Premier, has gone to Nish to confer with M. Pasitch, the Servian Premier.

London, July 15.

Apparently there is lull in fighting in the Balkans. The only report of hostilities, which comes from Belgrade, mention slight skirmishes yesterday. In the Commons yesterday Mr. David Mason (Liberal)

urged Sir Edward Grey to attempt mediation and suggest an armistice between the Balkan States. Sir Edward in reply said that mere words would not affect a war characterised by such passion and appalling risks to belligerents. It was impossible for the Concert of Europe forcibly to impose peace as a whole. The best (sic) prospect was that a war so exhausting and horrible would arise to endanger the Concert of Europe and thus lead to consequences more disastrous than anything that had yet occurred. There was every prospect of the Powers remaining in touch. He hoped that Turkey would not advance beyond the point she had announced.

The journal *Estia* says that the Servians and Greeks have resolved to advance to Sofia if necessary. A message from Athens to the *Daily Telegraph* says that a secret treaty between Servia and Greece was signed at Salonica in May extending the Greek boundaries and giving Servia an outlet on the Aegean Sea, and binding the partners to fight till Bulgaria acquiesces in the arrangement.

The Rumanians have occupied Turtukai, thus completing the occupation of the whole of the new territory along the line to Baltchik. According to an authoritative statement, Rumania will now endeavour to induce Bulgaria to come to terms with Greece and Servia. Her aim is to secure a definitive settlement, no single State having preponderance. This implies that Rumania will enter the further Balkan Allies' Alliance.

In the House of Commons this evening, Sir Edward Grey said that Greece and Servia had demanded of Bulgaria to accept certain conditions prior to an armistice. The attitude of the Great Powers remained the same. They wished to keep in touch, and promote peace by diplomatic influence, to abstain from forcible intervention and to claim nothing for themselves individually.

Official reports from Sofia insist that the whole of the Servian and Greek armies have been fighting mere Bulgarian Divisions, which conducted a retreat with splendid heroism. The reports add that the army under General Ivanoff is now in an excellent position and is ready to shatter the most desperate attempts of the Greek Army.

The Greeks have occupied Drama after five hours' fighting.

London, July 16.

An Athens wire says: Replying to the representation of Russia, Greece state that she will only consent to the cessation of hostilities when Bulgaria consents on the battlefield to abandon all territories occupied by the Allies, pay an indemnity for the expenditure in war, and for damage to burned towns and villages, guarantee the life, property, and religious freedom of the Greeks in Thrace, and demobilise within a fixed period.

A *Times* message from Sofia says that Dr Danef and his Cabinet have resigned. Russia has been pressing Bulgaria to surrender her claim to large tracts on the west bank of the Vardar, besides the whole of western Macedonia on terms exceeding the limits of Greek pretensions hitherto.

M. Venezelos, the Greek Premier, has gone to Nish to confer with M. Pasitch, the Servian Premier.

The Turks crossed the Enos-Midia line yesterday and marched thirty kilometres beyond Bunarhisar. The Turks met with no opposition.

Reuter learns that the Conference of Ambassadors has unanimously endorsed Sir Edward Grey's principle for non-intervention and has decided on the formation of a gendarmerie for Albania under foreign officers, probably under a Prince. Questions connected with the Epirus frontier are still not settled.

Salonica: The Greeks have occupied Nevrokop.

In the House of Lords on the evening of 6th July Lord Lamington asked whether the Government, by means of an International Commission, or otherwise would secure to Muhammadans in the Balkans the use of the lands from which they have been driven, or compensation. Lord Lamington suggested that representation be made to the Powers to this end. Lord Newton supported.

Lord Morley replied that there was no precedent for such action. There were many difficulties in the way. Lord Morley proposed to point out what had been already done to show that action of the kind suggested was not likely to be necessary. The Foreign Office had received a complaint from the Turkish Government that the Bulgarian Government had decreed confiscation of all property abandoned by Mussulmans, but enquiry showed that there was no such decree. On the contrary, an undertaking had been given that the land of Mussulmans would be cultivated during the absence of owners and restored to them when they returned.

Bulgaria had also given orders to preserve all moveable property left behind with a view to its restoration to owners. The Government considered that the question would be settled most conveniently between the Government of Turkey and the Balkan States. During the war between Turkey and the Balkan States, Government had made representations on behalf of the Mussulman population to an

extent never done before. They did that because they believed that while the war was in progress, nobody was able to speak on their behalf in the name of the Powers as a whole.

Lord Lamington pressed the suggestion, laying emphasis on the misery of the refugees. Lord Morley assured the House that this painful matter was receiving the attentive consideration of the Foreign Office.

The Butchers' Strike.

Deputy Commissioner's Orders.

SINCE resuming duty on July 3rd, I have been enquiring into the trouble which has arisen between the Delhi Municipal authorities and the butchers and which has caused all the butchers of Delhi to close their shops. I received yesterday, July 4th, a deputation of about 15 butchers headed by Hafiz Abdul Aziz, Pleader. Among other matters he represented to me that the butchers of Delhi had been advised to close their shops by the Tehsildar and he produced a copy of the order in question. I then turned up the original of that order and I find that the order was one which referred to five beef shops. The Tehsildar had directed the five beef butchers in question to refrain from selling meat under penalty of prosecution unless they first obtained a regular license from the Deputy Commissioner. The form of the order was that the butchers mentioned below (i. e., *Dukandaran* *zel*) were to close their shops. In the order which appears to have been promulgated by the Tehsildar the order purports to have been issued to the "Butchers of Delhi (i. e., *Dukandaran* Delhi). It is clear that the word "*zel*" and the word "Delhi" when written in Urdu are very similar indeed, and owing to this clerical error a great deal of misunderstanding and trouble has arisen. From the files I see that various orders have been issued by the municipality on the subject of meat shops, the general trend being to direct the closure of private shops in Wards numbers 2 and 3 and also in the small part of Ward No. 7 which adjoins Ward No. 3. Apparently in Ward No. 2 there is no meat shop except a shop where cooked meat is sold. At all events the most recent order now in force is that of the President of the Municipal Committee, passed after receiving deputations, and dated 5th June, 1913. The President directed the twelve unlicensed mutton sellers to go to the market or close their shops, the mutton sellers with yearly licenses were to be allowed to continue selling meat till their licenses expired, that is, till March 31st, 1914, and the holders of temporary licenses (four in number) which were granted until a market was opened, were directed to apply for accommodation in the market. It is not at present clear to me what objection is made to this order of the President, because, Hafiz Abdul Aziz has not been in a position to make a full representation on the subject.

2 It is, I know, the avowed object of the Municipal Committee to erect in Delhi as many as nine meat markets at central places. According to present intentions the number of stalls in these markets will vary from six in the Eglinton-road Market to nearly forty in the Farash Khana market. As soon as the various markets are built it is the intention of the Committee to direct the small meat shops close by (in which the flesh of 3 or 4 goats is sold daily), and to direct the local butchers to move into the markets or else to make their shops sanitary. The butchers who occupy these very small shops must be very poor and cannot afford to make their shops sanitary so it is necessary that they should close their shops unless a few small butchers can combine to make one shop sanitary.

3. Accordingly there is no objection whatever to all butchers in Delhi except those in Ward 3 opening their shops at once and selling meat. The mutton sellers who have no licenses should apply to the Municipal Committee for them at once, and the beef sellers who have no licenses should similarly apply to the Deputy Commissioner. This is mere compliance with the existing law.

4. In respect of the butchers of Ward No. 3, since the butchers are not satisfied with the orders of the President, issued on June 5th, 1913, it is preferable that their shops should remain closed for a few days. For the convenience of residents of this ward a market near the Dufferin Bridge has been opened. I am prepared to examine at once the question of Ward No. 3 in detail with the Health Officer or other Municipal Officers and representatives of the residents and butchers of locality and I hope that in the course of a few days I shall be able to advise the Municipal Committee as to what shops should be allowed to continue and what steps to take to encourage sales of meat in the market.

5. This order is to be published at once throughout the city, so that the butchers may know how matters stand and so that they may make any further petitions to me if they still have any further grievances.

Since writing the foregoing, I have received a deputation headed by Pirzada Mahomed Hussain who made a general representation on the subject. I have explained to them the intentions of the Municipal Committee and have shown them this order (which was written on July 5th, 1913). The deputation are satisfied with the decision and have promised to produce representative butchers and residents of Ward No 3 for final decision on the 9th instant.

(Sd.) H. C. BRADON,

Deputy Commissioner

July 7, 1913

II

In accordance with the directions in para. 4 of my order, dated 7th July 1913, the butchers and influential residents of Ward No. III have waited upon me, and I have interviewed them in the presence of the Health Officer. It appears that none of the butchers' shops in this Ward are licensed though four shops did have some temporary licenses which expired from three to four years ago.

The principle objection of the butchers is that they should not be required to obtain the licenses from the Committee for premises for the sale of meat. They wish to be left free and independent in this matter. I have explained to them that in this country where one of the important sects hold religious scruples, it is essential that Government should assume control as to when and under what conditions meat may be sold, and further that Government has passed laws on the subject. In the case of beef shops the control of which is so important, the power has been given to the Deputy Commissioner to issue or refuse licenses, but in the case of other meat the power has been enacted to the Municipal Committee.

The Municipal Committee now insist on exercising their legal authority to insist on licenses being obtained for premises for the sale of meat. The Municipal Committee are willing to grant such permanent licenses for shops which are in a suitable location and which from a sanitary point of view are fit for the sale of meat, but the Committee reserve the right to resume any license, if after due notice the shop keeper fails to keep his shop sanitary to the satisfaction of the Committee.

2 Now that the matter has been put before them in this light, the butchers of Ward No. III have agreed that the attitude of the Municipal Committee is reasonable and just, they are ready to comply with the law, and have promised to apply for licenses within one week. They further state that all the butchers of Delhi will gladly agree to these terms and conform to these laws and rules.

In the circumstances they are willing and should be permitted to open their existing shops in anticipation of the issue of licenses.

3 I have also explained to the meeting the policy of the Municipal Committee in constructing markets, as was mentioned in para. 2 of my order of 7th July, 1913. They quite understand that these markets are being built in order to give persons who prefer clean meat an opportunity of obtaining it. Sheikh Karim Bakish has promised on behalf of the butchers to fill before 16th July, 1913, the six stalls comprising the western half of the Dufferin Bridge market with 3 beef sellers and three (sheep's) mutton-sellers. It is admitted that this will be a satisfactory arrangement because only Europeans and Christians eat sheep's mutton and the caste question does not arise. In the other half of the market which is to be reserved for the sale of goats flesh, Shajuddin and Sharafuddin have agreed to open before 16th July, 1913, a shop, and the Committee may of course fill the other stalls as they please.

I have told them that I will ask the Committee to charge no rent for these stalls for three months to enable these butchers to give the scheme a thorough trial.

4 The butchers have also put forward minor grievances in connection with the slaughter-house, but these are of an ephemeral nature which can be dealt with by the Health Officer and the Municipal Committee.

Referring that for a moment to para. 2 of this order I note that if any of the butchers fail to apply for licenses for their shops by due date the Municipal Committee should issue to them the notices referred to in Section 197, Municipal Act, i. e., to discontinue sale of meat in such premises, and if the order is not complied with the Committee should prosecute for a breach of the bye-laws. Owing to an oversight in passing the bye-laws the Municipal Committee have no powers of control over the sale of buffalo meat. This should be remedied as soon as possible by an amendment to the definition of meat. As soon as the butchers have settled to work again the Municipal Committee should wind up their temporary arrangements for the supply of meat. I note that the Health Officer also is satisfied with all these arrangements.

(Sd.) H. C. BRADON,

Deputy Commissioner,

Delhi, 9th July 1913.

TETE À TETE



THE Private Secretary to the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad writes to us as follows:—"With reference to your article entitled 'The Cawnpore Sacrilege,' published in the *Comrade* of the 12th

July, I am directed to say that the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad sent the Memorial of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore to the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor per post and did not submit it in person to Sir James Meeson at Simla, as announced in your paper. The matter is too small to discuss further. We readily accept the above statement, but can we be sure that it is more than technically true? It is an open secret that the Raja Sahib tried his best to induce Sir James to alter his decision, and that he had every hope that Sir James's decision would be altered. Surely that is much more to the point than the fact that the memorial was sent "per post" and not submitted "in person."

WE HAVE received the following letter, dated 23rd June, from Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, General Manager of the All-India Medical Mission:—"I am sure Dr Ansari will be writing heaps of matter for the *Comrade* about only too many events

that have taken place. Not knowing definitely where Dr. Ansari is, I am sending you all the papers in connection with the *Mukad-dira* Scheme and also the account upto last night. These papers, as a matter of course, should go to the Director, but his definite address not being known, I am sending them to the Director's representative. Twenty-two persons have been sentenced to be hanged, including Prince Sabahuddin and Shareef Pasha. This morning twelve were hanged in a line near Bayazid mosque near the big gate of the Seraskar's. Sabahuddin is under the protection of the Russians. One of the arch-assassins, Nazim, is still at large. The other leading men and wire-pullers are on the Continent and in Paris. It is rumoured here that the Army is in a troubled state, and a large section demands that if the assassins of Sherket Pasha have been hanged, those of Nazim Pasha should also be hanged. It is also rumoured that they propose to march on Stambul and kill the Committee leaders for *infatam*. They also say that it was Eaver Bey's shot that killed Nazim, and therefore this hero should be hanged. I am afraid some of the Embassies are deeply involved in the present troubles, and I will not be at all surprised if these rumours also take their origin there. But as far as conjecture goes the Committee leaders are masters of the situation, and no such terrible events as have been mentioned will take place. I returned only half an hour ago from the place where these men are still hanging. The gallows were placed on two sides of a triangle with Damed Shah Pasha at the apex. Photographs were also taken, and if I secure the same they will also be sent. The Mission has finished its work and Doctor Ansari has gone. I have stayed on because there were heaps of things to be done, particularly the translation of the Visitors' Books of the two hospitals. Some bills were also to be settled. There is no special news about the Members. As soon as I have finished the work of the Mission, Shoaib, Khaliq, Mansoor and Ghulam Ahmed Khan will go and stay in some rooms and leave the present ones. Maulana Mohamed Shareef and Mirza Abdul Quayyum are going for the Colonization work to Adana. Doctor Muhammadullah, Husaid Husaid and Talassul Husain are going to Medina. This is the total amount of news of the remnants of the Mission that was once so great! I will be in India by the middle of August." In a letter received by the next mail, Mr. Abdur Rahman sends more reassuring news. He writes: "Affairs here are going on smoothly, although big parties of *straw* do ride about the city day and night. Nazim, Abdur Rahman and Hikmat, who hid themselves probably in a Russian Man-o-War for some days, were arrested yesterday in Kara Hissar, Anatolia. There is already a sentence of death against Nazim who will be

hanged as soon as he comes. The other two will be tried. There is absolutely no danger as regards the army at Tchataldja. I hope our friends in the Embassies did not succeed in creating any mischief there. As in the days of the late Young Turk Ministry so now also fires take place daily in Constantinople. Yesterday there were three. I shall not at all be surprised if the excellent Police Commandant Ezmi Bey finds out some connection between the plot and these fires. Yesterday at three in the morning a fire broke out in some small shops—absolutely uninhabited in the night—near the office of Ezmi Bey, the Police Commandant, and at four o'clock in the evening the house but one next to Talaat Bey's blazed forth, and with it completely ruined many more houses. Talaat Bey's house was fully gutted. Only some of the most valuable things were saved. Rumour also says that the idea was that on hearing of the fire Talaat Bey would perhaps rush forth to save his family without taking the necessary precautions. And then in the confusion of the moment it would be very easy to shoot him. But thank God nothing of the sort happened and Talaat Bey is quite safe."

NUMEROUS reports have been reaching us of meetings held in different parts of the country, which indicate the intensity of the Moslem feeling to which the Cawnpore sacrilege has given rise. Everywhere

it has been urged that matters should not be left where they are, but that no pains should be spared to press the Moslem standpoint and move the higher authorities to undo the great wrong. Meanwhile very questionable tactics are being resorted to in Cawnpore to hush up popular indignation and to impose on the mutawallis with a view to induce them to accept a plot of land in exchange for the demolished portion of the mosque. Ignorant Mussalmans are being forced by certain hirelings to sign letters to the mutawallis the contents of which they do not understand. Others who do understand are weak-kneed enough to succumb to threats and temptations of various kinds. Evidently the farce is being prepared for the edification of the Lieutenant-Governor when he visits Cawnpore on 9th August. It would then be declared with triumph that the mutawallis are in possession of the opinions of about four or five thousand Moslems of Cawnpore who have no objection to the settlement of the matter in accordance with the official view, and that the whole outcry has been engineered by mischievous agitators, who love to pander to the religious passions of the mob. Those who hope to hoodwink the Mussalmans by this game of bluff are merely deceiving themselves. One needs not too closely analyse the net and its motive that can only be justified by such dubious tactics. We do not think the Provincial Governments or district authorities in India have become morally bankrupt. Is it then prestige that keeps the Cawnpore authorities from dealing with a serious grievance of the people in an open and straightforward manner? Be that as it may, the Cawnpore affair has made a deep impression throughout Moslem India and cannot be settled by threats and bribes. We will deal with some aspects of the subject more fully in our next.

RECENTLY we had noted a considerable easing of the situation in respect of the butchers' strike in Delhi since the return of Major Beadon, and now we are glad to record that the strike has practically ended. Much of this is due to Major

Beadon's conciliatory attitude and his ready efforts to recognise what was reasonable in the butchers' standpoint. His first order issued on the subject on the 7th instant was briefly noticed by us, and we had expressed the hope that the matter will be amicably settled. In this order Major Beadon referred to a "clerical error" owing to which the *Isildar* had directed all the butchers' shops to be closed. "The form of the order was that the butchers mentioned below (i.e., *dukandaran* *zel*) were to close their shops. The order which is supposed to have been promulgated purports to have been issued to the 'Butchers of Delhi' (i.e., *dukandaran* *Delhi*). It is quite clear that the word *zel* and the word *Delhi* when written in Urdu are very similar indeed. . . . This was the initial misunderstanding which led to all subsequent trouble. We wonder why it should have been left for Major Beadon to detect the error. It would seem that Mr. Jacob, his predecessor in office, never took the trouble to look carefully into the origin of the whole affair. His one concern seemed to be not to appear as giving way to the representations of the people. We would like to know if he was all the time unaware of the "clerical error" and of the form in which the order issued by himself had reached the butchers. Apparently he took good care to see that little chance was given to the butchers to clear up the misunderstanding and state their grievances fully and unreservedly. Did he, then, deliberately persist in his attitude, knowing all the while that "the clerical error" had been committed, but thinking it below his dignity to own it up in the face of mere butchers? Major Beadon, however, wisely took the butchers into his confidence and explained to them the attitude of the Municipal Committee.

In his order of the 9th instant he summarised his conclusions and stated that "the Municipal Committee now insist on exercising their legal authorities to insist on licenses being obtained for premises for the sale of meat. The Municipal Committee are willing to grant such permanent licenses for shops which are in suitable location and which from a sanitary point of view are fit for the sale of meat, but the Committee reserves the right to resume any license, if after due notice the shopkeeper fails to keep his shop sanitary to the satisfaction of the Committee." Exactly the same solution was suggested to Mr. Jacob, but he stoutly refused to alter his views. One wonders why such a reasonable demand was resisted by him to the last, regardless of the genuine grievance of the butchers, of the serious hardships to which the people were subjected and of the daily aggravating situation. However, we are glad Major Beadon has succeeded where Mr. Jacob failed, and the lesson will not, we trust, be entirely lost on the latter. It now remains only for the Municipal Committee to make it thoroughly clear that the licenses granted to butchers under certain conditions will be permanent. The butchers have accepted the decision of the Deputy Commissioner on this understanding, and we trust Major Beadon's assurance will remain binding on the Municipal authorities. There is another matter which the butchers' strike has brought to light, and it is of sufficient seriousness to deserve comment. The Municipal Committee is nominally responsible for the action recently taken to regulate the sale of meat. Virtually, however, Mr. Jacob rode the situation as long as he was its Chairman, and now Major Beadon has settled the matter evidently on his own initiative. There is, of course, a world of difference between Mr. Jacob's idiosyncracies and Major Beadon's tactful handling of the situation. All the same, both these officers seem to us to have exercised independent judgment, to have tried their own methods of solution and to have shown by the very difference of their ways in treating the question that the Municipal Committee possesses no will of its own. Does it, then, exist simply to register the decrees of its Chairmen? It would be far better if it were to quietly dissolve itself than perpetuate a farce in local self-government. A section of the people have a serious grievance in a purely local matter, and the city fathers feel no higher concern than to anxiously study the bent of the official mind. Surely a curious commentary this on our capacity to deal with our own affairs!

The Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League has forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, for submission to the Government of India, copy of the resolution relating to the separation of Executive and Judicial functions which was passed at the last session of the All-India Moslem League, held at Lucknow, on the 22nd and 23rd March, 1918. In submitting the resolution the Hon. Secretary observes that the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions is a question which has engaged the attention, not only of Indian publicists, but of distinguished Englishmen jealous of the good name of British justice, for decades past. The matter has been more than once brought to the notice of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and in 1899 a memorial was presented to the latter signed by such distinguished men as Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Richard Garth, Sir John Phillimore, Sir William Markby and others equally distinguished. The question was brought to a front when Sir Harvey Adamson unequivocally condemned the present system in his memorable speech delivered in the Viceroyal Legislative Council on 28th March, 1906. "The inevitable result of the present system," said the Hon. Member, "is that criminal trials affecting the general peace of the district, are not always conducted in that atmosphere of cool impartiality which should pervade a court of justice . . . for it is not enough that the administration of justice should be fair, it can never be the bedrock of our rule unless it is also above suspicion." In consideration of these drawbacks of the existing system Sir Harvey announced on behalf of the Government of India that it was their future policy "to advance cautiously and tentatively towards the separation of Judicial and Executive functions in those parts of India where the local conditions were favourable. More than five years have passed since this definite and solemn pledge was given to the people, but as yet there are no signs of its being redeemed, although it has been stated more than once by responsible officials that the matter was continuously under the consideration of Government. The League, therefore, in view of the extreme urgency of substantial reform in this direction, hopes that the Government of India would lay all financial considerations aside and devote its immediate attention to the fulfilment of the solemn pledges given five years ago, thereby restoring the confidence of the people of India in the impartiality of British justice, on which depends the good name and prestige of British rule.

The Comrade.

The Second Lesson.

ONE lesson was administered to the Mussalmans of India for daring to have any feelings at all when the European Chairman of a Municipal Board had set his heart on demolishing a portion of a mosque, and a second lesson is now being administered to them for daring to take any interest in the unparalleled atrocities committed against the Turks by the Balkan Allies during the Turco-Balkan war. The fiat has gone forth from the serene heights of Simla in the honoured form of a *Gazette of India* Extraordinary—which generally announces to the world at large that some high dignitary of State has taken over charge of his exalted office under the usual salute—that "in exercise of the power conferred by section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878 (VIII of 1878), the Governor-General in Council is pleased to prohibit the bringing, by sea or by land, into British India of any copy of the pamphlet entitled 'Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us' published by 'Le Comité de Publication D. A. C. B.' (the Committee for the Publication of the Documents relating to the Atrocities of the Balkan Allies), 15 Rue Djagal Oglu, Constantinople." A similar Notification basing itself on section 12 of the Indian Press Act is also published in which the Governor-General in Council, acting as the Local Government of the Province of Delhi, is pleased to declare the above-mentioned pamphlet to be forfeited to His Majesty on the ground that the said pamphlet contains words and illustrations which are likely to bring into hatred or contempt certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in British India. We have to wait and see what other Local Governments do in the matter.

We do not know when the Government of India was apprised by its hosts of spies of the advent into India of the pamphlet now declared to be forfeited to His Majesty. But we have no hesitation in saying that we received a few copies some three months ago, and, when blocks for its gruesome illustrations were ready, we commenced reproducing it as a supplement to the *Comrade*, beginning with the issue of the 17th May and concluding in the issue of the 7th June. The pamphlet was also translated into Urdu, and this Urdu version was published in the issues of the *Hamdard* between the 6th and 28th June. Well, we may yet know that, like the mills of God, the mills of the Government of India grind precious small; but we are already assured by the issue of the *Gazette of India* Extraordinary that the mills of Government certainly grind very slowly. If we refrain for a moment from questioning the reasons advanced by the Government of India for this action, and accept them as correct, then we ask—what sense is there in bolting the stable after the horse has disappeared? We have no acquaintance of any sort whatsoever with "certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in British India" whom certain words and illustrations in the pamphlet in question "are likely to bring into hatred or contempt." But supposing that such persons exist, and are not creations of heat-oppressed brains, have four successive issues of the *Comrade* and eighteen issues of the *Hamdard* failed to bring them into hatred and contempt already? Some three thousand copies of the *Comrade* are issued every week, and on a safe estimate each copy is read by some five persons. Some fifteen thousand readers have thus been enabled every week to learn of the Macedonian atrocities, and, as it is not always the same persons who read the paper every week, it would be safe to estimate that during the four weeks in which the pamphlet was reprinted by instalments twenty-five to thirty thousand English-knowing readers have sipped the poison dispensed by our pharmacy. Others who were beyond the reach of the *Comrade*, have been served by the *Hamdard* in eighteen issues which must have been read by no less than a lakh of different persons. Other contemporaries have also reproduced the pamphlet, in its entirety or portions thereof, and, in short, every Mussalman who takes any interest in the miseries of his co-religionists must have already read enough to feel hatred and contempt for the savages who perpetrated these atrocities. Did the Government then believe that there was any love lost between those who read of these savage deeds and their authors that it comes out now, fully two months after the publication of the first issue of the *Comrade* which reproduced a portion of this pamphlet, with its solemn order of forfeiture? To our mind all that the order of Government is likely to do is to send such as have not yet read the pamphlet rushing for any copy of the *Comrade* or the *Hamdard* in which it had been reproduced that could be had for love or money. If so, shall we condemn the action of Government, or thank it for bringing grist to our mill? Well may the friends of Government say:

میسے اس زود پیشان کا پیشان موتا

(Oh the regrets of that quick-to-regret!)

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However, the pity of it is that even this modicum of good may not be extracted out of the order of forfeiture. The District Magistrate of Delhi, more prompt in carrying out the behest of the Government of India than the Government of India in issuing it, very early on the morning of the 19th instant, authorised and required Mr. P. Orde, the Acting Superintendent of Police, to call on us and require us to surrender to him not only all copies of the pamphlet declared to be forfeited, but also such portions of the issues of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* as contain reprints or translations of the pamphlet. If this promptness is praiseworthy, then shall our readers deny us a word of praise for forestalling even Major Beadon and sending to the Hon. Mr. Hailey, fully a day in advance of this, a communication informing him that we had some copies of the forfeited pamphlet, some copies of the issues of the *Comrade* in which it was reproduced by instalments as a supplement some extra copies of the reprint by itself, and some copies of the *Hamdard* in which its Urdu version was published by instalments, and requesting him to let us know what action we should take with respect to them? We have not yet received legal advice in the matter about our duties and our rights, and we are not sure that the authorities can legally confiscate every scrap of paper, written, typed or printed, which reproduces the smallest portion of the contents of the forfeited pamphlet. We had, therefore, asked Major Beadon whether he had any authority for requiring us to surrender the reprints and translations also, when the Government of India's Notification orders the forfeiture only of the original pamphlet published by the Turkish Committee at 15, Rue Djagal Oglou, Constantinople. We have not been favoured with a reply to this, but the Hon. Chief Commissioner informs us that we can apply to the District Magistrate who has issued the warrant for requiring the surrender of these papers, and we have in fact complied with the District Magistrate's order under protest, surrendering 3,762 copies of the above-mentioned supplements to the *Comrade* and 2,857 leaves of the different issues of the *Hamdard* containing the Urdu version together with four copies of the forfeited pamphlet. But without prejudice to our rights, we had informed Mr Orde that we had no objection to hand over to the authorities copies of the pamphlet in question and of the reprint as a supplement to the *Comrade*, which could be taken out of the paper without much difficulty. But we had added that the translation in the *Hamdard* (which was dispensed in small doses—to suit the capacity and the constitution of the readers of an Urdu journal), could not be taken out without running the file of the paper for June, as it was published in no less than eighteen issues of that month. We had, therefore, suggested that the copies of the issues of the *Hamdard* which contained any portion of the translation of the forfeited pamphlet, if they could lawfully be confiscated, should be left with us after being inked. This appeared to us to be the easiest solution, and there is ample precedent for it in the history of—Russia. When there was some doubt about the Churchmanly of Jowett in Oxford, and the friends of one more lost cause were as powerful as ever, they hit upon a pretext for getting rid of the famous Master of Balliol. It was decreed that he should be faced with the alternative of signing the Thirty-Nine Articles or resigning. When those who were armed with this warrant came to Jowett, and with solemn Sunday faces announced his fate to him, they were not a little astonished to find the suspect so calm and cool about the whole affair. "Will you sign the Thirty-Nine Articles, Sir?" said the warrant-bearers of the Church to Jowett. To which the Master of Balliol, in his coolest manner and most philosophical tone, "Yes, yes; that is—if you have a little ink." We promise the authorities that when we are required to score out the passages which they have after more than two months discovered contain words and illustrations likely to bring certain classes of His Majesty's subjects into hatred or contempt, we shall not even ask, like Jowett, if they have a little ink. We have enough of it in stock to give a dusky hue to every face in this liberty-loving Empire of ours.

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But to be serious, for even, in honour of so solemn an occasion, we should like to know who are those "certain classes of His Majesty's subjects" whom the pamphlet is likely to bring into hatred or contempt. We have not the faintest doubt that even if their actions, as reported in the most important English and Anglo-Indian newspapers, had failed to bring the Bulgarians, and to some extent all the Balkan Allies, into hatred and contempt, the grouping together in the pamphlet in question of the contents of the reports received by the Committee for the Publication of the Documents relating to the Atrocities of the Balkan Allies must have succeeded in doing so. For a man must himself be most contemptible and hateful if the bare recital of the horrors of this war did not make him hate, and look with contempt on the Bulgarians. But what are the Bulgarians to the Government of India, or the Government of India to the Bulgarians? They are, so far as we know, still the

subjects of Tsar Ferdinand, though Tsar Nicholas of All the Russias, who evidently does not love a "Big Bulgaria", would like to be recognised as their overlord, and, in fact, considers all Slav States as one of the many Russias of his official title. But it may be that, with more justification than Italy in the case of Tripoli, King Peter of Serbia, King Constantine of Greece, or King Charles of Rumania, or all the three together, uniting in a condominium invented by the genius of Great Britain for the special benefit of Egypt in the case of Soudan, have annexed Bulgaria, and the Bulgarians are no more the subjects of Tsar Ferdinand. But could England, so quick at recognising annexations, have left this one unrecognised? How comes it then that we are seriously asked to fraternize with thrice savage Bulgars as fellow-subjects. Has Sir Edward Grey, for whom no praise appears to Englishmen of all parties to-day as in any degree extravagant, followed the Balkan fashion and "liberated" the people of Bulgaria? If not, can the Government of India be referring to Englishmen? If so, then, if a perusal of this pamphlet can possibly bring any Englishman into hatred or contempt, it must be Sir Edward Grey whose insignificant—or rather significant—regrets and representations to the Governments of the Allies have been denounced by every Muslim in India who has been able to read the newspapers with any intelligent interest. But even without this pamphlet Indian Mussalmans loved not the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain with an excess of zeal. They could not have loved any more his colleague, Mr. Masterman, who was the first Minister of the Crown to give expression to views offensive to Mussalmans all the world over. They could not have felt any greater affection for Mr. Winston Churchill who regarded the war against Turkey as amply justifiable, but, in spite of his big Navy, has been unable to prevent what he no doubt regards as a suicidal struggle of the Christian States of the Balkans and a crime. They could not have overflowed with the milk of human kindness for Mr. Lloyd-George, who must now be brooding over prophecies that have so unexpectedly been falsified, when he finds the area of good government and liberty once more shrinking to its former dimensions, and, in fact, the tide receding beyond the low-water mark of former days, unless he feels some consolation in the sea-change of Thrace with its lands laid waste, wells filled and trees cut down. And not to miss the archangel in this blessed host of angels, the Mussalmans could not have fervently acclaimed Mr. Asquith as a Daniel come to judgment when he guaranteed to the victors the fruits of victory, forgetting both the Glandstonian precedent in the Greco-Turkish war and his own Government's declared adherence to the *status quo ante bellum*, and denying to Providence the power to force the erstwhile victor back to his own little Principality to sue for peace at Sofia and for a large dole to the *vanquished* out of the fruits of another victory. But whatever hatred or contempt is felt in India for these disciples of Gladstone—whose only saving grace in Anglo-Indian eyes must be their recent foreign policy—the forfeited pamphlet can claim no credit for that consummation. But even if it could, the Notification cannot evidently refer to them. They are not,—and the Anglo-Indians are no doubt only too glad that they are not—in *British India*, and are, therefore, not "within the meaning of the Act." Can it be the Anglo-Indian officials? Well, let us see. While the Bulgars were killing, torturing and violating the Muslim population of the Balkans, these officials, headed by His Excellency the Viceroy himself, were subscribing to Turkish Relief Funds. We shall not say a word about their motives and have, in fact, no right to question them. But their acts were there for all to see, and we missed no opportunity of commending them to the attention, the admiration and the gratitude of Indian Muslims. But we little suspected that all these efforts would be nullified by the publication of a bare summary of the atrocities committed by the Bulgars and their quondam Allies and present enemies. Were the Balkan savages then the secret agents of Anglo-Indians, and has the forfeited pamphlet let out this secret that it should bring them into hatred and contempt?

IV.

But let that pass. What about all those English papers that published tales of these horrors? Are they also forfeited to His Majesty? Several Anglo-Indian papers reproduced these articles, and we have yet to see whether the Government of India confiscates, six months after the reproduction, all copies of such journals wherever to be found. But why refer to the tale of atrocities of this war alone? A year and a half ago the English Press was less silent over the Italian massacres in Tripoli than it has been a year later, when a far larger number of the Turks were massacred in Macedonia far more brutally and with far less provocation. Among those who wrote at the time on the subject of these massacres was Mr. James Douglas, who chose a paper devoted to wry nothings as a setting for his passionate denunciation of Europe and of England. He wrote:

What is wrong with England? For weeks I have been waiting to see her anger flash like fire against the Italian adventure in Tripoli, but I have waited in vain. Her soul seems to be dead. There does not appear to be a spark of moral indignation in her statement. She is sunk in the cold apathy which paralyses a selfish Europe. Her great men are dumb. Most of her newspapers are silent. With

folded hands England averts her gaze from the death-agony of the Arabs, whose sole crime is that they love their lands and their palm-trees. Her voice does not thunder against this shame of shame. She skulks like an accomplice. She cowers like an accessory. What is wrong with England?

It is said that 4,000 men, women and children were butchered by the Italians in three days. "The memory of this awful retribution," says the *Times* correspondent, "will take long to live down." It will never be lived down. It will brand Italy with indelible and everlasting shame. It will fill her lovers with the hate of hate and the scorn of scorn. Italia Irredenta is now a phrase charged with the sourest irony. Italy, indeed, is unredeemed and irredeemable!

But the blood of the Arabs defiles the whole map of Europe. It is not Italy alone that is stained with the innocent blood. The foul red blotch is on all the Christian Powers. Not one of them is clean. England, France, Russia, Germany, Austria—they are all stricken with blood guiltiness. The blood of the Arabs is on the lintels of every Chancery. Downing Street reeks with it. It congeals on the Quai d'Orsay. It streams along the Wilhelmstrasse. It trickles over the Ballplatz. It drips from the Quirinal. It reddens the mows of Petersburg. Yes, Europe, Christian Europe, is a den of cowardly murderers, all in league with each other, and there is not a statesman who has the courage to call upon the conscience of his fellows.

The Italian Censorship lies like a leprous pall over the Arab corpses, clad in white raiment, that taint the air in Tripoli. But is there only an Italian Censorship? Is there not an English Censorship? Is not the House of Commons gagged as no House of Commons in our annals has ever been gagged? Not a whisper breaks the evil silence which reigns in Westminster. All the factions are leagued together in a league of hell. The Ministerial benches are larded with reprobates. The Labour benches are upholstered with cowards. The Opposition is mute. Even the Irish are muzzled. Why? Because we have not in England a statesman big enough to set the nation on fire.

This was published in *London Opinion* and reproduced in the *Comrade* of 2nd December, 1911. But we had not yet lost grace, and no issue of the *Comrade* was forfeited to His Majesty by order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. We wonder what the District Magistrate of Delhi would have said to this. It is never too late to mend, and we shall gladly make a present to the police of Delhi of our copy of *London Opinion* and spare copies of the *Comrade* which reproduced the denunciation of James Douglas, if the Government of India would oblige us by ordering the *Comrade* to be forfeited to His Majesty—only 20 months after its publication!

V.

And if writings such as this have been permitted to be published, has any different treatment been meted out to questions asked in the two Houses of Parliament, reported by *Butler* and subsequently received in India in English newspapers? Mr. Walter Guinness (Bury, St. Edmunds) is not an Irish member and not one of the "friends of the Mussalmans" so often sneered at. On the 16th, the 21st and the 22nd January, and again a series of six questions on the 13th February last, in which he gave details no better and no worse than those published in the forfeited pamphlet. Why were those questions allowed to be published in India through *Butler* and the *London Times*, and to be reproduced by us in various papers? And, above all, why was the reply of Sir Edward Grey, allowed to be published in India if the Government of India intended to shield the Foreign Secretary from contempt and hatred? On the 22nd January, when replying to Mr. Walter Guinness and Sir Edward Grey, he had said: "It is extremely difficult to ascertain the authenticity attaching to the alleged facts. In the one case out of thousands reported in which this fastidious connoisseur of evidence could say he had been provided with 'sufficiently detailed' information, he had instructed His Majesty's Minister 'to express the hope that those proved guilty of excesses will be dealt with as justice demanded.' As if it was much consolation to anyone who had suffered from such excesses to know what His Majesty's Minister hoped or did not hope, and to be assured by Sir Edward Grey that those proved guilty in a Bulgarian mock-tribunal would be dealt with as Bulgarian justice demanded. On the 13th of February also, Sir Edward Grey, in spite of having received 'Consular reports containing statements substantially the same' as those of Mr. Guinness, referred him to the reply he had given on the 28th January. But Mr. Guinness, wanting to pin him down and not to let him off lightly, asked if the Right Hon. gentleman could not 'reassure our Muslim fellow-subjects in any case by expressing the horror which he feels at the well-authenticated cases which have reached him and by expressing his hope to the allied Governments that they will take steps to prevent repetitions.' What did Sir Edward say to this? Nothing more than the miserable apology for an expression of horror—which he no doubt felt! He said: 'Of course statements of this kind which appear, from whatever quarter they come, must be most painful and distressing reading.' Most painful and distressing reading indeed! And this is the statesman for failing to hug whom to their bosoms Indian Mussalmans are repeatedly lectured to by the Oracles of Printing House Square. 'As far as I am concerned,' said the Great Misunderstood, 'I must repeat again that the hon.

member never seems to attach the weight that ought to be attached to the action we have taken.' To hear this angel of a Foreign Minister bemoaning in this manner the sad fate of his assurances which assure nobody is really very painful and distressing reading. Anglo-India, however, has no faith in M. P.'s, be they red Radicals or cadaverous Conservatives. But what of its own bureaucrats? It is true Lord Lamington did not complete his term of office, but he was the Governor of Bombay for a fairly long time, and his intervention in questions affecting the East, and particularly those affecting India, cannot be placed in the same category as the 'airy nonsense' of 'six weeks' experts.' But far from attaching 'the weight that ought to be attached' to the action taken by Sir Edward Grey, even Lord Lamington, in raising in the Lords the question of the atrocities and the effect which the stories were having on Mussalmans in India, protested against Sir Edward Grey's statement in the Commons that the feeling in India was stimulated by questions in the Commons. These questions, said his Lordship, had done public service to the Empire and had shown the Mussalmans in India that they had friends in England. This was a perfectly just claim and Lord Lamington deserves the thanks of England no less than of Islam for his timely intervention. But what Lord Morley uttered in reply was—painful and distressing reading. If one did not expect an ex-Governor of Bombay to speak out the truth so boldly and so nobly, one expected a Morley even less to reply so lamely and so lamely. But even then Lord Morley did not fail to announce that 'the Government knew perfectly well, and certainly did not complain of it, that the Mussalmans in India were watching affairs in Tripoli, Morocco, and the Balkans with the greatest concern.' What has happened since then to persuade the Government to prevent—though much too late—the Mussalmans in India watching the affairs in the Balkans, and reading the accounts of the atrocities published in the forfeited pamphlet, with the greatest concern? Lord Lamington, according to Lord Morley, 'had not shown any connection between the feeling in India and any failure to take action on the part of the Government.' Will Lord Morley now show any connection between an innocent little pamphlet and the action taken by the Government of India with respect to it?

VI.

Let us turn for a moment to the contents of the pamphlet. The Government of India does not declare what words and what illustrations are likely to bring its protégés, the puzzling "certain cases of His Majesty's subjects in British India," into hatred or contempt? Without specifying those words and illustrations it is difficult to scold anyone of the justification of the Government's apprehensions. Nor has the Government satisfied the demands of the Press Act of its own creation by stating the grounds of its opinion. But so far as we are concerned, we can find nothing in the pamphlet that could even remotely be considered to be likely to bring any British subject into hatred or contempt. It contains a very brief summary of various reports and letters received by the Turks, and, even by European Christians, of the horrors committed by the Balkan Allies, and particularly by Bulgarians. These and similar horrors had been reported in newspapers from Constantinople before the pamphlet was received in India, and were now tabling tales of still greater horrors when the Government was stating Turkish territory or land recently occupied by the Allies. Then, why need the stomach of the Indian, who has supped with horrors, turn at the same dish served along with a preface by Sir Adam Black and a concluding appeal to the Englishman's public conscience, reputation for justice, sense of shame and humanity? Allah knoweth best, or perhaps even the Omniscient has delegated this power to the Government of India under its oft-attempted Delegation Act.

The object of this publication was to rouse the conscience of Europe, and particularly of England, against the "liberators" of European Turkey, and it was certainly not to bring the Christian subjects of His Majesty into hatred or contempt. It was for this reason that a text from the Acts was selected as the somewhat quaint title of the pamphlet. And the preface was contributed by perhaps the most important non-official Christian subject of His Majesty in Turkey, namely, Sir Adam Black, the President of the Council of Ottoman Public Debt. If there could be any doubt about the intention or the purpose of the publication, a perusal of the following extract from Sir Adam Black's preface would instantly remove it. He wrote:

I do not for a moment pretend that the Turks have been innocent of crimes and excesses in the past, or that they are entirely free from the charge of blood guiltiness in the last few months.

There cannot however be two weights and two measures, and the press of Europe and of the United Kingdom which has never failed to pass the severest condemnation on the Turks has on this occasion been strangely silent.

The Oriental, and the Turk in particular, has always respected and trusted the Englishman, because he is known to be a just man. I am afraid that this belief is passing away.

It is only by insisting on proper enquiry into these miserable events, and on the punishment of the guilty that this feeling of injustice which to-day rankles in the heart of the Turks can be eradicated.

I trust I am mistaken, but I am of opinion that, if crimes such as those set forth in this publication are allowed to pass unnoticed and uncondemned, then the cleavage between us and our Moslem fellow subjects may eventually become a serious matter.

I have not participated in the enquiries and investigations which have led to the publication of these reports.

However much scepticism may be expressed as to their veracity in every detail, there must still remain enough to warrant the hope that Europe, which has given easy credence to reports of the misdeeds of the Turk, will not lightly put aside the evidence now laid before it.

The miseries of the stricken Moslem population are by no means ended. From every part of the *Aspasia* comes the same sad story of starving and destitute refugees to whom the Turkish authorities, hard pressed for funds, are striving to give temporary relief until they can be passed on to Asia Minor to seek for new homes, in place of those they have irretrievably lost.

Due reparation is almost out of the question. The dead are gone for ever, but if one or more Powers of Europe were to show a material interest in the future lot of those who have survived these months of terror, it might to a certain extent mitigate the bitterness and heal the wounds of the past, thus paving the way to a reconciliation between East and West, between the Crescent and the Cross.

If this was the prologue, let us see what the epilogue contained. Therein the Turk in his misery, in his agony, thus addressed the Englishman whom he again assured in the word of Sir Adam Blook's Preface he had always trusted "because he is known to be a just man."

When you hear of thousands of peaceful peasants burned or buried alive, is it nothing to you? It seems almost less than nothing to your Foreign Office, merely "most painful and distressing reading."

Is the honour of a woman less precious to you, because she is a *Muhammedan*? When you read of infants being tortured to death before the eyes of their mothers, does it leave you indifferent?

If you have any public conscience or sense of responsibility for your Government's action abroad;

If you have any pride in your reputation for justice,

If you have any sense of shame;

If you have any humanity,

Come to the help of the people of Roumelia perishing in torture!

This pact cannot be undone, but if England wills it, these horrors must stop and the life, honour and property of Macedonians will be assured.

To think that an appeal such as this should bring any subject of His Majesty into hatred or contempt! If truth be told, hatred and contempt are more likely to be the portion of those who would shut out from their ears the cry of anguish which even the patiently suffering Turk could not altogether repress. How long shall Englishmen stuff cotton-wool in their ears and refuse to hear of the Turk's distress?

قرب می یار روز محشر چه بیگاستون کا خون کیوں کر
جو جب دھکی زبان خنجر لو پکار بگا آستین کا

(Friend, the day of reckoning is nigh; how will the blood of the martyrs be hidden? If the tongue of the dagger is silent, where will cry aloud the stain on the sleeve.)

VII

Sir Adam Blook in his preface talks of two weights and two measures. We ask the Government of India if in declining this pamphlet to be forfeited it has not done exactly that which Sir Adam condemns in the Press of Europe and of the United Kingdom? This is a bare recital of the horrors perpetrated mainly by the Bulgars against the Turks. But little more than a generation ago some premature attempts at a well-planned insurrection were made in Bulgaria, still an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, in September 1875, and in May 1876, shortly after a similar insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Turks suppressed the outbreaks as any European Power would suppress them in any of its Asiatic possessions to-day, and as a very large majority of Englishmen in India, sneering at "Clemency" Canning, wanted to suppress the mutiny less than twenty years before. English journalists including, we believe, our friend Sir Edwin Pears, legal adviser of the British (?) Red Crescent Society, proclaimed the so-called "Bulgarian Atrocities" from the house-tops. Did the British Government in England or in India suppress the newspapers that were exciting insular and ignorant Englishmen against Islam and bringing the Moslem subjects of Her late Majesty into hatred and contempt? Not a bit. Disraeli regarded the shouts of the atrocity-mongers as "coffee-house babble"; but Gladstone, emerging from his retirement, denounced the conduct of the Turks in language which must still be ringing in the ears of some of the bureaucrats at Simla. In a phrase which became famous, and which is no doubt the lodestar of Sir Edward Grey and his admirers to-day, he declared that the only remedy for the European provinces of Turkey was to turn the Turk out "bag and baggage." No one with any pretensions to understand the significance of English words and phrases, or appraise tastes and manners, can admire the literary merit or the refinement of this famous, or infamous, phrase. But when fanaticism and

bigotry enter through the door, literary polish and good taste leave precipitately through the window. Such was the force of the passions created by this leading statesman of England that an expression repellent of the odours of Whitechapel and Seven Dials is still fairly often heard in Westminster after some forty years. "In England the excitement, fanned by the eloquence of Gladstone," says a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "became intense, and compelled the Disraeli Cabinet to take part, very reluctantly, in a diplomatic campaign with the object of imposing radical reform on Turkey. In Russia the excitement and indignation were equally great." But it was not merely by means of his speeches that Gladstone defamed the Turks. He wrote the celebrated pamphlet—alas! for the parallel—which, in the words of Mr. James David Bouchier, Correspondent of the *Times* in South-Eastern Europe, and Commander and Officer of several Orders of Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria, "aroused the indignation of Europe." The forfeited pamphlet of Turkey does not seem to have aroused the indignation of a single hamlet in an English county, let alone the whole of Europe; but in spite of that the parallel would have been sufficiently exact if the Government of Lord Lytton had by notification in a *Gazette of India* Extraordinary declared the pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone to be forfeited to His Majesty. But such was not to be. It was reserved for our present Government—the Government of fits and starts—to discover two months after its reproduction in India that an unpretentious little pamphlet, lacking the fire and the gall of a Gladstone, and appealing to the sense of fair-play of a notably sporting race in favour of the honour of women and the lives of the palmed and the bed-ridden and of babes at the breast, should be declared to be forfeited to His Majesty as likely to bring certain classes of His Majesty's subjects into hatred and contempt. Had it been that the pamphlet had only just been published in India, we could have found some excuse for the grave apprehensions of the Government of India. But the pamphlet has already been read by a quarter of a million people in one way or another and its contents have been talked about by several millions. And what has been the net result? Have there been attempts at revolutions, mutinies or even riots? The framers of the Conspiracy Act, who waste not their time and attention on such unconsidered trifles as overt acts, are the only people who are likely to know of such terrible happenings—because we have heard nothing. Only the other day at Cawnpore there was at least provocation enough to explain some attempt at a breach of the peace. But Messrs. Tyler and Sim triumphantly telegraphed to the whole world that everything was as quiet as a Scotch Sabbath. Not even the life of a policehouse or a municipal flea was in danger for a minute. And it is in apprehension of such a community's hatred and contempt that the Supreme Government declares an innocuous pamphlet to be forfeited to His Majesty. All that the Supreme Government is likely to do thereby is to make it doubly ridiculous.

A Turn of the Tides.

THE existing phase of the Balkan crisis has been full of weird surprises. It has, among other things, thoroughly discredited the political prophet who had kept Europe and the rest of the world in a state of feverish expectancy by his interminable forecasts. Turkish power in Europe had been finally shattered on the plains of Macedonia and Thrace, and the whole world was assured that the Balkans had been rid of the incubus which had paralyzed the will of Europe for about a century. The *New Eastern Question*, which popular fancy has ever loved to interpret in terms of a *Præteritum*, was held to have been solved by the tenacity, foresight and heroism of the Young Balkan States whose meteoric rise in military vigour foreshadowed the birth of an entirely fresh set of problems in relation to the broader conceptions of European diplomacy. Speculation had generally been busy as to the possible effect of the Balkan Alliance with its consequent strength on the Balance of Power in Europe. The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente both felt it necessary to revise their respective positions in the light of the new facts. The defeat of Turkey was clearly a great blow to the aspirations of the Teutonic combination as it led to the rise of powerful Slav nationalities across its path. The German Chancellor publicly referred to the new Slav menace and exhorted the nation to make further sacrifices for the security and defence of the Fatherland. The proposed increase in the German army was promptly responded to by corresponding military measures in France and Spain. A life and death struggle for supremacy between the Slav and the Teuton was set down as inevitable, and the whole scene of diplomacy has been perceptibly shifting since then to meet the new facts and the new contingencies. There has been much difference of speculation as to the possible regrouping of the Powers.

and the influence of the new factors in the Balkans on their future relations, but no one has ever doubted since the battle of Lule Burgas that a new and formidable power had arisen in Eastern Europe and that it would materially affect the old diplomatic and military values. "Things can never be what they were": thus did Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, sum up his conclusions about the epoch-making events to which the struggle between the Turks and the Allies had given rise.

True, in a sense things can never be what they were. But a brief week of a sharp, swift struggle between the Allies has plucked the heart out of this confident prophecy. Turkey has, it is true, lost the bulk of her European possessions, and her influence on European affairs may for the time being be discounted. In every other respect, however, things are pretty nearly where they were before. The new-born "formidable power in Eastern Europe" is dead at least for another generation. The old problems have become incarnate in new forms. The dread of the Arneggadon has returned to plague the conscience of Europe. Diplomacy is at its old game again, and breathless efforts are being made by the European Chancelleries "to adjust their minds to the march of events." The Balkan Alliance against Turkey and its marvellous and rapid achievements had taken the whole world off its feet, and had almost overawed Europe with the sense of the emergence of a new and incalculable force in European politics. The Alliance now has been shattered into its elements, and every familiar facet of the old Balkan problem is rearing its head once more through the wreckage. The nightmare of a new Slav Power in Eastern Europe under the hegemony of Bulgaria has ceased to trouble the imagination of the Teuton. Gone are the dreams of liberty, fraternity and glorious future. Gone, indeed, is the faith that hailed with joy and pride the resurrection of old historic races in the freshness and vitality of youth. The great bluff fed on mock-sentimentalism, lies pricked to the core. The monster of greed, of bigotry, of murderous hate retains its grip over the stricken land, and moves as of yore with the savage frenzy which has wrought desolation to millions.

Those who had taken the defeat of the Turk as the inevitable revenge of history and looked forward with Mr. Lloyd George to an "extension of the area of good government," may have just now some very unpalatable food for thought. The old cries of the war against the Turk were astute lies, but Christian Europe professed to believe in their sanctity and their righteous wrath. The Turk was the infamous Anti-Christ. He was responsible for a godless pandemonium and the Balkan States in sheer love of God and pity of His afflicted creatures were to end a soul-destroying tyranny by slaking their very lives. The Lie caught on wonderfully. Europe did not move a muscle even when "Liberty" walked abroad over hecatombs of innocent victims and Macedonia was drenched in Moslem blood. The Lie still persisted. The Nemesis, however, has been sudden and swift in coming. Only a fortnight has sufficed to tear the mask aside and reveal to the world the grimy, horrible and scarlet figures which had masqueraded as patriots, martyrs and long suffering champions of liberty and peace. The lies of history are dead, and the Balkan Lie has, strangely enough, perished soon and under the weight of its own mendacity.

The whirligig of time brings its revenges, and no revenge is so sudden, startling and complete as the one that has overtaken Bulgaria in her hour of defiant pride. We need not go into details about her dispute with her Allies, which led to a struggle that has been but utter undoing. The broad facts are a matter of common knowledge. The whole issue turned on her insatiable ambition to have more territory than her Allies were prepared to yield. It had become early clear that the dispute could only be settled by the sword. Within a fortnight the sword has given its verdict, and Bulgaria is begging on her knees for very life. The combined strength of Serbia and Greece has shattered the Bulgarian empire, and their desire to dictate terms of peace at Sofia is not an extravagant boast. The Bulgarian *debacle* has, however, been a mild surprise compared to the sensation created by the long and terrible tales of Bulgarian atrocities. Defeated hosts of King Ferdinand have wreaked their impotent rage in the most cowardly and inhuman fashion. Entire towns and villages have been laid waste, and their populations have been put to the sword. The King of the Hellenes describes his former Ally as "monsters in human form" who have forsaken "their claim to be regarded as civilised beings." He has vowed to take revenge and give no quarter to "such savages." The Bulgarian troops that have been forced to evacuate Turkish territory have likewise left behind desolate and smoking villages. The accumulated testimony against the Bulgarian misdeeds has become overwhelming, and the French Government is reported to have ordered one of its representatives to proceed to the spot and report after a careful investigation of the facts. We wonder why Moslem victims of the Bulgarian blood lust had failed to move the pity of the French Government. The reports of the European Consular officials, describ-

ing the horrors committed by the Allies, were most effectually hushed. Not a whisper was allowed to rise in protest: the humanity, conscience and honour of Europe remained unruffled as the shambles proceeded merrily on and Moslem women, children and old men suffered organised outrage and massacre. King Constantine's soldiers after their entry into Salonica organised a regular man-hunt and did not spare even the Turkish prisoners of war. The captain of a French boat saw these butcheries and wired a brief account of them to the French Press. The French Government, however, disowned the captain's testimony and warned him to keep a silent tongue in his mouth. But things and values have rapidly changed and King Constantine calls Bulgarians "monsters in human form." Can his frantic appeals wash him clean of the blood-guiltiness which he shares with Tsar Ferdinand? The spectacle of pot accusing pan is not a new thing in Balkan history. The French official inquiry, undertaken apparently in response to King Constantine's appeals, will be a fragmentary farce if it does not include within its scope all that happened before Serres was given up to fire and sword.

The late Balkan Allies stand self-condemned and have proved by their own deeds that they are as bankrupt morally as the diplomacy of the European Concert. Their conduct has been shaped by their respective interests just as the policy of the Concert has moved to the pressure of the views that have had the heaviest mailed fists and the biggest battalions behind them. The Bulgar, the Greek and the Serb joined against the Turk because they wanted more territory; and now that the Turk is out of the way, they have fallen amongst themselves over the spoils of victory. Even Europe has ceased to talk about the struggle as embodying some supreme moral issue. It is as naked an expression of self-interest as any that ever encouraged man and blasted the face of the Earth. Is it possible to hope in the circumstances that Europe will discard its sanctimonious humbug and let the issues be settled on the naked plane to which they have descended? The Turk has not failed to realise the significance of the latest events, and he is prepared to act as his own interests may dictate. The Turkish Army promptly crossed the Euxus-Midia line and is now in possession of Kirk Kilisse and Adrianople. The situation is favourable from the Turkish military standpoint, and the re-capture of Adrianople has not been a task of any considerable difficulty. Our Constantinople correspondent cabled on the 21st instant that definite entry into Adrianople was imminent. Calling on the following day he said: "Ever with Ebrah'm entered Adrianople four evening (21st). Infantry marched eighty kilometres last day. Hadji Adil departed Vali. Kirk Kilisse occupied." The movements of the Turkish army have been executed with wonderful rapidity and thoroughness under the leadership of that heroic young soldier Enver Bey. Adrianople is once more in the hands of its rightful masters. Will Europe combine for the infamy of turning them out? Mussalmans have been watching the drama with tense feelings throughout the world and their eyes are now strained to see what Europe will do. The French Government seems to be active and is formulating the will of the Concert in a loud and peremptory form. Sir Edward Grey's rôle appears to have ended, and his mantle has fallen on M. Poincaré. The French Minister urged the Turks to desist from advances, and it is not allowed to retain Adrianople. The Russian Ambassador in Constantinople has begun to ply the Turks with the usual Muscovite warnings. They are being reminded of the Treaty of London. As if the Treaty of Berlin had never existed, and as if any treaty has ever possessed a shred of sanctity in the recent history of Europe. As a matter of fact, the war against Turkey was waged in the teeth of diplomatic conventions. The cession of Turkish territory was against all the pledges solemnly given by the great Powers that now sit in Concert. The Treaty of London is still an incomplete document to which Turkey has not yet subscribed. The Allies themselves have torn their mutual treaties to pieces. Is Turkey alone to be pressed down by the weight of an obligation forced on her against her will, which has ceased to be binding on every other party concerned? In fact the whole question is one in which the Concert is a trial again. It was declared that the Powers would not intervene in the struggle now going on in the Balkans until they remain neutral and leave the combatants to settle their scores freely amongst themselves? The movements of Turkey are dictated by reason, common sense and by every canon of European "Expediency." Her enemies chose her weakest moment to strike at her. Should she be held back from profiting by the weakness of an unscrupulous and implacable enemy, simply because she is neither a Slav nor a Christian State, nor yet the object of emotional self-indulgence for every lover of catch-phrases and the faithless, free-thinking and pleasure-hunting mobs of Paris? England's responsibility is the heaviest at this juncture, and the eyes of Mussalmans are turned with mixed feelings to Sir Edward Grey. The Englishman is too once right in his warning when it says that the participation of Great Britain in any proposal to coerce the Turk will give rise to a serious agitation in India.

The Colonization Scheme.

Proceedings of the Society for the Assistance of the Musselman Refugees from Roumeli.

PRESIDENT: Dr. Essad Pasha.

MEMBERS: Dr. Nassim Omer Pasha.

Talaat Bey.

Dr. Akil Moukhtar.

Kemal Omer Bey.

Aga Omer Bey.

Dr. Ahmad Foad.

Midhat Shukri Bey.

Shakh Abdul Aziz Shaweech.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.

Mr. Mohamed Ali (absent).

GENERAL SEC. Dr. Ahmad Moukhtar Ansari.

Proceedings of the First Meeting held on the 2nd May, 1913.

The scheme for the colonization of the Musselman refugees from Roumeli in Anatolia, proposed by Dr. Ansari and Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, to which they propose to devote £80,000, was discussed. Details of the scheme were explained. After some discussion the Committee decided to request the President, Dr. Essad Pasha, to approach the Government with a view to make inquiries regarding available tracts of land for the colonization of the refugees. It was also decided to send a commission of two or more members of the Society to these places to see the fertility and other conditions prevailing in that part of the country. On the return of this commission the Committee would finally decide the methods of carrying out the work of building, and choosing the refugees and the officials to look after the work.

Dr. Akil Moukhtar and Kemal Omer Bey were appointed to draft the rules of the Society, which would be submitted to the Government in order to obtain official sanction.

Second Meeting, held on 9th May, 1913.

PRESIDENT —

Shrikh Abdul Aziz Shaweech.

Talaat Bey.

Aga Bey.

Midhat Shukri Bey.

Dr. Ansari.

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Essad Pasha.

The following Rules were discussed and passed:—

(1) This Society will be called the

روم ايلي مهاجرين اسلاميه سده سازان مجتمعي

(Society for the Assistance of the Musselman Refugees from Roumeli); its work will be the colonization of the refugees in accordance with the rules of the Government, and in the tracts of land which the Government will give to the Society in Anatolia; it will be financed by the funds of the money coming from India.

(2) The Central Committee of this Society will be formed of twelve members, this number to be increased when necessary by the approval of two-third of the members.

(3) The members of the Central Committee will be Indian and Ottoman Musselmans. In case of any member resigning his post other members will elect a new member by ballot.

(4) The Central Committee will elect a President, a General Secretary, a Treasurer and an Inspector. These will form the Executive Committee which will put in force the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee.

(5) The funds of the Society will be kept in a bank, and money will be drawn by means of cheques bearing the signatures of the President and the Treasurer.

(6) On giving good security a cashier may be appointed if necessary.

(7) All expenditure must be sanctioned by the Executive Committee. The presence of two members will be sufficient for the legality of such expenditure.

(8) The work of the Executive Committee will be under the supervision of the Central Committee.

(9) The Executive Committee will select a responsible officer for carrying out the work of colonization on the spot, and the Central Committee will appoint him and sanction his selection.

(10) The President will be the head of the Executive as well as the Central Committee and will give orders to both.

(11) In the absence of the President, the Secretary will perform his duties.

(12) The President will call the meetings of the Executive and Central Committee.

(13) On the application of five members of the Central Committee the President will be bound to call a general meeting of the Central Committee.

(14) The responsible representative of the Society before the Government will be Dr. Essad Pasha.

(15) The Secretary will do the general and business correspondence.

(16) The offices of the Society for the time being will be located in the house of Dr. Essad Pasha situated on the Nouré Osman Road in Stamboul.

The President was requested to submit the above rules to the Ministry of the Interior for final approval and sanction.

Third Meeting, held on 27th May, 1913.

The President informed the meeting that he had submitted the rules of the Society to the Government and obtained sanction for the carrying out of the scheme; and that the Government was prepared to grant lands required for the purposes of the colonization in the vilayet of Angora in the District of Sivari Hissar near the village of Kara Ilias or in the vilayet of Adana, in the Jabel-i-Berkat district near Erzine.

The Society decided to send a Commission consisting of Dr. Ansari, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Ahmed Foad, Aga Bey, and Salih (agricultural expert and Director of the Siroze Agricultural Department) whose services were lent to the Commission by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society. The Commission would visit Angora and Adana and give a full report about the lands on its return. £T. 150-0 were sanctioned for the journey and given to Dr. Ahmed Foad with instructions to submit detailed accounts on coming back.

It was also decided to appoint Dr. Ahmed Foad as Local Secretary in Stamboul, on Dr. Ansari's (General Secretary's) departure for India.

The meeting authorized Dr. Ansari to appeal for and collect subscriptions for the Society in India and forward them to Constantinople, and sanctioned the opening of branch societies in different parts of India and also the appointment of Assistant Secretaries.

It was resolved to send a letter to Midhat Shukri Bey, the ex-Deputy of Siroze, informing him of his election as a member of the Central Committee.

Signed { Essad; Abdul Aziz Shaweech; Zafar Ali Khan; Talaat, Nassim Omer; Akil Moukhtar; Kemal Omer; Aga; Moukhtar Ahmed Ansari; Ahmed Foad.

Fourth Meeting, held on 15th June, 1913.

The Commission sent to Anatolia after visiting Angora, Konak, and Adana came back and reported that the land near Erzine (40,000 acres situated on the shores of the Gulf of Alexandretta) was the most suitable site for the colonization of the refugees from all points of view. The full report of the Commission would be received in two days' time.

It was decided that during the time that Dr. Ansari went to India and collected money for the scheme, a party consisting of an Engineer and some officials be sent to Erzine to draw up a map of the land and fix the spot where the village would be established and also to make all the necessary preliminary arrangements.

The Government be requested not to send any refugees to Erzine except the number that would be fixed by the Society.

For the present the Society would build a village of a hundred houses and hundred families should be sent there as early as possible. The Society is to feed them up to the time they are able to cultivate their lands.

The Government be asked to give the work of the building to a company or to a contractor, who would give the best terms to build the houses according to the plans prepared by the Society.

Dr. Ansari will appoint some of his men for the work of supervision of the building and general work in the colony. The Executive Committee will also appoint some men who may be necessary to help them in their work.

The necessary number of agricultural implements must be sent as early as possible with the refugees.

The Central Committee elected Mahmood Aga Bey as Inspector. His election brings the Executive Committee to its full strength.

It was also decided to send letters of thanks to notable men and officials who offered all kind of help and assistance to the Commission during its visit to Anatolia.

Signed { Essad; Abdul Aziz Shaweech; Zafar Ali Khan; Ahmed Moukhtar; Nassim Omer; Kemal Omer; Akil Moukhtar; Aga; Ahmed Foad.

"Nizamnameh issued by the Turkish Government for the Colonization of Refugees in Asia Minor."

(SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE "COMRADE.")

In addition to the terms of the Refugees' Colonization Act, the following points must be noted:—

(1) In selecting site for the village it must be noticed before anything else that it has good and suitable climate; that it is not near ponds, marshes or moist places; that it is not exposed to cold strong winds; that it is very near to a railway line, a sea port or a flowing stream.

(3) The village must be as large as the site of the land will permit, villages of five or ten houses will not be permitted.

(8) In distributing land among the refugees notice must be taken of the customs and circumstances in regard to agricultural industries. Those who wish to grow roses or tobacco or to distil oil and essence of flowers, must be given lands suitable for these purposes.

(4) In every village two paved streets of fifteen metres width should be made and they must be perpendicular to one another, and they must cut the whole village from east to west and north to south. At the point of their intersection, that is to say, the centre of the village, a square of five to six acres must be made, and the mosque and the school building must be located so as to face the square. The lanes must not be less than twelve metres in breadth, they may either start from the square or be parallel to the main streets.

(5) Around the buildings of the mosque and the school, a large portion of land suitable for making a good garden must be left for recreation and complete ventilation. In building the school the directions of the orders of the Ministry of Public Instruction must be followed absolutely.

(6) In the case of the village being built at a distance from a flowing stream necessary measures must be taken to bring the water or to dig Artesian wells for the use of the population and their animals. The supply should be ample and utmost efforts should be made to prevent the population from drinking or watering their animals from pools or polluted water supplies.

(7) With every house there should be one acre of land. The building should be located in the centre and there should be gardens on three sides. At the back there should be a smaller garden separating the main building from the stables and hay cellars.

(8) In case of the village being enlarged the methods of building must strictly follow the same rules and the streets must be parallel to the old ones.

(9) A separate piece of land, at least 2,000 metres away from village, should be reserved for a barn and a cemetery as large as the needs of the village would necessitate. If the area of the land permit, an extra acre and a half may be given to every family for garden plantations away from the village.

(10) For grazing the cattle a common land must be left in the proportion of ten acres to each house. Each family will have the right to graze twenty-five small and five big animals.

Report of the Commission Sent to Anatolia.

To H. E. the President of the Society for the Assistance of the Mussalman Refugees from Roumel.

SIR,—The colonization of a part of the Moslem refugees coming from Roumel is the kind of help that will lessen the distress and misery of our brethren. This is the duty of our Society which has been formed in accordance with the humanitarian wishes of our Indian brethren. Our Society had requested the Government to grant as a large tract of land for the building of two hundred houses for the refugees. The Society had further decided to give them all kind of assistance such as agricultural implements, food, furniture, houses, etc., etc. The Government proposed to give us one of the two tracts of land at its disposal. One of these is situated in the district of Jabal Barakat in the vilayet of Adana near the village of Erzine, and the other in the district of Sivari Hissar in the vilayet of Angora near the village of Kara Ilim. The Society sent a commission to see these lands and examine their climatic and sanitary conditions and also fertility.

We first went to Angora, from there to Konia and thence to Adana. We examined these lands from all points of view, consulted all the local agricultural and sanitary experts, and finally came to the conclusion that the land near Erzine in the province of Adana was preferable for our purposes from many points of view.

We beg to submit the following report showing our reasons for selecting the Erzine land, and mentioning the necessary measures that should be taken in order to fully carry out our work.

We give below the résumé of our investigation in Angora:—

The plateau of Angora is situated at an altitude of 1,000 metres above the level of the sea, the climate is temperate and slightly cold. It gives annually only one crop. The fertility of the land is fairly good. The chief products are wheat, barley and other grains. Wool is also produced. Other products are very rare, and the summer crops are of no importance. We are sorry to remark that such a plain, with such an abundance of water supply would have become the granary of the world had it been well looked after. The plain is now desolate and nearly barren of any trees that would provide fuel for the people who live there. The whole plain which has been cut across by the railway is so barren of trees that, with the exception of five or six trees stand near the railway station, one would have given a fortune to

have a look at a large tree. Water not having been drained formed large acres of marabes. The existence of these marabes would make the multiplication of population very difficult, and the barrenness of the plain would not be an attractive element for the outsiders. For the above reasons the benefits of selecting the plain of Angora are very limited. If the Government will pay some attention to these two drawbacks and will try to improve this plain it is likely to prove a precious pearl in the Ottoman crown in the future. To give a further proof of the reality of our statements we can only mention the beautiful gardens found only at a distance of two hours from the city of Angora. The land of Kara Ilim village in Sivari Hissar is very marshy and unhealthy. The Sanitary Inspector of the vilayet and other experts gave reports to the effect that the lands were unfit for colonization as long as they were not drained. The drainage would require a long time, and as our work was urgent we decided to see the other plots of land.

We came back to Eski Shahr and went via Konia to Adana. In Konia we came to know from the Vali that there were 5,00,000 acres of land which had been newly canalized for irrigation. The Vali also said that if we made our colony there it would be a nucleus or centre for new life in that large area. We left for the station of Shumra, which is one hour's distance from Konia, to see this land. We saw the canals and drains which had been built for the irrigation of a part of the plain of Konia. We were quite satisfied, and if the Government start the plantation of trees necessary for the fuel they will be doing a very important work.

The survey of the plain is not yet finished and the irrigation scheme, too, which is estimated to cost one million pounds is still unfinished. This work will require some time. Over and above this the refuse of animals which could be used as manure is being used as fuel. Further the fertility of the land is not as good as in Adana, and the barrenness of the plains of Konia and Angora exactly resembles a body without either spirit or blood. (Knowing that the colony which our Indian Moslem brethren wish to establish as an eternal memorial of help to their distressed brethren from Roumel, however small it may be, should be a model and an example of perfection, we went further on to Adana.)

We left Konia early in the morning, and after a journey of thirteen hours arrived at the small village of Bozanti at the foot of the Taurus mountains. We passed the night in an inn and started again in the morning by carriages, passing through the mountains for fifteen hours. We arrived at Gaulte Bughas station on the Adana-Mersina Railway. Here we took train and reached Adana in half an hour. Adana is in the temperate zone, but is mostly hot. The altitude is from 100 to 300 metres above sea-level. The land is suitable for producing all kinds of crops. Two crops are gathered annually.

We started for Erzine the next morning to see the land about which the Minister of the Interior had spoken to us.

THE LAND NEAR ERZINE.

(1) SITUATION.—It is situated on the shores of the Gulf of Alexandretta and stretches inward to a distance of two hours' ride. It is situated to the left of the Adana-Alexandretta Railway at a distance of an hour and a half from the station of Gumara and at the foot of Gisar Taghi, i.e., Unbeliever's Mountain. Its surface is slightly inclined towards the sea and is covered with shrubs and pebbles.

It is exposed to the west and south winds. It is fertile and suitable for producing all kinds of cereals, oranges, olives, fruit, mulberries, tobacco and any other kind of agricultural produce.

(2) DIVISION.—The land is one large tract and will be suitable for any kind of agriculture when it has been cleared of the shrubs and pebbles. It is surrounded by Gisar Taghi, the villages of Erzine, Chaili, Bashlamish, Kizlar and Kizlarja and Haidar Taghi. Some portions of the land which are stony will be very useful and suitable for farming sheep and rearing goats and other animals.

(3) AREA AND DISTRIBUTION.—The fallow land of Erzine is more than 40,000 acres. If we give to each family 120 acres, and 20 acres more for wood and fuel and 10 acres to be used as pasture for their animals, (total 150 acres), it will be more than sufficient for 200 families.

(4) ALTITUDE AND TEMPERATURE.—The altitude of the land is from 80 to 100 metres above the level of the sea. Being situated on the Gulf of Alexandretta and having beautiful gardens of orange and lemon trees in the surrounding villages we think that the temperature of the place is not cold. There is no statistics available referring to the maximum and minimum temperature of the place in winter and summer.

(5) CLIMATE.—The land of Erzine owing to its situation has the healthiest and best climate in the vilayet of Adana, and this statement was fully proved after investigation and on reliable information collected on the spot.

(6) WATER-SUPPLY.—Within the area itself there is no spring. But near the village of Bashlamish, that is one hour's distance

from the land, there is a good spring of fresh water which, if brought in concrete pipes, will be quite sufficient for the needs of the colony and further for the watering of a one-acre garden with every house. (In the city of Osmanieh, which is in the centre of the Erzine district, the water is brought by means of concrete pipes half a metre in diameter, and every metre costs 13 piastres only. This information we got from the Mutassarif himself.) At the same time, towards the north-west of the land at the foot of Haider Taghi there is a large spring with abundant water enough to irrigate the whole piece of land very easily. In future if some sunction pumps and pipes are laid the whole village could be irrigated without any difficulty. The shallow pond formed by the waste of this water, which measures 15,000 acres, will be dried and made suitable for cultivation specially for growing rice and maize.

(7) FERTILITY.—The fertility for the time being is good. But if according to what has been mentioned in Article 6 it is irrigated, its fertility will be doubled. And if modern methods of agriculture are followed the results will be still more satisfactory. The nature of the land and the conditions of the surrounding country speak volumes about the richness and fertility of the soil.

When the land is cleared of shrubs and pebbles it will be suitable for growing cotton, sesame, tobacco, potatoes and all agricultural produce in addition to cereals. The gardening and growing of all kinds of fruits, particularly oranges, lemons and olives, will greatly flourish as the land is completely protected from the cold north winds by mountains. The proportion of the crop to the seed at present is 1 to 15, and there are all chances of its increasing to 25 or more after irrigation.

(8) BUILDING MATERIAL.—We collected a lot of information relating to the building of houses. Stone is found in abundance. But we did not investigate into the details of this part of the work as another commission of scientific men and engineers is shortly to visit the place.

COMMUNICATIONS.

As we have mentioned above, the land is situated near the Adana-Alexandretta Railway and is about an hour and a half's journey from the Gaziantep Station. The port of Alexandretta is only at two hours' distance. In short it is well situated, having all kinds of communications.

ANIMALS.

For the present two oxen, some beasts of burden and sheep and goats for every family can be easily kept there. But in future when the land is irrigated cows, horses and other useful animals can also be reared. The best animals for rearing for the time being are goats, sheep and fowl.

The abovementioned details show the general condition of Erzine land. But in order to assure the refugees their crop for the coming year, the following very important measures must be adopted immediately.

The work of building must be taken in hand as soon as possible. The refugees who are to settle there must be sent to Erzine as soon as possible. Necessary numbers of axes, picks, shovels and other implements must be given to them in order to begin the work of clearing the land of shrubs and pebbles and prepare it for agriculture. (A part of these shrubs may be kept apart to be used as fuel and the rest turned into charcoal and sold and the money added to funds of the Society.) During the time that the houses are in the course of construction these refugees may settle in empty houses and mosques found in Erzine, Bashlamish and the other villages, and if necessary in tents that could be borrowed from the Hilal-i-Ahmer.

After a short time animals, ploughs and seed, etc., should be sent so that *muhadjirin* may be able to sow seed in the cleared track. At the same time we must ensure the food necessary for these families till they gather their first harvest, and in our opinion the easiest way to give food is to give it by contract.

Side by side with the work of building we must also begin to bring the water from one or other of the springs to insure the water supply of the population.

In order to insure the comfort of the refugees, supervision of the work of construction, division of the land, construction of the canal to bring the water, prevention of the refugees from leaving the colony and showing them the best and latest methods of agriculture, in short, the management of the whole work on the spot, and the despatch of regular reports of the progress of the work to the Central Committee in Stamboul, an expert in agriculture, knowing the locality and habits of the population, with a party of men must be sent there, and a detailed system of regulations, showing the best way of carrying out the work, must be handed over to them. The above report is made by us after full investigation of the local conditions of Erzine. We submit it to the Society for final decision.

(Sd.) ZAFAR ALI KHAN,

Proprietor of the Journal "Zamindar."

(Sd.) MUKHTAR AHMED ANSARI,

Director of the All-India Medical Mission.

6th Hindon 1339.
18th June 1918.

(Sd.) AHMED FUAD,
Doctor of the Indian Red Crescent.

(Sd.) AGA,

Member of the Executive Committee of the
National Defence Association.

(Sd.) SALEH,

Agricultural-Engineer.

Dr. Ansari's Letter.

SS "Sicilia," 26th June, 1918.

THE Indo-Ottoman Colonisation Society had in their meeting decided to send a Commission on a tour of inspection in the different vilayets of Anatolia, in order to inspect the lands which the Government had placed at their disposal for the colonisation of the *muhadjirin* from Macedonia. The Commission consisted of an agricultural expert (Sâleh Bey), an expert on town planning (Aghâ Bey), a medical man with intimate knowledge of sanitation and hygiene (Dr. Ahmed Fâdî), and two representatives of India (Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and Dr. Ansari). It was aimed that this Commission would inspect the land and make necessary investigations on the spot regarding the fertility of the land, its mining resources, its proximity to the railway and the sea, its water supply, its sanitation, the question of labour and the most suitable and cheapest material at hand for the construction of houses in the colony. On the basis of these facts a correct estimate of the cost of construction of a model colony of one hundred houses with a mosque, a school, a dispensary and an experimental farm would be formed.

The Commission left Stamboul on the 28th of May, by the morning train from Haider Pasha.

The railway line runs along the sea coast through the most beautiful suburb of Kasi Keni and Moda. Here the villas of the well-to-do Ottomans are situated along the sea shore, and one can truly call it a garden city. The deep blue sea of Marmora here dips towards Ismid forming the gulf of that name, and the Principe islands with their red soil and modern red-tiled villas make a contrast picture worthy of sight. Hareka was passed soon, and we saw the great factory from the train. Here faxes, silk cloths, rugs, carpets and many other goods are manufactured and worked by purely Turkish capital. Unfortunately the output is not sufficient for the demand, otherwise the quality and the finish of the materials would enable them to compete with any other manufacture. Tütun Çiftlik, which was once the favourite hunting ground of Sultan Abdul Aziz and once a very thick forest, is now used, as the name implies, mainly for the cultivation of tobacco for the Regie Factory. All that remains is the kiosk of Sultan Abdul Aziz situated on a foot-hill commanding the most glorious land and sea view. It is here that the best Turkish tobacco is grown. The original line from Haider Pasha was constructed as far as Tütun Çiftlik by Sultan Abdul Aziz for use during his hunting expeditions. The most striking was the fact that only women were seen working in the fields; probably the male population was all drained by the army.

Ismid was soon reached. It is situated on a hill overlooking the bay; the town consists of mostly two-storied houses with latticed balconies made of wood in a purely Turkish style. The population consists of Armenians and Turks, numbering some 45,000, of which the Turks are a little over fifty per cent. Beyond Ismid the foot-hills gradually rise to about a thousand feet, the scenery becomes most varied and picturesque. The mountain tops, the valleys and the plains are all covered with groves of olive trees. Cultivation is done everywhere as far as the eye could reach. Neat little houses and villas could be seen here and there peeping through the green foliage. Nature is seen here in its greatest profusion and makes it an ideal spot of beauty. The railway line now runs along the shores of Sahancı Lake which is enclosed on every side by green hills and extends in length to some fifteen miles. There are several little villages of the Caucasian refugees along the shores of the lake, they could be seen working in the fields in their picturesque costumes. To those who have seen the Swiss mountains, this part of the Turkish dominions would appear equally enchanting, if not superior. There are beautiful fruit gardens and orchards all along the shores of the lake, and some of the best grapes are grown in this district.

The journey to Boyuk Derbind and Beledjek is achieved through the most difficult ravines and gorges, the railway going through numerous tunnels, over-bridges with roaring mountain torrents running under and galleries cut along the most precipitous mountains. The town itself is of a fairly good size, is purely Muhammedan, and nestling among green smiling hills, looks happy and contented with its white houses and tall slender minarets. We had our midday meal here which the care and thoughtfulness of our friend Ağayah Bey had provided for us. He had brought a variety of viands which we did full justice to. Ağayah Bey is a typical Turk and his natural kindness and solicitude for the comfort of others makes him

a most agreeable and loveable companion. He has a most beaming, smiling and jovial countenance and simply adores little children and animals. At times he behaves like an overgrown boy amusing himself as he did here by trivial things such as throwing pepper and salt in the nose of the dogs while feeding them, or putting a stone in a morsel of meat and roaring with laughter when the dogs were struggling hard to bite at the tough morsel. We arrived at Eski Shahr at 6 p.m. and stayed at Hotel Tadia, as the trains do not run except in the daytime.

Eski (old) Shahr as the name implies, is a very old town. It was in the vicinity of this town that the Saljuks had granted a free land to Toghrul for his services in helping their army which was about to be defeated by the hosts of Tamerlane. The little village of Qarajah Hisar where Osman, the founder of the present dynasty, raised the flag of independence first is near by, and a monument marks the place where Osman made his declaration. The town has grown owing to its being the chief emporium and headquarters of the Anatolian line and the Baghdad Railway. It has a natural hot spring which supplies the whole town with beautiful, clear and chalybeate water. The population is almost entirely Moslem and numbers 40,000. There is a first class secondary school, three primary schools, one girls' school, an agricultural school and an agricultural bank with a capital of £T 50,000. It belongs to the vilayet of Broussa. The Mutasarrif, Faredün Bey, is a very able and sympathetic official. We learnt some interesting facts about litigations and criminal cases. The average number of litigations yearly does not exceed 125, and the number of criminal cases were only 37 during the previous year. This gives us a fair idea of the law-abiding and peaceful character of the Ottoman subjects. In the vicinity of Eski Shahr we inspected some colonies of the *muhadjirin* from Crimea and Roumelia, and also some land which we found rather arid, of poor productive capacity, there being only one crop of cereals every year. Another industry is Meerchum mines which are let by the Government to private individuals who work the mines and make ruseries, mouth-pieces and such articles.

Our journey to Angora lasted seven hours. We passed through absolutely barren and rocky plain devoid of any herbage or trees as far as the eye could reach. There were some small hamlets to be seen and a few herds of cattle and sheep. Indeed this part of the country presented the most desolate and depressing view. Here and there were some low-lying marshy plains, but even in these parts nothing but rank grass and reeds grew. Angora or

اقره (meaning black) receives its name from the peculiar slate-grey colour of the rocks on which the town is built. It is situated on the southern side of a hill and dates back to the time of the Romans. In the time of the Saljuks this city was besieged by the conquering hosts of Tamerlane and would have been lost if it had not been for the timely help of Toghrul and his well-trained horsemen. At present the town consists of narrow winding streets made of cobble stones without any regard to sanitation or drainage. The shops are generally low-roofed, showing their wares in the most primitive fashion. The farmers and peoples seen in the market places and streets look very poor. The population of over 60,000 consists mainly of Mussalmans, there being less than 5 per cent. Armenians, yet all the industries and the banks are in their hands, and the Mussalman Turks are being heavily dealt with by the usurious Armenian money-lenders. The chief industry of the place consists in sheep farming, the wool got from them is of the very finest quality. There are two woolen factories belonging to wealthy Armenians, but all the handwork such as knitting of shawls, stockings, etc., is done by the Mussalman women.

We stopped at an Armenian hotel which was anything but clean, the ravages of the millions of little dwellers in our beds made the faces and bodies of our companions a beautiful purple and blue. But we had no other alternative but to remain there, as there was no other hotel in the town. The Vali Ibrahim Soussa, a very handsome and imposing person, very fussy and talkative, was a Greek. He gave us the services of the head of the Agricultural Department, Haider Bey, from whom we got all the necessary information about the land in 'Siria Hisar, which the Ministry of Interior had given us reference to. This land which was 50,000 acres in area, was situated in a low marshy locality, its productive capacity being not more than 1 to 20. Seven previous colonies had been settled here with most disastrous results, not one of the families surviving to the present day. The climate is damp, malarious and most unhealthy, and unless the swamp is drained it could not possibly be habitable. The crops of cereals produced only once a year did not bring much prosperity to the tillers of the soil and hence they had to take to sheep-farming which is not a very paying occupation either. These facts made us decide against planting a colony here.

In spite of the depressing general appearance of the town signs are not wanting of sincere efforts on the part of the Unionist

Government to improve the conditions of the people. Directly after the Constitution the Government opened three primary schools, one girls' school, one higher primary school and one secondary school where free education is given. Recently the efforts of Nishat Bey, the delegate for the Party of Union and Progress, have brought into existence an up-to-date primary school on the latest model. There is a secondary school where all the modern sciences are taught and a Darul-Muallimin preparing teachers for primary schools. Under the able guidance of Maulana Husain Anson and his staff, this school is doing splendid work. A visit to the different classes in this school convinced us that the teaching here is very sound and practical. We were agreeably surprised to see how fluently the students of the **برخی صنف** (i.e., first form), could

speak, read and write Arabic and Persian. In another form a most lively discussion took place in our presence on **تعلیم اخلاق**.

The most characteristic feature of every school that we visited was the mosque room and the offering of the prayers rightly and regularly. Our visit to the school of industry and the agricultural college proved highly satisfactory. The latter institution has been working for the last three and a half years and consists of a staff of eight teachers. There are forty boarders who are fed, clothed and taught free of any charges (thirty-five Mussalmans and five Christians). The class-rooms, library, scientific laboratory, zoological and geological museums were up-to-date and most complete. We saw here the rearing of silk-worms and the preparation of butter, cheese, etc., in the cow-shed attached to the college.

This dairy-farm was kept most scrupulously clean, the diet, the quantity of milk, the amount of butter, etc., being all noted on a chart in each shed. Attached to this institution was also a shed where six fine Arab stallions were kept for covering mares. **سابه** (صباح) was the most perfect specimen of an Arab horse it had been my lot to set eyes on. The experimental farm attached to the college covers an area of 1,000 acres, where all the modern, up-to-date agricultural implements and methods were being used. A very large poultry-farm is also attached to this institution. We had a very splendid lunch given us here by the Director of the College.

On our return to the hotel after spending a very pleasant half day we had several calls from the notables of the town. Ibrahim Soussa, the Vali, came to return our call, and then Nishat Bey, the delegate of the Party of Union Progress with Djemal Bey, the Chief of the Police, a red-hot Unionist and a most delightful person. The Commander of the town with his Chief Medical Officer also paid us a visit. He was an **اعتدالی** and spoke many bitter things against the Unionist Government though he granted that they were honest and sincere. We visited the hospital **مخبریه مسلمین** and went round the wards. The special feature of this institution was a separate wing for the treatment of syphilis, which seems to be very prevalent here. The explanation given by Dr. Faik Bey was that the people here were very simple and ignorant, and the disease which was contracted by the soldiers in Constantinople was given to their wives and inherited by the children; but curiously, it is twice as common amongst the Christians and Jews as amongst the Mussalmans, which does not seem to support the theory of the able doctor, as it is only within the last few years that these races have been allowed to enroll for the military service. We visited the ancient mosque of Sultan Alaeddin Saljuk which was built by Abu Nasir Masud ibn Kihj Arslan in the month of Safar, 475 Hijri. The canopy where the ancient throne was kept until the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid, when it was removed to the Kazema-i-Khasa and the

عمر (both worked in ebony by **ابرام ابوبکر رومی**) are the finest, rarest specimens of Turkish workmanship and artistic carving. We paid a visit to the ruins of the ancient Roman tower and castle of the time of Augustus, and a well fortified place now used as a **khan** which was once the citadel of the Saljuk kings.

In the evening an open air dinner was given to us by the notables of Angora which proved a most enjoyable and entertaining function. After the dinner speeches were made by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan; Haji Asif, member of Majlis-i-Idara; Haji Mustafa Aalam, ex-Deputy; Ali Bey, ex-President of the Municipality, and myself, and it was decided that a branch Association of the Khuddam-i-Islam Society should be formed with Mufti Razaat Effendi as its President, Nishat Bey as its Secretary, and twenty notables of Angora as its members. The object of the Society was briefly the industrial, agricultural, economic and religious revival of the Mussalmans of the vilayet. This Association was to work in harmony with similar associations in other vilayets and the Central Society in Constantinople. We left Angora on the 31st May and reached Eski Shahr the same evening. Hotel Tadia now looked a heaven compared to our hotel

in Angora, the clean beds and the good wholesome cuisine was a blessing from heaven, which only those who have stayed in the Armenian hotel in Angora can fully appreciate. We had just time to drive with Fardun Bey, the Mutassarif, to the village of Mutalib, where the oldest Ottoman Turks consisting of 200 families have settled down and who still live in their pristine simplicity. Their law-abiding, sober, truthful, industrious and quiet life is an example to all the people in the district. The Mutassarif told us that theft or crime of any kind or litigation is unknown to the inhabitants of that village, their little differences being settled by the elders of the village. Their honesty is so proverbial that the villagers from the district deposit all their little savings with the elders of this village. These people are quite well-to-do as they are hard working and industrious. No one is allowed to beg. In the evening a meeting of the notables was arranged in the hotel, and a branch Association of Khuddam-i-Islam was formed with the Muttee as President.

We left next morning by a very early train for our long journey to Konia. Our journey upto Alyund was through a country similar in character as that in the vicinity of Eski Shahr. At Alyund we saw green fields and fruit gardens with white walled and red-roofed little cottages and villages dotting the plains, and altogether showing every sign of prosperity. There were some beautiful China ware sold here from Kutahia China Works. A branch line runs from here to Kutahia which is an important *mutassarifiat* of the vilayet of Broussa. Kutahia is a historical place where a treaty was signed between the conquering Egyptian General Ibrahim Pasha and the Sublime Porte appointing Mohamed Ali, the ruler of Egypt and Ibrahim Pasha, the Governor of Syria and Adana. At Afion Kara Hissar halt was made for lunch. This is a very thriving little town and is an important place, being the junction between the Anatolian Railway and the Smyrna-Kassava Railway. As the name of the town implies it is the chief centre for the cultivation of poppy, besides being famous for its green jungles and plums. Aak Shahr, the ancient Philadelphia, is a town dating its antiquity to the Grecian times. Near it are the ruins of an ancient town with an amphitheatre, forum, baths, marble chariots and everything complete. Here also Nasiruddin Khoja was born and buried. He is the Turkish counterpart of our own Mulla Do Peyaza and many a humorous and witty anecdote attributed to his great wit brightens the winter evening in a Turkish home.

Gazali-Gul-Hammam, which we reached late in the afternoon, is noted for its hot sulphur springs where patients suffering from gout and skin diseases seek for a cure.

Konia, the ancient Iconium, was reached at 7 p. m. Here we were met by many of the notables of the town at the station as they were informed by their friends at Eski Shahr of our arrival. After a long and tiresome journey we felt only fit to retire to our beds after the evening meal. Early next morning we called at the *Hakumat* and saw the Vali, Ali Raza Bey, who was very courteous and ready to assist us in every way possible. We talked with him of our scheme of colonization, and he expressed fervent hope that it would be in his vilayet that we would select the site for the colony. He introduced us to Dr. Bassim Bey, Chief of the Sanitary Department, and Nadir Bey, the Chief Engineer of the Irrigation Department of Konia. I must mention here that the Ottoman Government has canalised and completed the irrigation of half a million acres of land in Konia. It was arranged that we should go next day with Nadir Bey and Dr. Bassim Bey to inspect this canalised land. The Vali asked us if we belonged to the same Society which Colonel Surtis represented. On being informed in the negative he spoke to us of the utter distrust shown by the Colonel in the Turkish people by distributing aid to the refugees in Konia through a foreign missionary institution in preference to the Ottoman peoples. We then visited the Government depot where a large number of modern agricultural implements were exhibited and sold to the farmers on hire-purchase system. There was also a German mart for agricultural implements. But the thing which delighted us most was our visit to a large magazine started by the Maulvis where every kind of article from finest silk down to the ordinary broom was sold by these Maulvis themselves. The next most pleasing visit was to the Moslem Bank which had been started for the last two years with a capital of £T. 70,000. The Manager, Ahmed Hameed Bey, told us that the last year's net profits were £T. 8,900, a tidy little sum which speaks volumes for the management of the Bank. This year they were going to undertake the electric installation in the town and an electric tramway which the Manager of the Bank hoped would bring larger profits to the shareholders. Their new building situated in the principal street of the town was almost complete, and they hoped to transfer the Bank there within a month. These signs of commercial and economic activities amongst the Mussalmans of Konia gave us great heart and hope for the real consolidation of the Ottoman Empire. It must be mentioned that all this is the result of the activity of the Party of Union and Progress in Konia.

VISIT TO THE TOMB OF MAULANA JALALUDDIN RUMI.

The great mystic, *mulladdi*, philosopher and poet, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, whose interpretation of Al-Qorin in his immortal and classical *masnavi* is read everywhere where Islam has spread, is buried here in Konia. His shrine has been always held in highest veneration by the Sultans, noblemen, ulama and the common people. It is a place of pilgrimage from all parts of Turkey and indeed all the Islamic world. Here the great Maulana Jami made a pilgrimage and wrote in his own hand the couplets which are hung up in a frame at the gate of the shrine:

« كعبه عشاق باقد این مقام * مرکه تالیمات اینجا شد تمام »

The visit of Hazrat Shams-i-Tabriz and his preachings in the Madrasah and his subsequent murder by the suspicious students, who took him to be a Shia, and the throwing of his body into the well over which to the present day a tomb marks the place, was related to us by one of the Maulavis of the shrine. The shrine itself is a beautiful building with a green dome over the grave of the Maulana. The tomb is covered with richly embroidered green silk cloth, enclosed with a beautiful silver railing which is a precious work of art. The huge candles outside the railing and the antique lamps have their stands studded with most costly gems, being the devotion offerings from the different Sultans and emirs.

We also visited several modern mosques in the town, that of Sultan Salim being the most magnificent. There are numerous objects of historical interest in Konia, the chief being Sultan Alaaddin's Jame and his tomb. The mosque is of little interest except the forty-two pillars on which the roof and the dome are supported. The *mihrab* and *mihrab* are of exquisite workmanship and of the best Ottoman period. The tomb of Alaaddin Saljuki, the last of that dynasty, is a plain one with a simple inscription bearing the name and date of the monarch:

« ملاالدین ابوالفتح کعبه ابن السلطان سیدالشید کیمسود »

بن قلع ارسلان بن مسعود - سنه ٦١٧ هجرى

There are some objects of great antiquity and interest deposited in this shrine: (1) a green banner, on each corner of which are embroidered the names of the four Khalifas and the Prophet's name in the centre, and (2) a very ancient copy of the Quran in Khatt-i-Kufi and one in Khatt-i-Sula.

Alaaddin's kiosk is near by, commanding a beautiful view of the surrounding country. It is fast crumbling down.

Two beautiful mosques, one built by Fakhruddin Sahab-i-Ata in 682 Hijri, and another by Karatagh-i-Kabaci, one of the viziers, contain the most beautiful and rarest China that could be found. The mosaics on the roof are the finest specimens of their kind. The carvings on the wooden gates and the raised stone carvings round these gates are most wonderful.

There are six schools, five for primary and one for secondary education, and a girls' school. There is a school of law and a very fine industrial school which turns out furniture and cabinets of newest designs and ploughs, water pumps and other industrial implements, besides doing a considerable amount of repairing work.

There is a very old church half of which is used by the Armenians and the other half by the Greeks.

Next morning we started with Nadir Bey and Dr. Bassim Bey to Chomra where the staff of irrigation engineers have their headquarters. The source of the water is a very large lake in the Karatagh Mountains some ten miles distant. The water is diverted into a river, the Charsamba Ohda, from which by means of dams and sluice-gates the flow of water is maintained into the primary canals and thence into the secondary and tertiary systems. The irrigation scheme, which was started more than four years ago, has now been completed and supplies an area of half a million acres. We inspected nearly the whole of this area and selected an artificial hillock, the sight of an ancient town, for our village, should we select this tract for our colonization scheme. This hillock is situated about four miles from the railway line and would be the most suitable place for building a village. Near by we saw the remains of an old Roman village, Binbir Kalissa, where there are also remains of many old churches and monasteries. We returned to Chomra late in the afternoon and did full justice to the lunch provided by Shanket Bey, the Chief Engineer. Mr. and Mrs. Her Kaner gave us a very fine tea in the afternoon. Our hostess is the wife of the German expert who is employed by the Ottoman Government. She is a young lady of great culture and refinement and charmed our friend Aageyah Bey very much by her brilliant conversation. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was also a privileged person owing to the supposition that he was a parson (due to his long black frock coat). We returned to Konia in the evening and were given an invitation to dinner by Chalaki Effendi, the

sajjadanashin of Maulana Râm's shrine. The dinner was simple and wholesome as befits the life of a hermit. After the meal, we were introduced to all the notables of Konia, and Mr. Zafar Ali Khan made a stirring speech asking them to be up and doing, working for the regeneration of their motherland by means of commercial and industrial regeneration. Noori Effendi, ex-Deputy for Konia, made a reply and showed the work of industrial progress which they in Konia had been carrying on for sometime and which he hoped would gradually bring about the consolidation of the vilayet. A branch Association of the Khuddam-i-Islam was also formed here with the Rayees-i-Baladia as its President, and Husnee Bey, the Manager of the Bank, as the Secretary of the Association. The Chairman of the Municipality then presented us with an album containing photographs of all the antique and historical buildings and monuments in Konia. For this valuable souvenir of their brotherly goodwill and friendship, I thanked them in a suitable and cordial terms.

Our journey to Bozanti next day was a gradual ascent along a tableland, the highest point of which was Eregli 2,500 feet above the sea level. Beyond this, as far as Bulgarloo, a height of 5,400 feet, the train passed through the *faras* system of mountains, its highest peaks being snow covered. We had to pass over numerous bridges and through no less than 21 tunnels, on numerous embankments and galleries, the wild and rugged mountains all around us full of grandeur and majesty seemed to be an unceasing chain until we reached Bulgarloo, its highest point. Here the rarified air and the low-atmospheric pressure caused some respiratory embarrassment to one or two of our companions, notably Dr. Ahmed Fâhid. But an *amyl nitrate* capsule, which I fortunately had in my bag, relieved the symptom instantly. The descent to Bozanti which lies in the hollow between the two peaks of the Taurus was steep and difficult. The German engineers have expended considerable skill and ingenuity in achieving this great feat. Bozanti, which is situated in the vale of that name is the last station on the Baghdad Railway. From here the line goes a few miles and then stops owing to the long tunnel they are boring through the Taurus to reach the Cilician plains.

We made a halt here for the night and had to stay in a *khân* infested with fleas and vermin of all sorts. This is a very historical place and through it have passed the armies of Darius and Alexander, the hosts of Cyrus and the conquering armies of the Egyptian General Ibrahim Pasha. What vicissitudes, what changes this green, smiling valley must have seen. Many empires have risen, reached their zenith, decayed and disappeared, before the very eyes of these unchanging mountains and rocks. It makes one wonder what fate awaits the only remaining Moslem State which now holds this historical place under its sway.

A very touching and pleasing little incident happened here. I was taking some snapshots of the snow-covered Taurus and the green valleys when I was accosted by a farmer who was returning from his field. He asked me where I came from and, on learning my country and my religion, he looked so immensely pleased that he kissed my hands and invited me to a cup of tea in his cottage. Here was an example of that true fraternity which is only practised in Islam though preached by many other religions. As he was from the borders of Persia, we could talk with each other in Persian. His hospitality was real and genuine. I will never forget the happiness that cup of tea gave me and my host. It was the best cup I ever had in my life. In the evening we visited some refugees from Tchoulu who were on their way to Adana and who had run short of food and provision. They were 70 in number, men, women and children, and we offered a *shik* help of five piastres a head. We passed the night in the infested *khân*, but we did not get a wink of sleep owing to the irritating attention of our friends the vermin.

We started at 8 in the morning on our journey to Adana. Our carriages, which were four-wheelers, were a cross between a brougham and a victoria. They had to take all our baggage and two of us in each. They were drawn by a pair of strong horses. As we went along the Roman road which goes winding uphill and downhill, often in a zig-zag fashion to make the climb less steep, we passed through most gorgeous and enchanting scenery. And were it not for the rough and continuous jolting the journey would have been ideal. I do not believe that the roads have ever been repaired since the Byzantine period when they were constructed. It is only the Turkish horses and the strong spring of the carriages which could have stood the rough roads. We passed a very old fort which at first sight could not be distinguished from the rocky mountain on which it stood. Its date is lost in distant ages. Some say it dates from the time of the Assyrians, others give it a much later date in the Roman period. It was obvious from the condition of the walls and the most surrounding the castle that it must be very ancient as time and exposure to weather had absolutely worn out all traces of inscriptions on the walls. A few miles beyond we came across two modern fortresses on hills commanding the road and of great strategic position. These were constructed by Ibrahim Pasha, the conqueror of Egypt, about the year 1845. It was a

beautiful morning and we decided to walk along the road in order to enjoy better the magnificent scenery just as much as to escape the incessant bumping and jolting inside the carriages. We came across few low-roofed cottages along the road with one or two solitary occupants selling cigarettes and coffee to the wayfarers. We met long caravans of camels loaded with packages of all sorts, this being the chief means of transport between Bozanti and Adana. A halt was made at midday at a wayside inn to give rest to the animals and to take some refreshment. Our friend Aageyah Bey, who was the master of ceremonies, is always very thoughtful in matters relating to food. The fare he provided us here was worthy of any first class restaurant in Stamboul. His memory never deceives him in such matters, even in such details, as chocolates, peppermint drops and delicacies like *pat de fois gras*, although he may forget such unimportant details as the letter of introduction to the Vali of Adana or many other such foolish unnecessary things. And even if the latter omissions caused a little inconvenience, his beaming countenance and smiling eyes made up for it. After our meal we were lounging about, and some of the party had gone up to reconnoitre the adjoining hill, when the sharp eyes of our dear friend Mr. Zafar Ali Khan perceived engraved on a steep rock on the opposite bank of the river, the bearded face and the crowned head of an ancient Assyrian King, facing another image presumably that of the Queen. He could see the sceptre, the flowing robe and every detail complete. We at once decided to cross the mountain torrent, and after a laborious and steep climb, at times on all fours, reached the summit panting and perspiring only to find that our visions had played us false, and that it was nothing but an optical illusion, the images probably conjured up by the highly imaginative brain of our friend Zafar Ali Khan, the classical ground and the romantic surroundings probably taking a great share in it.

The second half of our journey, though every bit as interesting as the first half, was marred by the extreme roughness of the road and the tropical heat of the sun. In one place our road passed through a perpendicular gorge rising up to some 3,000 feet, the steep rocky wall on one side and the deep, dark ravine on the other, in which a foaming, roaring river pursued its course. In the middle of this stream stood a rock on which an inscription was carved by the order of Marcus Aurelius the great Roman philosopher and the tutor of Emperor Nero. The name *مدرسة* is aptly given to

this place owing to its shape like a box. About 4 o'clock we reached the summit of a hill from which we could see the plain of Cilicia, which for its fertility and richness has always been the coveted possession from the time of Egyptians and Assyrians, Darius and Alexander the Great, the Greeks and the Romans, to the present day. This plain stretches as far as the sea and on its south-eastern and north-eastern sides is limited by the Karadagh mountains and the Taurus system which we had just traversed. Three rivers flow from the mountains and irrigate these plains, the *Saihan*, the *Jaihan* and the *Bardan*. The great Egyptian Queen Cleopatra used to come up the river *Saihan* in her galleys dressed as a Greek goddess to meet her Roman lover Antony at Tarsus. We reached the railway station *Gülen Büğhâz* just in time to catch the train to Adana, where we reached in one hour. This section of the Baghdad Railway runs between Mersina and Osmaniye with a branch line to Alexandretta. It is expected that the tunnel in the Taurus Mountain would join the second section of the Baghdad Railway with this, the third section somewhere near the station of *Gülen Büğhâz*.

At Adana we were met at the station by a large number of the notables of the town, Sukhi Pasha, the Chairman of the Municipality, and Mufti Hap Ali being amongst them. These gentlemen had been informed of our arrival by our friends from Konia. After a good Turkish bath and supper, we retired to our beds in our hotel.

Early on the morning of the 7th June we called on the Vali, Amin Bey, who was very prompt in arranging our journey to Erzurum, where the land (more than 40,000 acres) we wished to inspect was situated. He told us that it was the most fertile district and the productive capacity of the land was very high, wheat, maize, but-root, cotton, fruits and almost anything could be grown on this land with equal success. He told us that manure was never used in Adana, and in fact it was unnecessary and no irrigation was required unless fruit trees were grown, the annual rainfall being quite sufficient for the crops.

The population of this vilayet is 450,000, out of which there are 80,000 Armenians. But the curious fact was that in spite of the richness and fertility of the land and the wealth of the farmers the revenue derived by the Government was only half a million pounds. The chief cultivation in the vilayet was wheat and other cereals, but recently cotton growing is being carried on on an extensive scale; although the quality of the cotton is inferior to that produced in Egypt and India. Fruits of all kinds are grown here in abundance and are shipped at Mersina to Europe. Some of the finest apricots and plums I have ever tasted in my life were given to us by Dr.

Salih Bey, Chief of the Sanitary Department here. We visited the school, which has 100 boarders and is one of the finest institutions of the kind. The school of industry here is a very valuable institution with a large carpentry department, a smithy with an iron forge attached to it. I saw several engines being repaired here and a large number of ploughs, sheaving machines and other agricultural implements. They have a printing press where every description of printing was being taught to the students and the local bi-weekly paper, *Juhon*, was printed here. The agricultural college is the most up-to-date institution, has a staff of twenty teachers and over 200 students and has been doing splendid work for the last five years. Some very important experiments on cotton growing are at present being carried on in this institution, the results of which are expected to be of greatest economic importance to the vilayet. The orphanage which is constructed to accommodate 300 inmates is very well governed and looked after. Most of the children there, numbering 140 altogether, were Armenians.

We caught the train for Erzurum at 4 p. m., our train passing through the fertile valley of Juhon, where as far as the eyes could reach nothing but cultivated fields could be seen. This was the reaping season for the wheat crop. The reaping was done by means of the modern machinery driven by a horse, which cuts the corn and collects it in sheaves at the rate of 20 acres a day. In other places one saw grain being cropped and separated from straw and husk by engine-driven machinery. Indeed all the agricultural operations here are carried on in the most modern and up-to-date manner with the least amount of labour. It makes one wonder how could some of the Indian journals have the audacity to call Turkey the most backward country, when they must know that in India agriculture is still being carried on in the most primitive condition without the least improvement in the methods of agriculture for the last 150 years. I assure you, Adana could give many lessons to the most up-to-date agricultural districts in India.

We passed the village of Hamidiye, which belongs to the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid and which he has rented to a French baron for 30 years. The ancient town of Annivers, which is a most magnificent Roman ruin with its citadel, its forum, amphitheatre and marble baths complete in every detail, is situated near here. Han Kale (Han--serpent) which was built by the Persians in time of Darius still stands. There was a myth that the Persian army astrologer invoked the aid of the deity, and his prayer was answered in the shape of a serpent who guarded the fortress against any enemy, and hence the name Han Kale. The fortress is still infested by poisonous snakes and visitors are forbidden entrance into it.

We arrived at Toprak Kale Station from where we had to take carriages to Erzurum; but the vehicles which were to have come from Osmanieh had not reached, and we took advantage of this delay to explore the ancient fortress built in the time of Alexander the Great and commanding the road to Alexandretta. Although the sun was setting, we thought we would be able to return before it was dark. We started with a gendarme at a brisk pace and had to wade through two streams and many fields full of prickly bushes before we reached the base of the fortress. Some of the party had gone halfway up the hill, others had reached the gate of the fortress, when we heard a groan and our gendarme guide was not to be found any more. We searched in the darkness, slipped, fell down, tore our clothings and got bruised all over in our attempt to find the gendarme, but we found it impossible to trace him. We had almost given up hopes when in response to one of the many shouts from Ageyash Bey the man replied and came down saying that he had been inside the fortress searching after us. I really believe that he had hid himself behind a bush to be spared the trouble of climbing up the steep hill. Our exertions had quite exhausted us and our friend Ageyash Bey who is by nature an easy going man insisted that we should wait there along the road and let the carriages pick us up here, this being our route to Erzurum. We remonstrated against this, but he insisted on the point and gave a hundred and one reasons why we should remain where we were. The strongest reason was that if the shepherd's dogs barked we will be shot at being taken for a burglar. After three hours patient waiting we had to face the shepherd's dogs and wade through streams, losing our way in the darkness and reaching the railway station at about midnight. I do not believe this strength of character (as Ageyash Bey would call it, but which we thought was stubbornness) is a common Turkish trait.

After three hours' journey in the country cart (I do not think the vehicles could be called by any more dignified name) we reached the village of Erzurum and were taken to a house where beds were provided for us for the night. But we found that five gendarme soldiers had occupied our beds after making a sumptuous repast which had been provided for us. The soldiers were not a little discomfited when their chief rudely roused them from their slumbers. This officer of the gendarme was very apologetic to

us for the inconvenience caused by the thoughtlessness of his subordinates, but we passed it off good humouredly and after a cup of tea started off on horses to see the domain. A couple of hours' ride brought us to this tract of land which lies along the shores of the Bay of Alexandretta in a most ideal locality. On its northern side is situated the village of Bashlamia at the foot of a hill of that name. There is a plentiful supply of water by means of three fair sized springs situated in this mountain. One of them runs to very near the centre of this land and then turns towards the west to irrigate the fields and the fruit gardens in the village of Erzurum. The second is about forty times the volume of the first and runs to a low-lying tract of ground on the south-eastern side and ends into a sort of a marsh. The third is partially utilised by the villagers of Bashlamia and then allowed to run into the sea. Anyone or all of them can be utilised for irrigating the domain in view at a very modest cost. The soil in this domain is very rich, of dark-brown colour and is virgin, not having been under cultivation for centuries. Judging from the adjoining Armenian village of Dardiol, it will very soon be a flourishing place owing to its proximity to sea and to the railway line running to Alexandretta. Our agricultural expert, Salih Bey, was entirely satisfied and inquiries about the cost of labour and material make it most likely that the cost of the houses would be 20 per cent less than our original estimates. As regards sanitation it is a most healthy locality and combines the benefits of mountain and sea air. The little swamp could be drained off once the stream which runs into it is diverted to irrigate our domain, and then this ten or fifteen thousand acres of marshland would be worth its value in gold. After thoroughly investigating everything we returned to Erzurum highly satisfied and determined to take this domain for planting our first colony there. What with our previous night's adventure at Toprak Kale and what with want of sleep and the six hours' ride on horses, we were so tired that we dropped off to sleep immediately after our food and did not wake up until 5 p. m., an hour before our return to Osmanieh.

We had a very comfortable hotel in Osmanieh, and after a good night's rest left for Adana in the morning and reached there at 10 a. m. We thanked His Excellency the Vali for all his kindnesses and he promised to communicate the choice of this land to the Minister of Interior and make all necessary arrangements for the official transference of this domain for the colonization of the *mekadmirin* to Indo-Ottoman Colonization Society. At a meeting held in the Primary School of Union and Progress we met all the notables of Adana. Mr Zafar Ali Khan and myself made speeches explaining the necessity of economic and industrial co-operation, the formation of a Muslim Bank and the Khuddam-i-Islam Society. Sukhi Pasha was elected President, and the Principal of the school as Secretary of the Association. A little schoolboy often recited a patriotic poem in Turkish in such a perfect manner that it moved the assembly to tears. The last words of this poem meant something to this effect. "Our great and mighty ancestors—rest yourselves in peace in your graves; we your descendants, in whose veins is still running your blood, will not tarnish your fame. We will live for revenge."

We left for Tarsus the same afternoon, where we were met by Salih Pasha, ex-Deputy of Adana, Shakir Bey, Rais-i-Baladeah, Benim Bey and the Mufti of the town and many other notables. We visited the tomb of Khalifa Mauun-ul-Rashid, that elegant, cultured Abbaside monarch, who died in this vicinity where he had come on a political mission, and was buried at Tarsus. The tomb of one of the greatest of the Arabian monarchs, the grandeur of whose court is still recounted in many an Arabic poem, is simple to the extreme and devoid of any of those paraphernalia which mark the last resting places of the great monarchs. It was his express will that this should be so, as simplicity was the key-note of the private life of this monarch and that of his father, the great Harun-ul-Rashid. The following is the only engraving found on the headstone of the tomb.

هذه النافذة

روي مقام المموت بند و امينا * يا خليل من شر ضر الناس
ماتوا نور قبره زلا - لا * نجل البدر مع خيا التبراس
هو نجل الرشيد طاهر خير * فاعل كان في بني البساس

There were several banners and standards, which unfortunately we could not see as it was very dark.

In the same premises are two other tombs said to be those of

حضرت شيب عليه السلام and قلان حكيم Not very far from here is a place where اميركوف and their dog were buried.

Sadiq Pasha gave us a very fine dinner in the town gardens, where many other guests were also invited. At a meeting held after the

dinner we met with an unexpected success, as not only the Khuddam-i-Ka'be Association but a Muslim Bank was decided to be formed. Early next morning we visited Sadiq Pasha's flour mills, Hassim Bey's extensive cotton mills, the famous Burdan waterfalls and the electric power house which lights the town. We left for Mersina hoping to catch a boat in the afternoon, but on arrival there we were told that there was no boat until the 12th June reaching Constantinople on the 17th. As I had decided to sail for Egypt on the 19th it would have given me hardly any time had I waited for the boat at Mersina. I was obliged to return by the same route which we had come. And thanks to the kindness of Shatir Bey, Rais-i-Baladia of Tarsus, who responded to my telegram and sent coaches to meet our party at Gulan Beghaz station the same afternoon, and travelling all night we were able to catch the train at Bosanti on Wednesday morning, 11th of June I was thus able to reach Istanbul on Friday afternoon.

MUKHTAR AHMAD ANSARI.



Letters From Salonica.

B. B. M.'s Consul-General at Salonica writes to us on the 4th May as follows—"I beg to enclose herewith a statement of the expenditure incurred on account of your fund in connection with the Refugee Camp Hospital at Sedes during the month of April. The general health of the Camp was good, though there were a few cases of small-pox during the earlier part of the period. The number of Refugees in Camp remains at about 3,000, only a few families having left since the date of my last letter to return to their homes at Ishtib. Some 280 persons, however, are on the point of being shipped to Smyrna, in addition to about 2,000 of those who are quartered in the town itself."

Statement of Expenditure on Camp Hospital, etc., on account of the "Comrade" fund during the month of April 1913.

	Piastres (@ £T 104.
April 8th, Washing Hospital linen	28
" 14th, Two loads of Lime	50
" 24th, Medicines	28
" 30th, Salaries: Dr. Israel	1248
Dr. Medonca	1248
Chemist, Anghel	416
Attendants	236
" Washing Hospital linen	15

Total for April	3264
Total previously reported	24254 75
	27518 75

Piastres 27518 75 equal 26,460 Piastres gold.

£240 10 10

The following letter, dated Salonica May 30, was received from Mr. H. H. Lamb, British Consul-General.—

With reference to my letter of the 14th ultimo, I beg to submit some figures relating to the sanitary condition of the Refugee Camp at Sedes and the work performed by the small medical staff which we have been enabled to maintain there out of the funds subscribed by your readers.

There were medically treated for ordinary illnesses during the past two months

	April	May
Men	644	669
Women	376	524
Children	430	335
Total	1,750	1,528

"During the same period 8 men and 2 women were treated in the Isolation Camp for small-pox, and 7 men, 5 women and 1 child for typhoid fever, but there were no further cases of measles, scarlet fever or diphtheria.

"The mortality return from all cases was as follows:—

	April	May
Men	11	4
Women	18	3
Children	29	6
Total	57	13

"Twenty-four boys and twelve girls were born in the Camp during the period."

"You will notice that both the number of cases treated and the death-rate show a remarkable and regular falling off since the beginning of the year. This is no doubt due largely to the season and to the fact that during the earlier period the inmates of the Camp were still under the influence of the suffering and exposure through which they had had to pass before they reached it; but at the same time I think it testifies to the effectiveness of the measures taken to maintain them and the conscientiousness with which your small Medical Staff discharged its arduous and often trying duties.

"During the past few days about 2,700 refugees have been sent back towards their former homes in the districts of Ishtib and Kotehana, a small portion of the expenses of this movement having been borne out of the balance of your Fund.

"I reserve to myself to furnish you the details of this expenditure when the Agent, who has gone with the departing refugees to the point where the Bulgarian authorities have agreed to take them over, returns to Salonica. The Sedes Camp is now practically evacuated, and the International Committee, of which I have been a member and through which I have been partly disbursing the funds contributed by your readers, will very shortly be dissolved, its special mission having been accomplished.

"I annex one or two small photographs of the Refugee Camp, which may perhaps interest you."

TABLE

Showing the total number of persons treated by the "Comrade" Medical Staff at the Sedes Refugee Camp for illnesses of various kinds during the period from December 1912 to May 1913, inclusive.

ORDINARY ILLNESSES

	Men	Women	Children	Total
December, 1912	1,086	860	859	2,805
January, 1913	986	760	789	2,515
February	1,299	1,088	890	3,272
March	881	883	489	2,153
April	644	676	430	1,750
May	669	524	335	1,528
Total	5,565	4,736	3,722	14,023

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES.

	SMALLPOX.			Typhoid.	Measles.	Scarlet fever.	Others.	Total.
	Men.	Wom.	Child.					
December...	50	46	63	0	32	12	2	205
January	62	60	72	0	24	9	2	229
February	8	3	26	0	8	6	1	47
March...	1	1	1	0	5	1	2	11
April..	1	1	0	7	0	0	0	9
May	2	2	0	6	0	0	0	10
Total	119	113	162	18	69	28	7	511

DEATH RATE IN THE CAMP DURING THE SAME PERIOD

	Men	Women	Children	Total
December	70	56	145	271
January	67	64	120	251
February	32	27	60	119
March	15	43	28	81
April	11	18	8	37
May	4	3	6	13
Total	199	213	362	774

BIRTH RATE IN CAMP DURING THE SAME PERIOD.

	Boys	Girls	Total
December	5	14	19
January	7	11	18
February	19	15	34
March	18	16	34
April	16	8	24
May	8	4	12
Total	73	68	141

The following letter from the Consul-General at Salonica was sent on the 7th June:—

The 2,700 refugees remaining in the Camp at Sedes having been nearly all sent back towards their homes in the districts

of Ishtib and Kotehana, as I informed you in my letter of the 80th ultimo, the Camp has been evacuated by the International Commission, and the latter itself has now dissolved.

The total expenditure in connexion with the Camp Hospital and the medical treatment of the refugees generally amounted to between £260 and £270; but, as the Commission closed its accounts with a balance in hand, I was not called upon to make any further payments under this head beyond the two sums of £100 each for which the Treasurer's receipts were transmitted to you at the time the payments were effected.

My account, therefore, stands as follows:—	£	s.	d.
1. Paid to Treasurer of International Commission on account of Hospital expenses ...	200	0	0
2. Mr. Haskell's distribution at Serres (as per my letter of March 12th) ...	218	8	2
3. Mr. Vice-Consul Morgan's distribution at Serres (as per his own report) ...	100	0	0
4. Sent to Stroumitza and Veljeusa (see my letter of April 11th) £T70	65	12	9
Extra to Stroumitza per Rev. E. B. Haskell, £T80 (see my letter of April 14th)	27	5	6
6. Distributed to Mohadjirs returning to Kotehana, May 22nd to 24th, 2,557 francs, sent to Kiuprulu to secure further conveyance of the above Mohadjirs, May 28-31st, 2,888 francs ...	215	8	0
7. Small sums separately issued, 100 piastres ...	17	6	
	£280	11	11

With regard to the 6th item I should explain that the Ishtib and Kotehana refugees were sent back at their own desire and that of the Bulgarian authorities, who undertook to take them over at the point where the territory in their occupation meets that in the occupation of the Serbs, i. e., somewhere between Kiuprulu and Ishtib. The Greek authorities provided free railway transport from Salonica to Gumendja, and the Serbian authorities from Gumendja to Kiuprulu. The latter were also to make arrangements for their conveyance from Kiuprulu to the point where the Bulgarians would take charge of them. The Bulgarian authorities here provided them with bread rations calculated to suffice for five days, but I considered it advisable to provide them in addition with a small sum of money and I, therefore, on their departure by train, personally distributed to them at the rate of 1 franc per head, exclusive of infants, the total amount so expended being 2,557 francs.

On their arrival at Kiuprulu it proved that no complete understanding had been come to between the Bulgarian and Serbian authorities and no sufficient provision made for their further conveyance. It therefore became necessary to send up a Special Agent who succeeded in obtaining from the Serbs 120 waggon and 340 pack animals to transport 1,950 persons to Ishtib—a distance of 11 hours. The remnant had in the interval succeeded in securing the means of transport at their own expense. The expenses incurred by this Agent, including a further distribution of bread (870 francs) and money (1,920 francs) amounted to 2,888 francs.

The 7th item was made up as follows:—

Having heard that the inhabitants of the small village of Kara Hodja near Krivolak, who had not emigrated but who had lost all their livestock, were in need of a small sum to save their summer crops by the purchase of a few oxen and implements, I secured the money required from another source. It became, however, necessary to send a Special Agent up to Krivolak to convey the money, and I drew on your fund for his expenses (72 piastres). The remaining 28 piastres were given to an individual applicant for relief who was specially recommended to me.

I have to-day remitted £100 to His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Monastir, who has been doing excellent work amongst the refugees and also the liberated Turkish soldiers who are now arriving at Monastir in considerable numbers and in a very wretched condition. I have therefore still an unexpended balance of £78 8 1 from your fund.

I enclose copy of General Statement of the work of the International Commission which has just been issued by its Secretary, together with a copy of a local newspaper referring to the same.

Refugees at Salonica.

The following is the memorandum on the work of the "International Commission for the Relief of Refugees" at Salonica which was sent by Consul-General Lamb to His Excellency Rt. Hon. Sir Gerard A. Lowther, G. C. M. G., C. E., etc., H. B. M.'s Ambassador Extraordinary, Constantinople:—

Within a few days of the entry of the Greek troops into Salonica, i. e., during the first fortnight of the month of November, between 35,000 and 40,000 Mussalman refugees poured into the town. The first arrivals were accommodated either in Mussalman houses, or in mosques, schools and *thams*, but when all such available accommodation was exhausted, large numbers of these unfortunate people remained camping in the streets and on the waste lands outside the city walls without shelter from the wind and torrential rains which prevailed at that period.

The first person who took an active interest in their lot was Madame Christa Hadji Lazaro, a German lady married to a Greek landowner of this place, whose charitable activity has made her well-known throughout the country. The American Missionaries, the French Sisters of Charity and others also organized food distribution, and after a short interval a Committee was formed under the presidency of Her Majesty Queen Olga which endeavoured to centralize and direct these various efforts. Subsequently the local Mussalman community also organized a Committee, the work of which was mainly conducted with the help of money received from the Ottoman Government, either directly or through the German Embassy.

The "International Committee" owed its existence mainly to the activity of Colonel Delme-Radcliffe, the energetic director of the British Red Cross Mission, and the special task allotted to it was to endeavour to relieve the city of a condition of congestion which it was feared might constitute a serious danger to the public health. For this purpose it was decided to install a Refugee Camp at a distance of about five miles outside the town, to which as many as possible of the refugees should be transferred until such time as it might be found practicable to send them back to their homes or otherwise dispose of them.

The first meeting of the Committee was held on November 22nd, but the difficulties to be contended with in the state of confusion which then prevailed in Salonica were considerable, and it was not until December 11th that it was found possible to send the first batch of 685 refugees out to the Camp. In the meantime a serious outbreak of small-pox had rendered necessary the establishment of a separate isolation camp for suspects at Lumbet, on the opposite side of the town, and, until the whole mass had been vaccinated and the epidemic stamped out, the Committee had to deal with the two camps, separated as they were by a distance of about 10 miles, with the help of the same personnel.

The tents, furnished by the Greek Government from amongst those captured from the Turks, were arranged in blocks of 25 with wide alleys between each block. Each tent being calculated to accommodate 10 persons, the refugees were consequently distributed in groups of about 250, endeavour being made to keep the inhabitants of each district as far as possible together. In selecting those who should be sent out, care was taken not to admit those from the immediate neighbourhood of Salonica or from districts in which there was reason to hope that tranquillity would be rapidly restored so as to permit of the fugitives being sent back. Eventually it proved that a very large proportion of the whole were people from the districts closely adjoining the Bulgarian frontier, such as Korobana, Kratovo and Zerevo, together with a few from Kumanovo and Ishtib. By December 15th the population of the Camp numbered 2,608, by the 19th it had risen to 4,865, and by the end of the month it had passed 5,000. Another thousand were added in January, the maximum attained being 6,860. A detachment of Turkish prisoners were employed in the erection of the Camp and on certain canalization work regarded as necessary to secure it from the danger of inundation, in case of a sudden thaw or exceptionally heavy rain. Under the command of two Turkish Gendarmier officers on parole they also supplied the Police of the Camp, a smaller detachment of Greek Infantry quartered in the adjacent buildings of the Model Farm, serving as a general guard. Both the Turkish Officers, it should be remarked, broke their parole and succeeded in escaping to Constantinople, where they are believed to have joined the forces at Tchataldja, and with the advent of fine weather the Turkish Guard was entirely withdrawn. Besides these officers, the maintenance of the Camp entailed the employment of an "Intendant" or Purser, with a Secretary and servant, two Doctors, a Dispenser and a number of Hospital Attendants which naturally

varied with the season and the number of sick to be looked after. All expenses connected with the care of the sick being defrayed out of a special fund provided by the readers of the Indian Newspaper "Comrade and Friend", the cost of this working staff never exceeded £730, and after the flight of the officers above-mentioned, was reduced to £9 per month. Thanks to the efficiency of the original organization the work of the Camp went on, undisturbed by the gradual dwindling away of the Staff and of the Committee itself, until the end.

The ration provided by the Committee was 800 dirhems, or one kilogramme of bread per diem, excluding children under four years of age. The Committee undertook to supply nothing else, but as a matter of fact it was frequently able to supplement the official bread ration with doles of beans, rice, butter and lentils out of a very considerable store of these articles placed at its disposal by the Fourth Mission of the Egyptian Red Crescent under Dr Mahgoub Sabitt Bey, which paid five visits to Salonica during the existence of the Camp, or from other sources. This allowance, which was three or four times as much as was being distributed by the various agencies at work in the city itself, was found in practice to be ample, many families succeeding in economizing important quantities of bread, which they sold or bartered against other commodities. An attempt was indeed made during the cold weather to reduce the ration of bread and supplement it with soup or pilaf on alternate days, but the recipients themselves petitioned almost unanimously for a return to the original practice, which was found to be at once simpler and more satisfactory. The bread itself, supplied by one of the principal Army Contractors, at the rate of 60, and subsequently of 50, paras per kilo, was, one or two accidental lapses apart, of uniformly excellent quality and the Camp population had every appearance of being well nourished up to the end.

The cost of maintaining this large agglomeration of people amounted, when the Camp was at its fullest, to little less than £100 per diem, about half the expense being generously contributed by the Greek Government, whilst the balance was made good by the donations which the Committee was able to obtain from England, Germany and elsewhere, amongst the more important of which may be mentioned the contributions of the British Red Crescent Society (£1,500) transmitted by Seyyid Ameer Ali through the Foreign Office, Lady Lowther's War Relief Fund (£7,500), the Lord Mayor's Fund (contribution as yet unexpended) and the *Comrade* newspaper.

On April 5th, 2,300 inmates of the Camp, who had expressed their desire to emigrate to Asia Minor, were shipped to Smyrna by the *Adriatic* of the Hadji Daoud line at a cost of about £600, and on May 10th 230 more were embarked for the same place on the Egyptian Red Crescent steamer *Bahr Ahmer*. A few small contingents having in the meantime been despatched by land to their former homes in the districts of Ishtab or Kiprulu, the population of the Camp was reduced from 6,000 to 3,000, this remnant being composed of inhabitants of a certain number of villages in the Ketchana district, extending along the valley of the Bregalinitza from Kozjuk, six miles eastward of Ishtab, to Kalmantcha, close to the old Bulgarian frontier. These people have been steadfast in their determination to return to their former homes, and the Bulgarian authorities here early in April professed their readiness to take them back. The Greek Government accorded them free railway carriage as far as Glumendje, but difficulties arose in regard to the section from Glumendje to Kiprulu, on which the Serbs declared themselves unable to provide the means of transport. Even this difficulty was at last overcome and they were eventually despatched to Kiprulu in three sections on May 22nd to 24th, the Camp being then closed as far as concerned the International Committee, though the Greek Sanitary authorities are still making use of part of it as an isolation camp for those who have been in contact with contagious diseases in the town.

In addition to those that have been specified above, the International Committee was likewise instrumental in forwarding to Smyrna the following numbers of refugees from the town itself:

December 31st. By the ss.			
		"Clare"	about 1,000
January	"	"Magda"	" 1,100
"	14th	"Bahr Ahmer"	" 400
February	1st	"Ditto."	" 1,500
"	15th	"Ditto."	" 2,890
March	1st	"Ditto."	" 1,600
"	15th	"Mahroussa"	" 800
"	"	"Magda"	" 1,862
May	3rd	"Kyme"	" 3,345
"	10th	"Themistocles"	" 1,800
"	"	"Bahr Ahmer"	" 630

or a total of over 16,000 persons.

The *Bahr Ahmer* was placed at its disposal for this purpose by the Egyptian Red Crescent Society, and the *Mahroussa* by His Highness the Khedive himself, whilst the transports *Kyme* and

Themistocles were provided by the Hellenic authorities. In the other instances the vessels were chartered by the Committee, but the Greek Government contributed half the freight.

Relief Work at Adrianople.

The following despatch from His Majesty's Consul at Adrianople reporting on relief of distressed Moslems was forwarded by His Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on 29th May:—

To His Excellency (the Right Hon Sir Gerard Lowther, G. C. M. G., C. B., &c.).

SIR—I have the honour to forward for the information of Your Excellency, the following particulars of the relief work which is at present being carried on by this Consulate here.

The funds available with the names of the contributors are as follows:—

British Red Crescent Society	...	£3,000
Egyptian Red Crescent Society	...	2,000
Friends' War Victims Relief Fund	...	2,750
Indian Newspaper <i>Comrade</i>	...	2,000
Ottoman Red Crescent Society	...	800

£10,550

These funds are being administered by Lieutenant-General Broadwood and myself assisted by a committee of Turkish notables. The above sum is available for the relief of Moslems only, sum allotted to non-Moslem communities having been paid direct to their heads by the donors. It was found advisable to concentrate the sums detailed above into one fund with the exception of the third on the list which was available for non-combatants only. Those needing relief have been divided into four classes:

- 1st. The poorer classes of the population including refugees
- 2nd. Prisoners of war
- 3rd. Officers' families
- 4th. Civil employes.

The form of relief best suited to the first of these was bread, of which a daily distribution has taken place since the 9th April. Commencing with 6,000 the number distributed daily soon reached 22,500 loaves of $\frac{1}{2}$ kilo each. The cost of this was borne in the first instance by the Friends' War Victims Relief Fund and subsequently by the *Comrade* and Egyptian Red Crescent Funds. It is hoped that the number of persons of this class needing relief may shortly be diminished by the departure of refugees to the villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Adrianople.

For purposes of this distribution the town has been divided into twelve districts to which bread is sent daily. These districts are each subdivided into three or four from which the bread is given out daily to those authorised to receive it.

Prisoners of war have been cared for medically by the British Red Crescent Society's mission under the direction of Dr. Haigh which has done excellent work. Those of the sick amongst them who were not already in the various hospitals have been placed in buildings, and much has been done to ameliorate the conditions obtaining amongst both sick and healthy by the provision of additional food, fuel covering etc. The British Red Crescent fund has been the chief contributor to this portion of the work.

The distressed condition of the officers' families called for immediate relief since their heads being all either killed, wounded, or prisoners of war, they were left for the most part absolutely unprovided for. Equity has been made into each individual case by those in charge of this class of the relief, chiefly ladies, and assistance has been given according to the particular needs. Demands of the fund for this source have been met by the Egyptian Red Crescent Society's contribution.

Small sums have also been advanced, those of the civil employes requiring help to be repaid by them on receipt of their salaries.

It is proposed to devote a sum, probably about £1,000, to assisting refugees leaving for the villages.

It is estimated that at the present rate of expenditure the funds at the disposal of the Committee will be exhausted in a week's time.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) L. L. R. SAMSON, Major,
Consul.

Adrianople, 11th May, 1913.

The Islamic World.

News From Turkish Sources.

(SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE "COMRADE.")

THE new Constantinople newspaper, *L'Union*, publishes in its issue of the 24th June a full account of the interview which a representative of the Turkish newspaper *Tamim* had with Djemal Bey, the Military Governor of Constantinople.

"Ever since I took over charge of my office," said the Governor, "I have kept a watchful eye on the suspects, who were capable of disturbing the public order. There happened to be then in Constantinople a number of military officers who seemed to be knocking about aimlessly and occupied themselves with everybody's business except their own military duties. These officers were nominated for different posts and asked to join their work. Some of them acted upon these instructions, but others like Lieutenant-Colonels Rassih Bey and Setvet Bey disobeyed all orders, and among these latter who did so was a captain, by the name of Kiazim Effendi, who, by the way, looked more like a vagabond than a military officer. Then came the order that all such officers as had not joined their posts were to be arrested. But Kiazim in the meanwhile had gone to Ismidt to his parents. A special agent was thereupon sent to Ismidt to make sure that Kiazim was there, and on learning that he was, I telegraphed to the Commandant of Ismidt to arrest him and send him up to Constantinople under escort. The Commandant telegraphed back to say that Kiazim had assured him on his word of honour as a soldier that he would go to Constantinople himself, and give himself up to the authorities.

"Despite his parole, Kiazim did not come, but sent me a letter by post saying that he had left for Tchataldja resolved to sacrifice his life for the Fatherland while fighting against the Bulgarians.

"Having learnt that Kiazim, contrary to his assertions, had not gone to Tchataldja, I reported the matter to the War Office which degraded him at once. It was then established that Kiazim was occupying himself with other affairs, and I received similar information about Mouhib, the director of the political section of the Police under Kiazim Pasha's cabinet. Shortly after this I learnt that Damad Saleh Pasha was in touch with Mouhib, and thereupon I began to watch Saleh Pasha also. You will thus see that the Government knew everything, for directly I received news of the plotting together of Setvet Lutfi (a man of Prince Sabaheddine) and Nihad Rachad Bey, I informed the Court Martial. The surveillance exercised over Kiazim and Mouhib revealed the fact of their being occupied with organizing a big conspiracy. Sabaheddine was also mixed with the affair. And at this moment arrived from Paris, Kemal Midhet Bey, bearer of instructions, but he, through Sabaheddine's assistance, quickly disappeared and took refuge in a place where he received support and protection.

"Kiazim and Mouhib, shortly afterwards, left for Constanza, but before leaving the latter said to his accomplices that he would return with 1,300 pounds in his pocket. Learning that the subalterns, Nazim, Zia, Keur Emine, had also established relations with Kiazim I promptly put them too under surveillance. At one moment I thought I would be able to arrest all of them, but I was waiting for certain developments. A few days later I arrested Mouhib. He declined everything, but said "You will see in a few days' time what will happen." Thereupon I saw Damad Saleh Pasha and told him "I find that certain adventurers have surrounded you and you have given ear to them. It seems that commanded by you, they want to achieve a certain object. It would be a good thing if you could arrange to leave for Europe for 3 or 4 months." Saleh Pasha smiled, but I told him I would watch him very carefully.

"Mouhib gave no news; but as our inquiries proceeded the designs of the conspirators became clearer. Whether or not the great crime would have been committed, Keur Emine, Zia, Nazim and the others would have been arrested on Wednesday, the day on which Sherket Pasha was assassinated. I had given the necessary orders for arresting them to my orderly officer, the late Hilmi Bey, wounded mortally by the assassin in Rue Pire-Mehmed. On Wednesday morning I learnt that the conspirators were out to shoot down Sherket Pasha, Asmy Bey, Talat Bey and myself. The necessary measures of precaution were immediately adopted. Only the late Mahmood Sherket Pasha did not wish to take any special precautions; but I warned his aides-de-camps to be extremely careful. Unfortunately it was impossible for me to learn when, where and in what particular manner the crime will be committed, and we have accordingly had the misfortune to lose our great chief.

"It was because the Government knew all details of the conspiracy that it was able to arrest so soon after the crime was perpetrated all the assassins whom it had kept under surveillance."

Further on, *L'Union* publishes the following communication of the Government regarding the sentences pronounced by the Court Martial:—

"The Court Martial has pronounced the following sentences have been sanctioned under an Imperial *iradeh*:—

To be condemned to death:—Damad Saleh Pasha, Captain Kiazim Bey, Topal Tewfik, Mehmed Ali, Zia, Lieutenant Cherk, Colonel Fonand Bey, Mouhib, Abdulla Sefa, Djavad (chauffeur), Hakky, the Gendarme Kemal.

To be condemned to death for conspiracy:—Cherif Pasha (ex-Minister at Stockholm), Prince Sebahaddin, Rehid Bey (ex-Minister of the Interior), Kemal Midhet Bey, Lieutenant-Colonel Zeki Bey, Ismail Bey, Abdul Rahman, Hikmat brother of Kiazim, Mehmed, captain of Gendarmery, Kavakli Mustapha, Nazmi.

Kara Ahmed, Raif and Raghib are each sentenced to 15 years' penal servitude.

Kieur Amin and Adil, sons of Oarsekli Sulaiman, are condemned to confinement for life in a military fortress.

The following are acquitted:—Colonel Kemal, Iseddine Bey, Captain Adil Bey, the chauffeurs Ismail and Mehmed, the Gendarme Sadik, Fehmi Effendi, Chighili Mustafa.

The execution will take place at 3 in the afternoon on Wednesday in place Bayazid, Captain Reza Bey will read the sentence and the Imperial *iradeh*.

The Turkish Empire.

PROBLEM OF REFORMS.

HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS the Crown Prince, Youssef Izzeddin Effendi, has honoured me with an audience and was pleased to accord me on the subject of the reform question an interview of the highest importance, which he graciously consented to authorize me to communicate to you, says Count Leon Obalorog, writing to the *Daily Telegraph* on May 26.

Following the gracious custom which he has always observed with foreigners who have been presented to him, the Prince made a step forward and offered me his hand. Then he sat down in a large armchair close to the wall and invited me to sit near him. I was not compelled to commit a breach of etiquette at the outset by addressing a question to my august interlocutor (because, knowing the object of the audience which I had solicited), the Prince, after the first words of welcome, made on his own initiative the following declaration:

A VITAL QUESTION.

"The question of the reforms is a vital matter for the Empire. I do not wish to go back upon such a painful subject as our woes. But they have, to a great extent, been brought about by the lack of sufficiently methodical and persevering reforms. In order to avoid calamities in the future, and, on the contrary, to ensure security, calm, and prosperity for the Empire, the only remedy is to undertake general reforms and to pursue them to the end.

"From what are we suffering? It is from being in all branches of the administration fifty years and perhaps more behind Europe. For, if my father, Sultan Abdul Aziz, and his enlightened predecessors, far from being systematically hostile to culture and progress, like Sultan Abdul Hamid, worked with all their power to assist the progress of the Empire, they did not, unfortunately, succeed in realising all their designs. To reform means to continue their work, to endeavour to make up the time that has been lost, to bring Turkey in all branches of the administration up to the level of progress in every direction to which Europe, never ceasing to advance, has attained during our fatal years of inertia. To reform is to do what has been done so well by Japan."

FOREIGN AID ESSENTIAL.

"From these last words I am doubtless to understand that your Imperial Highness regards it as opportune to make an appeal for the collaboration of foreigners in this work of reform?"

"I do not regard it as opportune, I regard it as indispensable. Have I not said that it is a question of making up the time that has been lost? It must naturally be made up as quickly as possible, and the simplest method of doing this is to obtain the assistance of those who have not remained behind-hand, because they have had the good fortune to live in countries which have never lost time. There is no need to make this a question of ridiculous and altogether false uncorrupted. Is not one of the most celebrated and beautiful precepts of our Prophet: 'Go and seek wisdom, even if it is in China?' And do Peter the Great, the Khedive Muhammad Ali,

and more recently the Japanese, occupy a humiliating place in history because they sought in foreign culture the secret of the greatness of their countries? Quite the contrary. It is, indeed, their proudest title of glory to have conceived this idea so intelligently and realised it with such energy."

BACK AND RELIGION.

"May I be permitted to hazard the observation that in Turkey the question of reforms is complicated by questions of different religions and races? Thus there is the Armenian question and the Arab question."

"Do not speak to me these questions," the Prince replied eagerly. "They have been our misfortune for too long a time. My grandfather the Sultan Mahmoud said there ought not to be any religious question except at the mosque, the church, and the synagogue. There you have the truth. We must become a modern State. You cannot call it a modern State where everybody is not absolutely free and perfectly equal outside all questions of religion."

"It is the same with the race question. Please understand me. I do not wish to convey by this that the traditions of a race are to be ignored, their customs offended, their language despised. The Arabs, for example, that illustrious and important element of the population, have their language. What more natural? In the first place that language is the vehicle of a marvellous literature. Could there possibly be anything more inconceivable than for us to refuse to respect a language which, setting aside its high historical and literary importance, is the very language of our religion? No. What I mean is something very different. I mean that in the Empire the race, no more than the religion, should not be the cause of an inferiority of any sort, that it should always be the object of respect, and never an occasion of exclusion or scorn."

A BAREFACED ACCUSATION.

"Nothing has caused me more irritation than learning that certain people have, it appears, dared to calumniate the other races by accusing them of being faithless to us in our misfortune. Nothing could be more unjust or more culpable than such an accusation. All our officers have loudly praised the courage of our Armenian soldiers, many of whom remained on the field of battle while others have left the hospitals crippled for life. But has everybody forgotten what these unfortunate people suffered under Sultan Hamid? My heart bleeds every time I think of it. We have heavy obligations to fulfil towards the Armenians. But rest assured that for them the hour of security, of justice, and of happiness must, and is, about to strike."

"It only remains for me to solicit permission to ask your Imperial Highness whether all these wise and noble thoughts are to have a prompt and effective realisation in practice."

The Prince briskly raised his head. "What reason," he replied, "is there to doubt it? Everybody is in agreement. These ideas which I have expressed are identical with those of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and if Mahmoud Shevket Pasha has accepted the heavy burden of public affairs, it is because these same ideas constitute his programme and that of the Ministers who have consented to unite their efforts with his. I have often had the pleasure of seeing them and hearing them speak, and I find that their goodwill is thorough, while they may always be certain of meeting with the support of the dynasty for the execution of this programme. The reforms must and shall be carried out. On that point, I repeat, everybody is in agreement. And provided that Europe cordially lends us the support which she has promised, only a few years will suffice for Turkey to recover herself and become in Asia an important factor of order, justice and peace."

Turkish Regulars in Tripoli.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, June 22nd.

LATINA despatches from Derna confirm the complete success of the Italian operations and the liberation of Derna itself from the constant menaces of a siege in which the town has hitherto been held. Not only have the fortified positions of the enemy been destroyed, but the large forces collected there have been so utterly routed and dispersed as to render their reassembling most unlikely. No official estimate has yet been offered of the enemy's actual loss, but it is supposed to be little short of 1,000 killed.

The rumoured retirement of Aziz Ali Bey from Ettangi, some days before the Italian attack, is also confirmed. This Turkish officer is now said to have crossed the Egyptian frontier with some 400 followers formerly regulars in the Turkish service. How far they contributed to the earlier resistance encountered by the Italians in Cyrenaica it would be difficult to say. Their residence with hostile Arabs and the fact that other groups of Turkish regulars still remain scattered about Cyrenaica explain the determination of Italy not to relinquish hastily any guarantees retained under the Treaty of Lausanne for the fulfilment of Turkish

obligations. This certainly is not the moment in which public opinion would consider as opportune any discussion of Italian intension with regard to the Aegean Islands now occupied by Italy.

Apart also from the question of the Turkish regulars still remaining in Libya, Italy would desire more light to be thrown on the motives of the Senussi, and the incentive which their leader has to encourage the revolt against Italian rule. It would seem as if the Italian Government were fully informed of the journey of the leader from Giarabut to Barca, and are quite aware of the little faith which is to be placed in his friendly protestations.

The New Egyptian Legislative Assembly.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, June 19.

IT IS stated that Hussein Pasha Rushdi, the Minister of Justice, who leaves for Europe on Saturday, will take with him the two new laws in connection with the proposed modification of the General Assembly and Legislative Council, in order to obtain the Khedive's signature. According to the local Press, which in this instance has obtained its information in a wonderful manner, the following are the details of this modification in the representative institutions of this country. The General Assembly and Legislative Council are to be abolished, and in their place is to be created a Legislative Assembly, which will have the same attributes and powers as those two bodies have hitherto enjoyed. The new Assembly will consist of eighty-nine delegates—the General Assembly, which included the thirty members of the Legislative Council comprised eighty-two delegates—and its composition will be: the six Ministers, seventeen permanent members chosen by the Government, and sixty-six members elected by the people, the president and vice-president will be nominated by the Government. With regard to the mode of election, there is to be one delegate for every 200,000 inhabitants, and each delegate must possess land on which an annual tax of at least £50 or property on which an annual tax of at least £20 has been paid for two years. Although delegates can only be elected for the constituency in which they reside, their land need not necessarily be situated therein. It is understood that the professions are to be represented, and that the Government, in choosing the seventeen permanent delegates, will endeavour to level up the representation of the various communities. For instance, the Coptic community is estimated at 800,000 souls, and it is, consequently, entitled to have four delegates in the Assembly. If, therefore, the ordinary elections return only three Copts, the Government will arrange for at least one Copt to be included amongst its nominees. It is absolutely impossible to obtain any confirmation of these details, for some reason best known to themselves the authorities maintain Sphinx-like attitude on the subject, although it is well known that the new laws have been drafted and are to be taken for signature to the Khedive. I give you the above details under all reserve, but I have every reason to believe that in substance they are correct.

The Mohammerah Railway.

IN connection with the survey of the Mohammerah-Khorremabad railway by the Persian Railway Syndicate, which has a two years' option to construct the line, we understand that the reconnaissance survey has now been completed from Mohammerah to Dizful. The party of four engineers under the leadership of Mr. W. Whitelaw, of Messrs. S. Pearson and Son who are carrying out the survey, left England early in March, and arrived in Mohammerah on April 10. Reconnaissance work began immediately, and has been completed up to Dizful. Owing to the absence of the tribes during the summer months operations on the Dizful-Khorremabad section will not be started until the beginning of the cold weather. By then the main surveying party, which is to be sent out from England, will have reached the Gulf, and it is hoped that by the end of the winter the reconnaissance and main surveys will have been completed on the whole line from Mohammerah to Khorremabad.

With regard to the eventual selection of Mohammerah as the line's terminus on the Gulf, we understand that no definite decision has yet been taken in the matter.

The Blue Book on Persia issued last week by the Foreign Office throws some interesting, though incomplete, sidelights on the diplomatic negotiations concerning the Mohammerah railway concession. In order fully to understand the situation, however, it will be necessary to recollect that in February-March of last year a sum of £200,000 was advanced to Persia for specific purposes by Great Britain and Russia, but as the greater part of this sum was earmarked, on April 20 Sir W. Townley telegraphed to Sir Edward Grey that Persia had asked for a further advance of £50,000, and

added:—"The Russian Minister suggests that, if the two Governments consent to make a further advance, provision should be made for £100,000"—an opinion which found favour with M. Sazonoff, as per wire (April 27) from our Ambassador in Russia, but not with the Russian Minister of Finance. Two days later Sir W. Townley insisted on the urgency of an advance, and on April 30 Sir Edward Grey cabled as follows to Sir G. Buchanan at St. Petersburg: "It is possible that the Persian Government may collapse completely, failing the advance which Russian Government refuse." M. Sazonoff's reply (May 1) insisted on the impossibility for the Russian Government to advance any money, but stated that he was "causing inquiry to be made with a view to obtaining through a Paris bank the sum required for the Russian share." He was prepared to begin negotiations immediately for the large loan to Persia (£6,000,000).

PERSIA'S IMPROBABILITY.

On May 17, the views of the Russian Government had again changed with regard to the advance; they abandoned the idea of the Paris banks, and "reverted to that of the advance being made by Russian Bank in Teheran." Nothing further transpired until July 17, when our Minister in Teheran reported a visit from the Persian Minister of Finance, who insisted on the great need of money in which the Persian Government stood. On receipt of this, Sir Edward Grey communicated with Sir G. Buchanan at St. Petersburg: "In view of the situation in Persia, it is absolutely necessary that the Persian Government should be provided with some funds. His Majesty's Government are in a position to advance £50,000 at any moment, as on receipt of Sir W. Townley's telegram of April 20, they took the necessary steps to have this sum in readiness. Please ask Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs whether it would not be possible for Russian Government to hold the same sum at the immediate disposal of M. Poklewsky, in order that a joint advance of £50,000 may be made without delay, and the same amount held in reserve."

The reply (July 27) is significant. "M. Kokovtsov (of Russian Ministry of Finance) will probably consent to £25,000 being advanced at once by both Great Britain and Russia, but as it is certain that a further advance will be solicited by the Persian Government as soon as this £50,000 has been expended, M. Kokovtsov thinks it must be indicated to them that they will be expected in return to furnish some proof that the confidence of the two Governments is well placed."

THE JULFA-TABRIZ CONCESSION

What this "proof" is is contained in a despatch from Sir W. Townley (July 28), who informs Sir Edward Grey that the chief de cabinet of the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs said "that the Russian Government were making the concession to Russia of the Julfa-Tabriz Urmia Railway a condition of the further advance of money which the Persian Government were now endeavouring to obtain." It is difficult to understand why this "condition" should have reached our Foreign Office via the Persian Government, considering Sir Edward Grey's extreme punctiliousness in continually advising Russia of our movements in Persia. Be that as it may, the Russian Government was informed by our Ambassador at St. Petersburg (July 30) that the need of the Persian Government for money was so urgent, that it was hoped "the railway concession will not be insisted on as a condition." On August 7, £10,000 out of the proposed £25,000 were placed by the British Government at Sir W. Townley's disposal for the Persian Government, an operation that was approved of by Russia, who promised an advance of £25,000 "as soon as the Persian Government consent to enter into negotiations respecting the Julfa Railway." In view of the unyielding attitude of the Russian Government on this point, Sir Edward Grey brought the Mohammereh Railway project to the notice of the Persian Government, and when the latter accepted in principle the Russian claim on August 24 we find that with regard to the Mohammereh line Sir W. Townley obtained "in addition to the Shah's receipt verbal assurances from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the effect that the line shall enjoy equal advantages with the Russian line as regards negotiations." The Anglo-Russian advance of £50,000 followed in due course (August 26), but as it was largely earmarked before being paid over, it was not long (September 12) before further claims were made by the Persian Government for a new advance, pending the issue of the big loan. Russia refused (September 17) even to consider an advance until the Julfa concession had been finally given by the Persian Government, and as certain difficulties foreign to this review impeded the realisation of the loan, matters went from bad to worse. There is no doubt that the Government would have "collapsed" had it not been for the generous advances made by Great Britain at the time, on account of the £200,000 advance which was subsequently granted after the Julfa and Mohammereh concessions had been obtained. Not only did Great Britain supply the Persian Government with funds, but she held repayments in abeyance. Russia, on the other hand, was sparing (as we have seen) with her advance and exacting

in payments due to her (July, 1912). With what result? The Julfa concession was granted before the Mohammereh concession, and was in every way more satisfactory.

Cabinet Crisis.

On October 24 Sir W. Townley reported that the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs assured him that the Mohammereh railway scheme "is very favourably viewed by the Persian Government. He repeated his previous assurance that this concession would be granted at the same time as that to Russia for the Julfa-Tabriz line." On December 5 our Minister at Teheran was in a position to state that "the Cabinet had practically agreed to grant the railway concessions," but thirteen days later the Cabinet resigned, thus delaying the negotiations, and a month elapsed (January 18, 1913) before it was reconstituted. Persian finances were in a precarious state, and but for Great Britain's helping hand (nothing was to be expected from Russia until the Julfa concession had been granted) it is likely that the political situation would have been aggravated. Russia's attitude was clearly defined on January 19, when M. Sazonoff gave his assurance "that the Russian Government will join in an advance as soon as the two railway concessions are granted."

With the Cabinet in power, the negotiations came quickly to a head. On January 27 Sir W. Townley informed Sir Edward Grey that Mr. Wood, chief manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia at Teheran, was "telegraphing fully lines upon which Persian Government are prepared to sign undertaking that Persian Railway Syndicate shall have right to construct Mohammereh-Khorremabad Railway. In view of uncertainty as to cost of construction and prospects of financial success of the enterprise, the Persian Government reserve to themselves the right of choosing a contract or a concession after the survey has been completed."

The Persian Railway Syndicate's reply to Mr. Wood (February 5) was as follows:—"If the Persian Government definitely agree to give us option for either contract or concession, we accept Persian Government's offer subject to (a) terms of contract or concession being settled before any expenditure on survey is incurred, and (b) Persian Government affording at their own expense adequate protection for survey parties."

The following day (February 6) the Russian railway concession was signed, and on the 8th M. Sazonoff telephoned Sir G. Buchanan informing him that the Russian Minister of Finance agreed to make an advance of £200,000 to the Persian Government. It was not until the 9th that the British concession was granted.

The Two Concessions.

The terms of the concession, according to Sir W. Townley, are:—

JULFA-TABRIZ RAILWAY.

The concession is for seventy-five years. Persian Government have the option to purchase after thirty-five years. The construction is undertaken by concessionaire at his own risk of loss, there being no financial guarantee on the part of either Russian or Persian Government. It is a conversion of the former road concession, which had lapsed, and as such conveys the right to work all petroleum and coal mines within forty miles of the line on each side. Benefit of Persian Government is as follows:—(1) Equal participation in profits of railway after payment of 7 per cent. on the invested capital; (2) 15 per cent. of the net profit from the mines on State lands situated as described above. The concession includes the right to construct an extension of the line to the northern end of Lake Urmia, and gives the company a preference to construct a railway between Kazvin and Tabriz on equal terms with those which any other company may offer in the future. Further, it carries with it a renewal of the old road concession under certain conditions in regard to the period of construction.

MOHAMMEREH RAILWAY.

Persian Government grant the right of option to Persian Railway Syndicate for construction of a railway from Mohammereh or a place adjacent thereto to Khorremabad—that is to say, either abovementioned syndicate shall build railway in question by means of a loan on conditions to be hereafter arranged as a State railway at the expense of the Persian Government, or the Persian Government shall grant syndicate a concession for construction of the abovementioned railway on conditions to be arranged hereafter. In latter case syndicate shall build at its own expense and responsibility. In order to be in a position to choose one of the two abovementioned methods and to draw up the necessary conditions a preliminary survey is necessary. Persian Government agree to commence this survey now in co-operation with syndicate, expenses of survey to be defrayed by Persian Government, on condition that if, after the completion of survey, Persian Government, by virtue of their right to select one of the two abovementioned methods of construction, should decide to grant a concession to syndicate the same shall refund to Persian Government expenses incurred in survey. Period of this right of option is for two years.—*The New East.*

CORRESPONDENCE



European Civilization—its Spirit.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I am one of those who had until recently nothing but the profoundest admiration for what is for brevity called the European Civilization, and all that it represents and symbolises. Recent occurrences in the international world, however, have furnished new data of such a startling character as to necessitate a more or less thorough revision of long-accepted and well-established formulae and convictions:—so well-established, in fact, that most of them passed as axiomatic, or rather as articles of faith for cultured men. It is natural, therefore, that new facts which came as eye-openers should have an effect similar to a violent and sudden upheaval of the earth's crust, where physical and intellectual equilibrium is alike completely lost, and it is some time before the victims, even the most clear-sighted among them, can adjust their eyes to a new focus, and before their dancing glances and reeling brains come to consider things as permanently settled. In my opinion the Islamic world is still in that condition of helpless dizziness, and some resting time must elapse before we chalk out a career of salvation. But that is not my present concern.

Like every other Moslem, I have been uneasy at heart of late, in fact, positively wretched, but, unlike him, not only at our "fallen estate," but also at the death and devaluation of my most cherished ideals. I am sure there must be many, even among Englishmen, who share this sentiment with me. To me the late wars have brought a two-fold disillusionment. The Moslem States have proved their bankruptcy and total incapacity, and Europe has proved its moral decrepitude, which, I think is a greater unworthiness of the two. I must confess to so much of sympathy with the European standpoint that I have been conscious of a long struggle in my mind on this point; but I must also confess that I have found very little to say on behalf of European diplomacy and its ways. In the course of this struggle I naturally consulted some of my friends in England, who, apart from superior knowledge and training, could keep more in touch with the currents and counter-currents of public opinion in England. One or two of them are men of high attainments, consummate scholarship and admirable breadth of view. I will mention one of them by name.

All who are at all acquainted with English philosophical and politico-philosophical literature know very well Mr Thomas Whittaker, the well-known author of "The Neo-platonists", "Poets, Priests and Prophets," and half a dozen other works on political and philosophic subjects, and they can speak of his ripe scholarship. But I have enjoyed friendship and personal contact with him for over two years, and it is my deliberate belief that I should not be at all surprised if he turns out, on statistics being taken, to be one of the most well-read men in Europe, seeing that he is a man of nearly 60, who, after winning his laurels at Oxford, has done nothing all his life but reading (and writing), and is a pretty fast reader. Apart from knowing nearly a dozen languages, he is one of the best Greek scholars in England. It is obvious, therefore, that nobody's opinion could be entitled to more weight as a disinterested and reliable account of the state of public opinion in England. I give below his letter to me, dated London, 11th June 1913.

It would be an error to suppose that all Europe is at one about the result of the Balkan War. Turkey has been in a sense the "hereditary enemy,"—as England and France were "hereditary enemies" for a long time; and yet combinations have always been possible against Powers to which the underlying hostility was far more intense. In the latter part of the sixteenth century it is very probable that there was tacitly a sort of Moslem-Calvinist alliance against the Catholic growth [?] of Europe. In exactly the same period also the rulers of England and France had enough political sense, in view of the national interests of both against Spain, to prevent their continuing

the (perfectly irrational) medieval struggle with one another. So now I take it, the contest being decided, the rulers of Germany and England have a perfectly clear conviction that the "strengthening of the Turkish Empire in Asia (with inclusion of Constantinople), is an absolute necessity against Russia and its vassal States. Among the Powers, of course, it is all a question of political interest; they are simply in Hobbes's "state of nature" towards one another.

At the same time the bigotry that you noticed really exists. It is perhaps strongest of all in the English High Church party, with its sympathies with the Greek or Eastern Church. The Roman Catholics are less pro-Russian, because Russian orthodoxy persecutes Catholicism in Poland. And the positivists who admire Catholicism historically, are strongly pro-Turkish. (In fact, the Turkish Revolution was largely carried out, like the Portuguese Revolution, by positivists.) I don't know whether you noticed that in "Priests, Philosophers and Prophets," p. 218, I accept Comte's view that Turkey has more potentialities of progress than Russia. The result of the war does not upset this for the joint concerns internal development. Naturally a Republican and anti-Christian would always have desired the independent constitution of the Greek nationality; but if you read Shelley's *Hellas* you will notice that there is no bitterly anti-Islamic feeling even when the Turks were crushing the Greek Insurrection. Now, however, I am afraid that, as "public opinion" is less an affair of the educated classes (who feel, or used to feel, themselves Greek by tradition) the sympathy goes—much more than to the Greeks—to any sort of barbarian Slavs who represent "the Cross."

Whenever Western Europe definitely dethrones Christianity, the Greeks must, merely from desire to associate themselves with their ancient predecessors whom they claim as ancestors* and who started European civilization before Christianity came on the scene, rank themselves with the West. And there are less improbable things than a Crusade of "Holy Russia" supported by conspiracies of overthrown Clericals, to restore Christian monarchy when this part of the world has officially abolished the Christian era and dates from the French Revolution (as in the Positivist Calendar) or from some new event!

*Probably there is some Greek blood in modern Greece but it is mixed. Some points in the above letter may not be fully intelligible without a couple of notes:—

(1) Mr T. W. is not a believer in the "historicity" of Jesus, and has written a great deal disproving it.

(2) Mr T. W. has many of his philosophic convictions in common with Comte, though perhaps it can't be said that he is, exactly a disciple of the famous French philosopher. He certainly is not, like Mr Frederick Harrison, a preacher of Comte's Religion of Humanity.

DISAPPOINTED.

The Delhi Municipality.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The proposed by-laws to regulate the business of the Committee, superseding those published in P. G. Notification No. 366, dated 9th May, 1891, will lead anyone to believe that the Municipal Commissioners of Delhi, be they European or Indian, are trying to lighten themselves of their municipal duties to an enormous extent. Not long ago the Ward members who under current rules 19 and 20 were to primarily supervise the sanitation, conservancy, watering, lighting, public works in progress in their wards and all building operations, gladly entrusted all these powers to the Health Officer and the Municipal Tahsildar and his Naib. The public had no information as to whether it was under some official pressure or of their own accord simply to lessen the heavy burden on their shoulders, that the Municipal Commissioners agreed to this amendment of the old rules of business. It is evident that quite contrary to the objects underlying the grant of local self-government the members of the Committee reduced themselves to simple figure-heads and all powers passed into the hands of Government officials. Is the public now to understand that under the proposed rule 22 the Ward member would be reinstated and have once more the old power of reporting for or against the erection or re-erection of a building, etc.? Further, is the public also to understand that the proposed sanitation sub-committee would exercise any control upon the Health Officer's so extensively used power of prosecutions? If

so, the rules should be hailed with joy, and I wish the proposer all success. But what is the meaning of rules 26 and 34? What has happened to our Municipal Commissioners? Why should they try to relieve themselves of the power of appointing, dismissing, etc., of their servants whose salaries do not exceed Rs. 300 per mensem? The servants drawing more than Rs. 300 per mensem are the four heads of departments. Out of these two, viz., the Secretary and the Health Officer are Government nominees, and it is impossible to shake them without Government sanction. The other two are also Europeans and practically far above the reach of the Municipal Commissioners. The proposed rules would, therefore, mean a total annihilation of all power of control over Municipal servants by the members of the Committee. As no statement of objects and reasons accompanies the proposed rules I fail to understand why the members desire the old rules to be amended. It would be a radical change. The present members, or some of them, may be callous as to the proposed alterations, but surely the time is coming when Delhi will

have other men on the Municipal Board. O, ye City Fathers of Bombay, what would your children abler than you and more daring than you any of you? Pay a little more serious attention to this affair, don't try to shirk your duties, do not burden the various heads of departments with so much work, just give them a helping hand and let your name be for ever remembered in the municipal history of the new capital of India.

Your new powers of general supervision given in rule 24 remind me of a common village adage, in which the diplomatic old mother-in-law, while practically reserving all powers of control to herself, makes the young daughter-in-law the owner of the house:

کونہ کھلی کی مائے نہ لکڑی کی پاری

Your, etc.,



The Capture of Adrianople.

The following cablegrams were despatched by us on the receipt of news relating to the capture of Adrianople by Turkish troops. The situation in its present phase is supremely critical. The coercion of Turkey by the Powers is not a remote contingency. England's weight would be decisive in the scale on either side; and we think an expression of Moslem views should immediately reach her responsible Ministers and statesmen from every Moslem town and anjuman in India:—

To HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY SULTAN,
CONSTANTINOPLE.

On behalf of Indian Mussalmans and ourselves congratulate your Imperial Majesty on capture of Adrianople. Alhamdu Lillah, ala Allahumma. —Comrade.

To ENVER BEY,
ADRIANOPLE.

On behalf of Indian Mussalmans and ourselves heartily congratulate you and your brave comrades on capturing Adrianople. —Comrade.

To P. S. V.,
SINLA.

Please convey to His Excellency the fervent hope and prayer of all Indian Mussalmans that at this crisis His Excellency, acting as the representative of His Majesty deputed to watch among others over the interests of His Majesty's sixty million Moslem subjects in India, would appeal to His Majesty and to his Government for the observance of the strictest neutrality towards Turkey when she is regaining by the fairest of means her recently lost and much afflicted territory and that England would not participate in any pressure against Turkey. Throughout this unfortunate war Indian Mussalmans have remained perfectly loyal to His Majesty, have never endangered the peace of the country, and have borne their distress without creating the least difficulty for the Empire. England's now guaranteeing to the Turkish victors fruits of their victory as England guaranteed them to the Balkan Allies before is a reasonable Moslem expectation and the least reward for a law-abiding people. Could not His Excellency obtain for Indian Mussalmans an assurance from Home Government that England would not join in coercing Turkey? We can only appeal to England and have no claim on others. Fervently hope our claim will be acknowledged and our appeal would not go in vain. —Comrade.

To PREMIER,
House of Commons,
LONDON.

Indian Mussalmans trust England would guarantee to Turkish victors fruits of their victory. They noted throughout war with exemplary loyalty and expect British policy towards Turkey would now be friendly or at least just and consistent with neutrality hitherto observed. —Comrade.

To LORD CREWE,
India Office,
LONDON.

Trust Government will not participate in pressure against Turkey. Indian Mussalmans' loyalty was exemplary throughout war. Pressure would have worst effect. Pray for consistent neutrality. —Comrade.

To LORD MORLEY,
House of Lords,
LONDON.

Mussalmans in India watching England's action now regarding affairs in Turkey with greatest concern. In the name of Empire and of something higher than Empire—truth and honesty—appeal to you for non-intervention. —MOHAMMED ALI, Comrade.

To LORD LANSDOWNE,
House of Lords,
LONDON.

Indian Mussalmans pray you and Conservatives will induce Government to abstain from participating in coercing Turkey, your old Ally. —Comrade.

To LORD LAMINGTON,
26, Milton Crescent,
LONDON.

On behalf of Indian Mussalmans pray you to persuade Government observe strict neutrality towards Turkey as observed when Bulgarians victorious. Empire and common honesty both demand it. Mussalmans gratefully appreciated Your Lordship's speech. This further service will earn eternal gratitude. —Comrade.

To RAMSAY MACDONALD, Esq.,
House of Commons,
LONDON.

Beg you persuade Government not participate robbing Turks fruits of victory now. English pressure against Turkey would have worst effect on Indian Mussalmans. —Comrade.



Short Story.

Vicissitude V.

A BEAR-HUNT.

MR. ALI HOSSAIN had decided to go to Kashmir for his annual holiday. His wife was unable to accompany him, so he arranged to make up a bachelor party, and got two other men to join. There were two reasons which influenced him in his choice of Kashmir—one was the beauty of the place (it would be frivolous to suggest "and people"), which had long fired him with a desire to visit it, and the other was a long-cherished wish to go in for sport and shoot big game. He had never been able to indulge in this pastime, owing to the nervousness of his wife (as he explained to his friends) who somehow had not that amount of confidence in him as a sportsman that she ought to have. His drawing-room lacked a fine bear-skin, and this would be a splendid opportunity to secure one. Moreover, how triumphantly he could vindicate his claim as a *shutari* if only he could bring back a fine skin and exhibit it as the result of his own prowess. He hinted as much to his wife, but his remarks were received in rather a frivolous manner, so he refrained from saying much more to her, and contented himself with quietly packing amongst his kit certain rifles and other sporting gear. The only answer he vouchsafed to her gibes was "wait and you will see."

In due course Mr. Ali Hossain and his two friends arrived at Rawalpindi. They were charmed with the beautiful journey to Srinagar and lingered at every stage to fully appreciate the magnificent scenery. The wonderful path cut through masses of rocky mountains; the Jhelum raging and roaring at their feet and gradually subsiding from a fierce mountain torrent to a calm, peaceful river surrounded by smiling and fertile valleys. At Baramulla the houseboat they had engaged was ready waiting for them and they installed themselves in it at once, rather relieved to be free from the dust and jolting of the tonga. A few weeks were spent in pleasant idleness on the river which they explored, thoroughly abandoning themselves only too gladly to the delightful dolce far niente life—and it was only the increasing heat in the valley which determined them to waste no more time but set about the serious business of sport. One of them was an ardent angler and made his way to Ashibal to spend his time pleasantly in catching—or trying to catch—trout. The other two went on to Pahalgam where their *shutari* assured them they

would find bears in plenty. In fact the report was that the bears were so plentiful and so voracious that they often attacked even the tents in the pine forest. The journey was taken in easy stages and on the evening of the second day Mr. Ali Hossain and his friend reached Pahalgam. They were not very fortunate in the weather, as a steady downpour had set in—preceded by a violent storm—and made everything most unpleasantly moist and damp—also rendering it difficult to find a dry place to set up their camp. However, these little trifles never daunt sportsmen, and they determined to pitch their tent that night in the pine forest, and go up into the hills the next day after grizzlies. In a very short time the tent was erected, the beds made, dinner prepared and eaten and the two men settled themselves as comfortably as they could in the tiny place. The rain had increased in violence—a heavy thunderstorm raged and the wind howled and shrieked among the giant pines. It seemed ungracious, however, to grumble at the weather as the *shikari* had just told them, that this was the first rain that had fallen in Pahalgam for three months, and all the people were blessing the *sahibs* for having brought the rain. After a couple of games of chess the two men turned into their beds and went to sleep.

About an hour later Mr. Ali Hossain was awakened by a curious growling noise. He put his hand under his pillow to draw out his revolver, but could not find it. The little lamp had gone out and the whole place was in pitch darkness. He groped for the matches and found a box which had got soaked in the rain. The tent was evidently leaking as he could feel pools of water underfoot and in addition it was bitterly cold. The curious growling noise continued, and suddenly the tent shook violently as though some one were pulling the ropes. Mr. Ali Hossain did not like it at all. Going out to shoot grizzlies—properly equipped—was one thing; but in pitch darkness on a stormy night, with not even a stick in one's hand, to encounter a bear in the narrow confines of an 8 by 8 tent—that was quite a different matter. The stories of the *shikari* left Mr. Ali Hossain in no doubt that a bear had got into the tent. Suddenly a thought struck him—how splendid it would be if single handed he could tackle it! What a feather in his cap! He determined not to follow his first impulse and wake his friend, but to use his wits and capture the brute.

Picking up the rug from off his bed he advanced cautiously to the flap leading to the bathroom, where he could hear the animal moving about. A flash of lightning showed him a huge dark form in one corner. Taking the rug in both hands he waited for another flash and then threw it bagwise over the creature's head, pulling the rug round tightly and rendering the animal helpless. A muffled roar came from under the rug which woke Mr. Ali Hossain's friend. "What on earth is the matter?" he called out.

"It's a bear," gasped Mr. Ali Hossain, "I've caught it." His friend jumped out of bed in a trice, took a box of matches from his pocket and lit a candle. Holding it aloft he went cautiously to the bathroom door, and suddenly broke into wild gusts of laughter. Mr. Ali Hossain stopped his struggles and looked at his friend indignantly. "I think you might help me to secure the bear instead of laughing there like a jackass," he said irately.

"Bear!" spluttered his friend. "Don't you know a cow when you see one?" Mr. Ali Hossain's eyes slowly travelled over the creature under the rug—the candle lit up the room thoroughly. He gasped and sat down. "Well! I am a pretty fool. For goodness sake, old chap, don't tell anyone. If my wife gets to hear of this I'll never hear the end of it!"

L.II.



Phantom Figures.

II.

THE COLLECTOR.

There are inquisitive folk, who seek to probe matters to their lowest depth, usually discover that the rock on which the civil administration of this country finally rests is that humble individual, scarcely included in the legal definition of a "public servant," to wit, the *chamberlain*, or village watchman. He does not watch as a rule, save when a wedding or other social gathering is in progress at the house of the *landholder* or some rich *bania*, but let that pass. The working unit of a Local Government is the District Magistrate and Collector—a resident of spheres unknown to the blue-coated official who makes night hideous by his vehement coughing when he is doing "centry-go" at the camp of some personage entitled to this form of watch and ward. Oftentimes called a Collector, the Civilian prefers the title of District Magistrate, and is so addressed in D. O. corres-

pondence. He also seeks to monopolize the designation of "District Officer," oblivious of the fact that when such cognomen was bestowed on him, he fulfilled the duties now allotted to Police-Superintendents, District Engineers, Civil Surgeons—where the local Jail was concerned—so might fairly claim to be the officer, *par excellence* of a District. Which he no longer is, since he has been relieved of these various tasks and has ceased to be a sort of Pook-Bah; corresponding with himself in one or other of his different capacities and changing with chameleon swiftness from Magistrate to Policeman, from the latter to a member of the P. W. D. I remember a punctilious officer of the school of courtly officials, who thanked, "both as Magistrate and Collector," a subordinate who had caught some men engaged in illicit distilling. His remark showed appreciation of the service, but mention of his dual functions bewildered the recipient of the D. O. note, who forthwith condemned the sender as a punctilious old fool. At all events it is in his magisterial capacity that an official of this rank likes best to be considered, and it is in that light he will appear in my puppet show of Phantom Figures.

Of the European Magistracy it can be said—as of Cleopatra—that "custom cannot stale its infinite variety." One has the man who loves sport, and he who devotes his leisure hours to winning the prizes which await those who pass Language Examinations. There is the Magistrate who attempts, like Atlas, to support the entire local world on his own shoulders, not leaving the persons responsible for departmental duties to do more than he can possibly help. Again, there is the official who dreads responsibility, or is suffering from a distaste for doing aught beyond the smallest medium of work, so appoints some English-knowing Deputy Collector as his viceregent, with the inevitable result of the latter acquiring more influence than is altogether befitting. Then one meets the Magistrate who is enamoured of some particular branch of administration and neglects the rest of his duties in favour of that beloved hobby, that awe lamb picked out for preference from amid the official flock of matters demanding notice from the head of a District. The faddist of this sort will inspect registers of School Attendance but never deign to examine those of a Police Station; may imagine himself a second Brunel or Cantley and out-herd P. W. D. officers in planning bridges and recommending schemes for extensions of the Canal system. Excellent things in their own way, but not as sole objects of magisterial care and devotion. The popularity-hunting Magistrate is what florists term a "remarkable novelty in the species", and only came into prominent notice a decade ago. Of course any judicious measure to bridge the social gulf between Europeans and Indians deserves warm commendation, but it is open to question if the means adopted to achieve so desirable an end by officials of the type alluded to are best qualified to secure that object. In no country are the grades of precedence and the distinctions of class better known, and more highly appreciated, than in India. Neither Muhammadan nor Hindu gentlemen are worshippers of mere Mammon, as are the majority of that essentially vulgar clique one reads of in Home papers under the appellation of the "Smart Set": adjective suitable for a neat housemaid or clever groom, but hardly appertaining to people who aspire to the position of English ladies and gentlemen. In the East, an impoverished Rajah or Nawab even commands respect and possesses stronger influence in a District than the wealthiest of *nouveaux riches*, the fortunate Pleader or money making merchant. To invite members of diverse social strata to an "At Home" and fancy that they mix freely, or entertain lively feelings of gratitude to the host who thus brings them into contact on a common plane—tennis court and lawn of his bungalow—is to expect too much of human nature. Nor are these gatherings always the result of genuine desire to promote close relations between the rulers and ruled, for one has heard the same Magistrate as gave weekly Garden Parties to high and low, great and small, privately speak of his Indian guests in a way that sturdy old conservatives like myself, who have not bowed the knee to the gods of Omnium Gatherum, would never dream of doing. To act against your convictions—even in the hope of your noble hearted sympathy being lauded in the inspired paragraph of a daily paper and yourself pointed out as meet subject for Government approval—will strike most of us as rather a poor part to play. Very different is the Magistrate who affects a splendid isolation from his subordinates, European and Native, especially the former, and likes posing as a Grand Lama; difficult of approach and rarely dismounting from his pedestal or sublime self-conceit. He plays, (and generally loses,) a game of golf or a rubber at Bridge with the air of a man who must pay the penalty for thus mingling with less exalted mortals. The feature of the administration may be most correctly described as "idly regular, splendidly null," and a wise Local Government usually waits a Magistrate of this kind to occupy a billet where brains are not required, while owning a swelling port and the knack of warding off

the attacks of importunate petitioners are reckoned as chief virtues. Needless to remind the reader that the official last sketched never "goes into Camp," but "proceeds on Tour," though his absence from the station may not exceed a couple of days.

It is often alleged that a *cacothese scribendi* is the bane of British rule in India, and there is a good deal of truth in that reproach. It leads to slowness of execution, and has become a veritable evil in Law matters, if a less serious disease in other branches of the administration. I have, however, noticed that the compilation of lengthy reports and so forth is resorted to by the modern Civilian who lacks a love for going along *kacha* road, and spending weeks out in the *dihat* among the village folk and landowners. These scribes employ pen and paper as effigies to conceal their scanty practical knowledge of the affairs of their district. Taking example from the cuttle fish, they endeavour to escape hostile criticism of their work by the emission of a flood of inky fluid. Further, a Magistrate of this kind is a great purist where language is concerned, and I remember an amusing case in point. A busy Civil Surgeon, in forwarding a memo about an outbreak of Plague in a village, chanced to write "as a matter of fact"—with reference to some precautions contemplated. The lynx-eyed Magistrate immediately inscribed on the margin—in red ink, of course—the pregnant remark "What is a fact." This was the chance an opening afforded for a hair-splitting correspondence, as would have delighted Duns Scotus and the Schoolmen.

Last it be objected that the foregoing portraits of the genus Collector are more satirical than friendly, I hasten to admit honest admiration for the I. C. S. collectively, though I may have found some individual members of that Service amusing, perhaps a trifle obnoxious, owing to their personal characteristics. The parrot cry about high pay drawn by a Civilian finds no response on my part, for the responsibility—let alone the incessant labour—earns a decent salary, while the much talked-of pension is, to a considerable extent, derived from payments made by the pensioner during his term of work in India. If the Magistrate does not always see eye to eye with his fellow officials or with all the numerous sections of the public within his jurisdiction, one may regret the fact, but not lay all blame for it on one pair of shoulders. "Quot homines, tot sententia" is a very ancient proverb and as true as it is venerable, besides the head of a District, who allowed himself to be influenced by any special set of opinions and endeavoured to gratify Europeans, Indians, landowners and tenantry, the legal element and the old families, would in all probability share the fate of the peasant in the fable and end by causing discontent all round. The most violent Bengali Extremist must in his more rational moods, (supposing he has any), confess that the Feringhi means well and does not spare himself trouble in his attempt to do what is best for the people under his charge and in improving—according to the views of Government—the material welfare of the inhabitants of his District.

DEMOCRITUS.



The Training of Children.

The "badness" of children is being found out, and Americans are making some of the most notable discoveries. The things which make children bad are the factors which later account for the criminality of men and women. Consequently when the case of the bad boy is diagnosed, treated, and corrected, society has been saved from the depredations of future offenders.

Dr. William Healy as director of the work of the Psychopathic Institute of New York is pioneering in this territory. The causes of delinquency are arrived at after watching a child for a long period of time when necessary, and after making a series of intricate tests of the patient's capacities and powers.

One of the most significant things for the community perhaps is the discovery that children are going wrong because of misfit education or treatment. This conclusion is not a guess or a theory which was first formulated and then attached to a number of "cases" selected to suit the rule. It is the result of actual diagnosis made after a long observation of many children.

STUDY OF THE TYPICAL CASE.

A typical case is a child who is a failure at figures. Some of the most distinguished men have been deficient in mathematics. None the less, a certain number of these "specialized defectives" get into the Juvenile Court every year.

The ordinary school curriculum is not adjustable and the individual suffers at his weak points. The child who is a failure becomes unhappy, dissatisfied with school conditions and perhaps lapses into truancy. As a truant the boy finds no legitimate occupations, nor proper associates and his troubles have begun.

Other similar cases get into the Juvenile Court after they have finished school. Take a typical youth who did not become truant. Later, in business, when he was asked to do work which involved figuring which was his deficient faculty, there was trouble at once. His difficulty, his "lack of satisfaction," as specialists call it, induced quarrels at home with his parents and finally his running away. Then he became delinquent.

LIGHT ON VOCATIONAL FAILURES.

Many healthy boys of 16 and more years are now on the books of the Juvenile Court. Some of them are already repeaters, and their whole unfortunate careers have hinged on the fact that they were vocational failures.

One youth presented a peculiarly pathetic case to Judge Pinkney. He came of a family of accountants, but was himself arithmetically deficient, and was regarded as a miserable failure in school and later in his first venture into the world of business. Then on the advice of Dr. Healy he was placed by the judge in a country home, with a chance to do things he was evidently fitted for. In his especial case the *dénouement* was happy, for he is now a most successful young farmer. Here is seen the practical benefit of the analysis of "badness" and of its treatment by physicians and psychologists. Other children may have language defect. A boy of 15 whose misbehaviour became so serious that he was haled into court was found to have this trouble. He could not read, despite eight years at school. For all that he was gifted with great manual dexterity and demonstrated constructive ability. Placed once in this line, he had a chance to use his faculties, and he made good in an astonishing way.

EVIL IN MISPLACED BOYS.

When these boys get their "proper satisfactions" they become useful and industrious members of society. When attempts were made to shove them into measures intended for other shapes, truancy, loafing, association with tough characters was the logical result.

In contradistinction to these children are others from whom the most dangerous class of criminals are sometimes drafted. There on the one hand, are those who are deficient on a general level of disability, far enough down in the scale to be termed "high grade feeble-minded." Distinguished from them is another group of the generally deficient who, however, have one special ability. They are out and out defectives with special abilities along one line sometimes. These latter people are very often not found out, and for good reason, as Dr. Healy states it.

"We judge people by their ability to handle words, and this may be the only ability that they possess," he explained. "The judge of the court has no time nor facilities to find that out, that no other faculty is up to par."

SEGREGATION IS THE ONLY CURE.

For this class of children segregation is the only means of preventing criminalism. They have ambition to make a good living without the ability to obtain it. Consequently they lapse easily into crime. Segregation for them can offer the chance to use their powers to the best advantage and can give them the best opportunity for happiness.

Special gifts are sometimes as bad as deficiencies until they are understood. The girl who comes from a very poor home is often hurt by her very ability. Good general ability characterizes her work through school and every book she reads which arouses ambition, particularly those in the school curriculum, which are selected for that purpose leads her to contempt for her surroundings and chagrin and hopelessness and recklessness for her own future.

TELLING LIES TO CHILDREN.

When this method of personal diagnosis is used the causes of delinquency are found to be very numerous because they are individual, but there is one condition which is found again and again by the workers in the Juvenile Court. This is the habit of lying to children in which parents indulge.

One of the most difficult and for a while inexplicable boys in the court got his start from a very simple and kindly case of lying. He discovered once that his apparent mother was only his step mother, and the bottom of his world dropped out.

The parents had begun the deception from the best of motives and the woman was as just and as tender with the lad as she could have been with her own children. All of that, however, only made the matters worse. When he learned that those dearest to him had been lying consistently his entire outlook was warped and it took long work and difficult ever to set him straight. His tribulations are like those of too many other children.

In the discovery of these causes Dr. Healy and his associates have worked out a series of tests, which are new in their application to the world's knowledge of childhood. With their aid society can treat its children with more wisdom and understanding.

New York.

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2-6-16.

IN THE COURT OF THE POLITICAL AGENT, QUETTA-PISHIN

Case No. 208 of 1912.

SARDAR ABDUL RUF, son of Sardar Muhammed
Ismail Khan, of Quetta *Plaintiff.*

versus
(1) SARDAR SHER MUHAMMAD KHAN MUHAMMAD
SAI; (2) MUSAMMAT ZOHRA, wife of Sardar
Sher Muhammed Khan; and (3) MUSAMMAT
SAHRA, wife of the Plaintiff *Defendants*

Claim for possession of Musammatt Sahra.

WHEREAS it appears that the Defendants intentionally evade service of summons on them, this proclamation is issued under Section 83 of the Civil Procedure Code, that if they do not appear in person or by their authorised agents in this Court on Thursday, the 26th July, 1913, ex parte proceedings will be taken against them.

Given under my hand and the seal of this Court this 8th day of July 1913.

(Sd.) A. McCONAGHY,

QUETTA: LIEUT.-COLONEL,

Dated the 8th July, 1913. } POLITICAL AGENT, QUETTA-PISHIN.
26-7-13

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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere
They only live who dare!

—Morris

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The Week.

Turkey.

IN THE HOUSE of Commons, on July 22, Lord Ronaldshay asked a series of questions regarding the present position of the navigation on the Tigris, whether negotiations were concluded, and why it was sought to take the formation of the proposed Anglo-Turkish company out of the hands of the existing British company.

In the course of an exhaustive reply, reviewing the whole course of negotiations, Sir Edward Grey said: "Answering the last question, I am concerned with the general interests of the British trade in those regions rather than with any particular advantage to an individual company."

"I do not consider it a very desirable solution that the Lynch Company should have the monopoly and control of the whole navigation. The arrangements contemplated would secure to that company the confirmation of its existing separate privileges, and an offer of participation in the capital of and a fair working agreement with the proposed new Ottoman company."

Sir Edward Grey declined to reply to a further question as to the nature of assurance received from Germany on the subject of the navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates. The negotiations, he said, were still in progress, and the arrangements when completed, would be submitted to the House. But it was not practicable to make their conclusion dependent upon a previous discussion in the House.

Persia.

THE PERSIAN Regent has left Paris on July 24 for Persia to attend the convention of the Majlis and the Senate, and initiate the Shah whose accession is fixed for July, 1914, into the methods of Government.

Reuters learns from a Persian source that the Regent's exchanges of views with Sir Edward Grey and M. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, were most satisfactory. There were no negotiations on particular subjects as visits to London and St. Petersburg were

informal, and His Highness was not attended by any responsible Minister.

In the House of Lords, on July 29th, Lord Curzon, moving for the papers on Persia and Tibet, contrasted the anarchy in Southern Persia with the comparative order in the North, due to the presence of 17,500 Russian troops.

He questioned, however, whether the number of the latter did not exceed the requirements of law and order, did not infringe the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention, and was not inconsistent with the pretence of the continued independence of Persia which we were always proclaiming.

He therefore asked for an expression of opinion from the Government, and what efforts it was intended to make with a view to relaxing the conditions existing in Northern Persia.

He suspected that the despatch of troops to Persia was the result of a larger policy of protecting the trade routes from which the Government shrank at the last moment. He unreservedly congratulated the Government on their withdrawal.

He also unreservedly opposed the despatch of an expedition to avenge the death of Captain Bicknell, which would probably lead to military occupation, but if the murder went unpunished, a terrible blow would be inflicted on British prestige.

If we were not to undertake the preservation of law and order in Southern Persia ourselves, it was essential to adopt a policy which would prevent a recurrence of these tragedies by removing the cause.

Lord Curzon paid a tribute to the Swedish gendarmery officers, but said that all such a gendarmery could do was to safeguard a few trade routes. What was wanted in Southern Persia was a force in the hands of a Persian Governor General to collect revenue, patrol the country and subdue the troublesome tribes.

Turning to finance, Lord Curzon said Sir Edward Grey had described the Government's policy as one of unlimited patience. It was also one of unlimited payments. We were pouring money into a sieve. It was a stop-gap stationary policy, and we ought to look deeper into causes further afield for a remedy.

The Government, said Lord Curzon, seemed to have forgotten the political and commercial importance of the neutral zone. It was impossible to continue vindicating British rights there when convenient, and repudiating British responsibilities when inconvenient. The Government ought to have recognised that the conditions had changed, and as long as the neutral sphere remained a neutral sphere, they were not entitled to continue to pour out British and Indian money as they were doing.

We ought to support the authority of the Persian Government not only in one portion of the sphere, but over the whole and assist to raise a force to restore order.

We ought to pursue energetically a policy in regard to railways in the neutral sphere.

We ought to recognise, declared Lord Curzon, that the Anglo-Russian Agreement was a mistake, though he did not propose that the Government should go behind Russia's back, but should act in co-operation with Russia and adjust its policy to facts.

Replying, Lord Morley denied that conditions in Persia were materially worse than before the Anglo-Russian Agreement. He would sketch the Government's policy, which was as much the Opposition's policy as the Government and from which he did not believe

that any future Governments would depart, in seven propositions: (1) the maintenance in spirit and letter of the Anglo-Russian Convention; (2) the maintenance of Persia's independence and avoidance of partition or any approach to it, economic, administrative or political; (3) regard for Persia's good; (4) to uphold some form of Constitutional Government; (5) to lose no chance of easing the distracted situation in which the Persian Government was, by counsel, attention and such assistance as from time to time the Government would think it expedient to give; (6) to enable Persia by money, or otherwise, to restore order in the southern roads, and (7) to avoid entangling ourselves in a policy of adventure in Southern Persia.

Lord Morley said he was inclined to add an eighth, namely, they must beware of being forced into a position which would offend the opinion and the sentiment of the Mahomedans of India.

There was at present among the Mahomedans, throughout the world, a feeling of soreness at the ill-fate befalling the Mahomedan communities which might become dangerous. If that feeling in India were strengthened by any transactions of unfriendly, or apparently unfriendly, character in the reconstitution of Persia, though no open sedition might occur, yet by unfriendly conduct in Persia, we should be silently diminishing the capital of good-will and loyalty which now happily existed among Indian Mahomedans.

There was a considerable volume of trade going on with Persia. The report for the March quarter showed that the roads northwards of Shiraz were generally satisfactory. To-day, he had learned that the Southern Customs receipts for the June quarter had increased by £10,000, compared with the corresponding quarter of 1912. Success depended on the development of the Swedish Gendarmerie. It was something in view of the disturbed state of Persia that the conditions in Fars had not deteriorated.

Lord Curzon had drawn too favourable a picture of the condition of the Russian roads, for order was in no wise preserved in the whole of the north. Russia was discussing the question of the railway between Baku and Teheran perfectly amicably. At present, there was no desire for a line beyond Teheran.

Regarding the suggestion to abolish the neutral zone leaving Persia in independence there, all Lord Morley had to say was that Britain and Russia were working in complete accord, and no change in the status of the zone was being discussed.

Lord Lansdowne said that the situation in Persia was depressing and humiliating. He had never opposed the Anglo-Russian Convention in principle, but he believed that it was a very bad bargain. He accepted Lord Morley's bases of our policy in Persia, but said they were as inconsistent with the policy of indifference as with a policy of partition. Nothing could be worse than the policy of adventure, but a policy of drift was as bad. Constructive railways were the best means of setting Persia on her feet, but as regards the Trans-Persian Railway, he hoped that the Government would insist on conditions rendering it as innocuous as possible from the strategic point of view.

Lord Crewe said there were signs of improvement in South Persia which forbade one altogether to despair of the future. Britain and Russia alike recognised the need for the advance of four to six millions sterling, but there was no immediate prospect of such an advance.

There had been no progress recently with the Trans-Persian Railway project. It yet remained to be proved whether the scheme could be regarded as a paying commercial proposition for which money could be raised publicly, for there had never been a serious question of Government guarantee. Nothing fresh had happened beyond the proposition for making a track to Teheran, which was entirely a matter for Russia. We were no more committed to that than we were to anything which could be described as a Trans-Persian railway.

Lord Crewe agreed that the best hope for Persia would be the construction of commercial lines.

Dealing with an allusion by Lord Curzon to Turkey's troublesome claims to authority and sovereignty over certain parts of the Gulf, Lord Crewe said he was glad to say there was every prospect of a satisfactory agreement, Turkey showing a disposition to meet us in a friendly spirit as regards all places in the Gulf.

The Moslem University Foundation Committee.

The following resolutions were passed at the meetings of the Moslem University Foundation Committee, held at Aligarh, on the 26th and 27th July, 1913:—

1. That in the opinion of this meeting the funds collected for the proposed Moslem University should, in all circumstances, be reserved for the purpose; that they should be treated as capital neither to be refunded, nor to be expended; that only the interest thereon may be utilised; and that in any case the aim of founding and maintaining the Moslem University should be clearly kept in view.—Proposed by the Hon. Khwaja Gulam-Nasrullah; seconded by Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami.

2. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee, the Moslem University should have powers to affiliate to itself schools and colleges.—Proposed by Mr. Mohamed Ali, B. A. (Oxon.); seconded by Mr. Masbar-ul-Haque.

3. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee, the powers vested in His Excellency the Viceroy as Chancellor of the proposed Moslem University should not be greater than those which, according to the Rules and Regulations of the Trustees, are enjoyed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces as Patron of the M. A. O. College.—Proposed by Major Syed Hasan, seconded by Mr. Mohamed Ali.

4. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee the Senate must be subordinate to the Court, and that the Court, the Council, the Senate, and the Syndicate must be interpreted, as provided in the draft Constitution of the Moslem University.—Proposed by the Hon. Mian Mahomed Shah, seconded by Sahibzada Attab Ahmad Khan.

5. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee the powers of the Chancellor should be vested in His Excellency the Viceroy *ex-officio* as at present provided in the draft Constitution of the Moslem University, and not in the Governor-General in Council.—Proposed by Mr. Masbar-ul-Haque, seconded by Syed Wasar Hussain.

6. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee, the name of the proposed University should be "Moslem University, Aligarh."—The resolution was put from the chair.

7. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee a deputation of Moslems should, on behalf of the Indian Musalmans and in accordance with their opinions, lay before the Government of India the views of the community and make every effort to secure the objects they have in view. The deputation should be composed so as to represent the Musalmans of different provinces in the following manner:—

Name of Province	Number of Members
The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	12
The Punjab	8
Bengal	5
Bihar and Orissa	5
Bombay	6
M. A. O. College	3
The Central Provinces	2
N. W. Frontier Province	1
Kaluchistan	1
Native States	4
Burma	1
Sindh	1
Delhi	1

—Proposed by Mr. Mohamed Ali, seconded by Major Syed Hasan.

8. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee, the deputation should lay the final reply of the Government to its representations before the Foundation Committee for its final decision.—Proposed by Mr. Mohamed Ali, seconded by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

9. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee it is absolutely necessary to take immediate steps with a view to bring the proposed Moslem University to completion, and consequently the Foundation Committee is emphatically of opinion that interest on the Capital Fund of the Moslem University should be applied, as might be deemed necessary, to raising the Aligarh College to the status of the University.—Proposed by Mr. Masbar-ul-Haque, seconded by Sahibzada Attab Ahmad Khan.

10. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee a Moslem University Association be formed with a view to commence practical work for the completion of the Moslem University.—Proposed by Major Syed Hasan.

11. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee, the said Moslem University Association should consist of 200 members to be elected as follows:—

The Central Standing Committee of the Moslem Educational Conference	40
The Old Boys' Association, M. A. O. College, Aligarh	40
Moslem Graduates (including Munshi Fazil and Maulvi Fazil)	20
Zamindars and Jagirdars	10
The Moslem Press	10
The M. A. O. College Trustees	40
Tax-payers (on payment of Rs. 10 to the Foundation Committee)	10
The Islamic College Committee	5
The Provincial Committees of the Moslem University	15
Ulema	10

12. That whereas for all future action it is necessary that the said Moslem University Association should be registered, and whereas seven persons are required to apply for such registration, the following seven gentlemen are hereby elected as members of the Association:—

- (1) The Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mohamadabad.
- (2) Mr. Masbar-ul-Haque.
- (3) Nawab Mohi-ud-Din Khan Sahib.
- (4) Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami.
- (5) The Hon. Mian Mohd. Shah.
- (6) Sahibzada Attab Ahmad Khan.
- (7) Mr. Naji Ullah.

Names of the members elected in accordance with the rules passed in this meeting will be entered in the registers of the said Association. Nawab Mohi-ud-Din Khan Sahib will act as its Secretary.

13. That the seven members already elected should carry into effect the resolutions passed to-day and should publish their report after every three months for the information of the public.

14. That the said Moslem University Association should draw up rules and regulations for its guidance. These rules and regulations, as far as they are consistent with the spirit of the Foundation Committee, will be regarded as framed by the latter.

15. That the annual accounts of the said Association should after being duly audited be sent to the Press for the information of the public.

16. That the said Association shall continue to exist with all its rules and regulations until the Moslem University comes into existence.

17. That the election of the members of the proposed deputation must be held within two months from this date by the Moslem University Provincial Committees in consultation with District Committees, and that the date and place for elections must be duly notified through the Press a fortnight before.

18. That in the opinion of the Foundation Committee, the Moslem University Association should reconsider, or revise, as the case may be, the proposed Constitution, before the deputation waits on His Excellency the Viceroy, as proposed above.

19. That the said Association be authorised to elect a Sub-Committee of forty members which, in addition to the resolutions passed by the Foundation Committee in this meeting should amend and complete the draft Constitution of the University as it may think proper. It would be the duty of the Sub-Committee in the first place to ascertain public opinion through the Press in regard to the existing draft Constitution and then to present the amended Constitution for approval to the Moslem University Association.

TETE À TETE



Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN sent us the following letter, dated Constantinople, the 7th July, 1918. — "Just as my former letter was in all its official points meant for the Director, so this also is meant for him. If he be in Delhi then, of course, he will read it, otherwise a copy should be sent to him. Maulana and Mr. Zafar Ali Khan started on Tuesday last by the Romanian boat which received orders at Pireus to go back to Constanza, as it would be required in case of war. So these poor gentlemen were landed on Greek soil, and the boat went back to Constanza. Perhaps after staying in Pireus or Athens for three or four days some Greek boat has conveyed them to Alexandria. I am sending under separate covers the two Visitors' Books. The translations of all are as literal as I could possibly make them. There is a piece written in Russian Hebrew by a Russian Jew doctor. Nobody can translate it here. I tried all possible ways. But we do not lose anything, as the same doctor has written his remarks in French which have been translated. If it is found that in some places the diction is awkward, it will not be wrong if it is corrected and improved. In the Omerli Book at the end I have pinned the original letters received from Izzet Pasha and the two letters from the Hilal-i-Ahmar. The second letter is in my name, although I don't like it. But as Dr. Ansari had departed they addressed it to me. I hope I have not unknowingly stepped beyond the limits. The question of the orphans is more difficult than I thought it to be. The children at present residing are not children of refugees, but ordinary orphans. The authorities are waiting for peace. As soon as that is settled they hope to get a good many from Adrianople and other places. Dr. Fûad will see Jamil Pasha once more and see what can be done in the matter. The permission for photos of the mosques has been obtained and operations, so to say, will begin within the week. We have not yet gone to Omerli, but propose to go there on Saturday. Tell Dr. Ansari to rest assured that I will bring the Omerli photos. Please also tell him that I will bring all the plates from Apollon. He has left them with him. The photo of the Hill of Liberty will also be taken. The air is full of all sorts of news. Yesterday Izzet Pasha held a general council of war at Sanjak Tepeli. It was decided that as a first step our troops should occupy all the territory on this side of the Enos-Midia line. Word has already been sent to Bulgaria to quit the shores of Marmora. Greece and Bulgaria both are trying to make friends with Turkey. Greece offered to renounce all pretences to the islands in exchange for neutrality and capitulations. A Bulgarian delegate has already come or will come to-morrow to offer some sort of a bribe for neutrality. Romania has not officially declared war yet. But all the steamers have been called away and people wishing to go to Europe have now to go to Trieste, Brindisi or Marseilles and not Constanza. Romania has also distributed arms to the populace and is on a complete war footing. The attitude of Turkey is still doubtful. It is reported that Europe has given the most motherly advice and the chancelleries have said that 'We shall support you if you do not join the row.' But if the orders to all officers in Constantinople to join their regiments in three days or else to suffer from the *قانون* and the tone of the Press are any signs and have any meaning, then most definitely Turkey does not mean to keep silent. Adrianople has to be taken back, and the Turk means to take it. All my dearest and sincerest wishes are with him. Peace has not yet been definitely signed and the conditions are as they were before the armistice. But even if Europe thinks otherwise, then too a new cause can be easily found. This time as a last effort it has to be done. If we fail, then we may most honourably and sincerely invite King Ferdinand to come and rule in Constantinople. The Turks did not believe that time as there were no guns. The success at Bonnyuk Tekemedjeh could be easily followed up, but the dearth of guns

proved a serious check. Further the Bulgarians had brought up all the guns from Adrianople to face the Turks. Now a good portion of these batteries and also many regiments have gone to the Servian frontier. And the great Mahmoud Shevket once more did a great service to his country by buying 400 new guns which have already reached the Tchataldja lines. The spirit of the soldiers is good, the weather is good, the generalissimo is good. The order for march, and we enter Adrianople! (May God I do not prove a false prophet.) Here is a bit of reply to the critic of the *Capital*. A Turkish Jew, by name Vilah Camhi, a former member of the Naval Aid Society and also of the Central Committee of the Red Crescent, has bought Treasury Bonds of the value of £T 450,000. Out of this £T.100,000 will be paid in cash in four weekly instalments of £T.25,000, the remaining £350,000 will be paid as supplies and provisions to the Army. A Jew would not waste his money on a bankrupt Government. It is also rumoured, but not very authentically, that Lord Rothschild also paid a visit to Turkey about a month ago and had a very long conversation with Mahmoud Shevket Pasha. What do you say to our idea of starting a hospital of 50 beds with two doctors (Raza Khan and Fûad), Ghulam Ahmed to be the Compounder, and Khaliq, Shoaib, Manzoor and myself to be the guards-malades? The material is all there, and this new war cannot take more than two months. If it is declared I shall consult these men and send you a wire. The question of money need not trouble you as this time we shall ask the Hilal-i-Ahmar to supply food to the patients and the staff. Or, if we have got money, then we can run it in the same old way. To quote Mr. Asquith and the *Comrade*, we shall wait and see. I wanted to write about the receipts sent by the Hilal-i-Ahmar. But it is already eleven and early in the morning we are going to leave for Broussa. Well, I shall honour the *Comrade* or *Hamdard* (*qui vous salue*) with a communication on this subject next week. It is important and must be published. . . . Here you are. I would have finished this letter in this page had I not learnt to make notes of what I wish to write. You may safely consider the Medina University to be already established. A meeting was held to-day. They decided to begin work in three months. Land has already been selected by a party that went from here and who were joined by the Khalfa of Hazrat Saoussi and the Governor of Medina and the Superior of Holy Mausoleum. The foundation-stone of the new building will be laid on the day that the school begins work. Shaikh Abdul Aziz Shawish has been appointed Rector, Manager, Provost, Principal, whatever you may choose to call him. May he live long to make it a thundering success. *Inshaullah*, it will be a success. The Syrians are coming to their senses. Their committee in Paris too has seen its mistake, and as far as I understand they are not going to ask for intervention from any of the European land-hunters. Some important men visited the leaders in Syria also, and it seems that matters have been settled, if not for ever, at least for the immediate present. In the course of his letter, dated Stambul, 15th July, Mr. Abdur Rahman wrote: "I am sure Renter has been informing you of the affairs in the Balkans. We have not been silent. Fethi Bey from Bolair, Enver Bey from Bonnyuk Tekemedjeh and the main army from Tchataldja are advancing rapidly. And before you get this letter Adrianople will have been ours once more, *inshaullah*. The movements of the army are very secret, and the Turkish newspapers too cannot be relied upon fully. But other sources, and certainly more reliable, lead me to think that our armies will not stop on this side of Adrianople. The *I'd-i-Hurriyat*, or the anniversary of the Constitution, is coming soon, and I will not be surprised at all if the *I'd-i-Hurriyat* and *I'd-i-Fateh-i-Adarna* are held on the same day. Bulgaria is crushed. There is no army now even in Adrianople. Greece and Servia combined have 800,000. They will have to divide their armies to fight Bulgaria and Turkey if they oppose the Turkish march to Adrianople. If they interfere, then rest assured the Turk will fight and fight like his old self. May he succeed. If there is war it is quite possible we may form a small party under Dr. Fûad and go to the very front and do "succour premier or first aid." We shall get definite news to-day and I shall send you a wire asking you to help us. I have got about 250 to 300 Turkish pounds in the Bank out of the Mission funds. Well, let us see what happens."

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQUI sends us the following cablegram From Adrianople. from Adrianople:—

"2nd August, 20 H., 35 Mts.
 "Prince Izzeddin here. Going Kirk Kilise to-morrow.
 "Public meeting all races demanded Turkish rule.
 "Government attitude firm. Fortifications repaired.
 "Great activity."

Mr. Abdur Rahman had been predicting in his letters about the capture of Adrianople, and we are glad he has "not proved a false prophet." He had been expressing an eager desire to go in the wake of the Ottoman army, and he appears to have gratified his desire. We are sure he will keep us well posted with news about all future developments.

We received a few days ago the following cablegram from Bassim Omer Pasha, Vice-President of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society:—"The present situation in the Balkans necessitated increase in the Turkish hospitals. The Treasury foresaw extraordinary expenses. Help urgently needed for orphans. We rely on usual kindness of our Indian brethren." The Balkan situation has grown still more complicated. The Turks have recovered Adrianople and larger part of Thrace and mean to keep it. The European diplomacy has not yet been reconciled to the *fait accompli*, and it is probable, in view of the Muscovite menace and French growls, that the Turks will have to face grave diplomatic hostility, if not actual military movements against them. And, then, the problem of settling thousands of refugees in new homes, most of whom are women and children, still remains unsolved, mainly because the necessary funds for the purpose are not available. The Indian Moslems rendered splendid help in the early stages of the war. It was unfortunate, however, that with the loss of Adrianople the source of Moslem generosity in India had begun to run dry. Adrianople has been recaptured, and the God of Islam is being worshipped in its mosques once more. Do the Indian Mussalmans realise what further sacrifices the Turks may have to make in order to retain the first capital of the Ottoman Empire in Europe? The recapture of Adrianople has been hailed with profound thankfulness throughout Moslem India. Resolutions and reports of meetings held in this connection are daily pouring in from every part of the country. We, however, trust the Mussalmans will not forget their responsibilities in the hour of rejoicings and victory. Their help is still needed by their brethren in Turkey, and we hope the appeal made by Bassim Omer Pasha will not have been made in vain.

Appeal for Help.

When Renter cabled the news of the execution at Constantinople of Damad Saleh Pasha and his fellow-conspirators, an esteemed Anglo-Indian daily had expressed the fear that the Committee of Union and Progress had taken advantage of the assassination of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha to destroy its political enemies root and branch, and that the executions and deportations were probably moves on the political chessboard of Constantinople. Turkish newspapers throw much light on the details of the conspiracy which was evidently organized to bring about the downfall of the Union and Progress Committee. From translated extracts, which have lately been published in our paper, it is abundantly clear that the conspirators, not realising that Enver alone can do what Enver has done, intended to emulate his example and had prepared to strike at their opponents with a coup d'état by surrounding the Imperial Palace with two companies of soldiers, and requesting the Foreign Embassies to disembark naval detachments for the maintenance of public order. The fact that on the day the late Grand Vizier was assassinated a letter was received by the Austrian Ambassador informing him that a demonstration was to take place in the noon and the Committee Cabinet was expected to disappear, is proof positive that there were political brains concerned with the assassination of the great soldier-statesman. The inquiry conducted by the Court Martial throws an interesting sidelight on the part which Prince Sabaheddin played in the conspiracy. His stipulation for taking part in it, was the offer to him of a portfolio in the new Cabinet, and the recall of Kiamil Pasha as Grand Vizier. It is interesting to recollect that Kiamil has always had very intimate relations with the Union Liberal Party of which Prince Sabaheddin was the head, and those who have followed the events which led to the unsuccessful counter-revolution during the last days of Sultan Abdul Hamid's rule, will remember that it was Kiamil Pasha's owing attended a dinner of the Liberal Union Party at the Pera Palace Hotel, that had brought matters to a head and had left no doubt in the mind of the Union and Progress Committee about the attitude of that chief statesman who was then the Grand Vizier. Apparently Prince Sabaheddin has not yet expiated his crime, for his name does not figure in the list of those who have ever performed to the great majority, but it would appear that the Imperial *Travle* includes him among those who were condemned to death. Judging the matter calmly, we cannot possibly bring ourselves to believe that the Military Court Martial at Constantinople condemned a single individual to death for any reason other than participation in the heinous conspiracy. When a miscreant threw a bomb at His Excellency Lord Hardinge a few months ago, the act was openly and rightly attributed to an organised conspiracy, but in a case in which a mock-faral is organised and five men in a motor-car fire thirty-five shots, surely it is preposterous to argue that the execution of a dozen men is a righteous measure and is to be regretted.

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We cannot we have been obliged for want of space to withhold our comments this week on the proceedings of the Delhi Municipality which has been engaged for some weeks past in discussing and revising its bye-laws. The proposed bye-laws make a wide distinction between the

rules already in force, and we are afraid in many cases the departure will result in the curtailment of the powers of the Municipality. Delhi as the seat of the Indian Government has come to hold an important position particularly as regards its civic affairs, and it is to the highest degree necessary that the Delhi public should know what changes are contemplated in its municipal administration. The present tendencies appear to be in the direction of officialising local institutions. It is easy enough, as things are, to make of the Delhi Municipality an obedient instrument of the official will, but then all pretences at local self-government should be brushed aside. We will discuss the question at length in our next. We may, however, note here briefly that the meetings of the Committee are being conducted with closed doors by the orders of the Chairman, and not even the Press representatives are permitted to enter the sacred chamber. According to the existing rules of the Committee, "all meetings shall be held with open doors unless a question of order or other special matter shall arise when the Chairman may order the room to be cleared of strangers." The discussion of new rules involves no "question of order", and if it is a "special matter" it is clearly one in which the public is most keenly interested. Is Major Beadon afraid of public criticism, or does he think that it is a matter which should be kept secret in the public interest? The question will have to be decided definitely as it is absolutely necessary that the public and the Press should not be debarred from watching the proceedings of the Delhi Municipality especially at this fluid stage of its existence.

The members of the Moslem University Foundation Committee had a strenuous time of it at Aligarh; but they were not wholly without some lighter compensations. In the first place there was a rumour, gratefully seized for amusement and loud talk, that efforts had been made within the Aligarh district to pack the meetings with the nominees of those who wanted to accept the Moslem University at any price. We do not know how far the rumour was correct, though the presence of two *chaprassis* of the Aligarh Tehsil at the main gate of the College lent decided weight to the rumour. There is no doubt, again, that these suspicious-looking functionaries phoned every visitor from the Aligarh Sub-Division with certain pointed questions before he was allowed to go and attend the meeting. As soon as their presence became generally known they slinked away, leaving the Foundation Committee a prey to the hot sense of tingling phrases and fearsome looks which all such apparitions produce in Moslem meetings in these piping times of peace. Another incident, which afforded some distraction from the heavy sense of debate and solemn wrangle, is also worth recording. Mr. Marria, the Collector of Aligarh, with a friend of his chose an occasion to drive through the college in a motor-car. We do not know whether the drive was intended to make the existence of the Collector and Magistrate of Aligarh felt among the members of the Foundation Committee. Mr. Shankat Ali happened to be coming from the opposite direction, and as the car ran past him Mr. Marria suddenly turned aside and levelled his finger straight at him. It is difficult for us to account for this freak of manners on the part of an Englishman of Mr. Marria's position. We wonder if Mr. Marria regarded Mr. Shankat Ali as an Arch-Revolutionary or some such wild thing, which needed to be exercised by a violent gesture. We are told every English child in the nursery is taught as his first lesson in good manners never to point his finger at anything. Mr. Marria has surely outgrown the nursery, but we have yet to know if he has also outgrown the need of good manners. Happily enough, the present head of the United Provinces Government is a thorough English gentleman whose politeness, innate courtesy and perfect manners ought to be a living example to English officials in the districts.

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The new Legislative Assembly for Egypt, superseding the former General Assembly and the Legislative Council, will consist of the Ministers and sixty-six elected and seventeen nominated members, the latter including the representatives of mercantile, racial and professional interests. The Assembly will initiate legislation except such as concerns constitutional laws, and the mandate for the elected and nominated members will be for six years, one-third retiring every two years. The Assembly to the decree promulgating the above invites the loyal co-operation of all classes "with a view to a calm and thoughtful development of a system of government which, without being a servile imitation of Western methods, will be capable of furnishing the prosperity of the Egyptian people." The former Assembly was a mere deliberative body, and judging from the date of its disbanding in the Khedive's territory at the outbreak of the

what sort of Assembly the new institution might prove to be. Mock assemblies and mock parliaments are of little avail, if the people are not taken into full confidence by the Occupation authorities. The new Legislative Assembly is exhorted to beware of servile imitations. If the warning is addressed to the Egyptians as a broad hint that they should not dream of any initiative in legislation or any share of control over the public purse—surely the only vital features in "Western methods" of representative government—the prosperity of Egypt need not be a matter of concern, for as usual it will continue to be writ large—at least in British Consular reports. Prosperity of Egypt under the Egyptians would perhaps be another "servile imitation."

Mr. H. MARTIN, Principal, Islamia College, Lahore, writes to us to the effect that the need of a Biology class in which Muhammadan students can prepare for the F. Sc. examination has long been felt in the Islamia College, Lahore. The F. Sc. classes in the other Lahore colleges are full, and the provision for Muhammadan students, who wish to take F. Sc. course, is quite inadequate; and, as the passing of the F. Sc. is necessary for entrance to the Medical College, this is felt as a hardship by many Moslem students. There seems to be some hope that an F. Sc. class will at last be started in the Islamia College.

Mr. Afzal Husain, M. Sc. of the Government College, has worked out a very carefully detailed scheme, which his brother, Mr. Fazal Husain, M. A., Bar-at-Law, Secretary of the College Committee, laid before the Committee on July 11th. The Committee approved the scheme, provided the necessary funds can be raised. It is calculated that initial expenditure (on apparatus, etc.) will be Rs. 5,000, and the recurring amount of expenditure, including the salary of the Biology professor, about Rs. 3,000. If Rs. 5,000 are subscribed at once by those interested in the progress of Moslem education, the class could be started this year when the College opens on September 15th. The money wanted must be raised by voluntary subscription, though the Government may be approached later on for a grant to meet the annual expenses. Donations will be gratefully received and acknowledged by M. Fazal Husain, Esq., M. A., Bar-at-Law, Lytton Road, Lahore, Secretary of the Islamia College Committee.

The Comrade was already being printed when the news reached us of the tragic occurrence of the 3rd instant at Cawnpore. What has happened is so distressing and unaccountable that we have had to delay the actual issue of the paper after the printed

date rather than to defer for an entire week any reference to the shocking tragedy. The details available at present are meagre, and the brief accounts that have so far been received do not throw sufficient light on the circumstances which culminated in heavy loss of life. The main facts seem to be that a huge mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore was held on the morning of the 3rd August at Eidgah. The number of those who attended the meeting is reported to have been about twenty thousand. After the meeting several hundred Mussalmans, barefoot and bareheaded and carrying black flags, went to the Machhli Bazar Mosque. The sight of the desecrated portion filled them with added anguish and pain, and they began forthwith to pile up bricks one over the other along the demolished walls. The police got wind of the proceeding, and soon after Mr. Tyler, the District Magistrate, accompanied by the Superintendent and a large body of armed police appeared on the scene. He ordered some rounds of blank cartridges to be fired with a view to disperse the crowd. But it had little effect, and stones and brickbats were hurled at the police. Mr. Tyler thereupon gave the order to fire ball cartridges. The firing was kept up for more than ten minutes, and the crowd eventually dispersed. About seventeen persons are said to have been killed and about thirty-three injured, some of whom are lying in a precarious condition. According to the official account, which apparently emanates from Mr. Tyler, "the local Muhammadans, taunted by outside agitators with apathy in religious matters, held a mass meeting in the Eidgah this morning (3rd August). Afterwards, carrying black flags they surged to the Machhli Bazar Mosque and started to rebuild the demolished portion, a small projection outside the courtyard. Volleys of stones were thrown at the police, and the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police were summoned to the spot with the result that the police were compelled to fire on the crowd and charge with the mounted police. Quiet was restored by noon." Something more than this brusque, bald and innocent-looking statement would be needed to prove that the emergency was of such gravity as to justify Mr. Tyler in ordering the police to fire on the crowd. No evidence is yet forthcoming to show that the crowd was aggressive. All that has been alleged is that a number of unarmed Mussalmans had begun to pile bricks one over the other, which were lying about the demolished portion of the mosque. At worst they were guilty of a public nuisance. Indeed, the occasion hardly called

for the indiscriminate shooting down of men and the letting loose of mounted police on a small and unaggressive crowd. As for the allegation that incitement was caused to Cawnpore Moslems by the taunts of "outside agitators," all we need say is that it is absolutely baseless, and is perhaps meant to explain away the Government *communiqué* in which it had been assumed equally gratuitously that no genuine excitement existed in Cawnpore itself. We have dealt with the *communiqué* and its assumptions elsewhere, but we can not help repeating that the efforts of the local authorities to suppress facts have not only misled the Local Government, but also resulted in consequences the end of which no one can foresee. One false assumption is being explained away by another, and we do not know how long it will take the higher authorities to try to sift the facts and arrive at the heart of the people's grievance. The Cawnpore Mussalmans were, as a matter of fact, being continuously urged by responsible "outside" Moslems to take no action till the result of the deputation, which was to wait on Sir James Meeson, had been made known. They had accepted the advice, and the local leaders appeared calm and cool and were awaiting the forthcoming interview with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in a spirit of hopefulness. It is difficult, in view of all this, to believe that the Cawnpore Moslems would have broken the peace without grave police provocation. Mr. Tyler's coming on the scene was altogether unnecessary and provocative. His inexplicable action has complicated the situation beyond measure and it is difficult to estimate its effect on Mussalmans throughout India, whose feelings over the Cawnpore sacrilege have already found widespread and unmistakable expression. The Lieutenant-Governor is reported to have left for Cawnpore with a view to hold inquiry into the facts of the occurrence. We appeal to Sir James Meeson to carefully inquire into the conduct of Mr. Tyler and not prejudice the accused in the riot case out of court. The case of seventy million law-abiding Moslems and the principle of the inviolability of mosques cannot surely be prejudiced by a breach of the peace caused by some Moslems at Cawnpore. We trust His Honour will receive the Moslem deputation as already fixed on the 9th instant, and by a free and frank exchange of views realise the real character of the grievance and how it intimately touches the religious feelings of the Mussalmans. The responsibility of Moslem leaders has become graver still. We trust the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and others will assist in the inquiry and watch Moslem interests. The Moslem victims at Cawnpore will leave an indelible impress on Moslem hearts, and their widows and orphans will have to be provided for. Hundreds of Moslems have been arrested and they will have to be assisted with legal advice. We are sure Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and others will do their duty in this behalf and will try to prevent the harassment of innocent men. The situation has got to be faced with united will, calmness and courage. Mr. Tyler's action appears to us to be indefensible. As far as our present information goes the life of no official was in danger. His order to fire was apparently given in a fit of wrath or extreme irritability. In any case the Mussalmans may have ample reason to indict Mr. Tyler for murder, as the right of private defence does not cover needless slaughter.

The latest discussion on the Persian question in the British House of Lords took place on the 28th July, 1913, when Lord Curzon, moving for the papers on Persia and Tibet, dwelt at length upon the

anarchy in Southern Persia, criticised the presence in the North of 17,500 Russian troops, which he pointed out to be inconsistent with the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention, and, among sundry other things, emphasised the need of a force at the disposal of the Governor-General of Persia to collect revenues, patrol the country, and chastise the lawless tribes. Replying, Lord Morley sketched the policy of His Majesty's Government, and laid down seven main propositions, which the British Ministry has always held in view. These were supplemented by an eighth, namely, that the Government would avoid being forced into a position which would offend the opinion and the sentiment of the Muhammadans of India. His Lordship was further pleased to express sympathy with the Indian Moslems, and added that owing to the ill-fate befalling the Muhammadan communities throughout the world, "by any transaction of unfriendly, or apparently unfriendly, character in the re-constitution of Persia, though no open sedition might occur, yet by unfriendly conduct in Persia, we should be silently diminishing the capital of good-will and loyalty which now happily existed among Indian Muhammadans." The main propositions laid down by Lord Morley are unexceptionable. But well Sir Edward Grey has the execution of them. As has repeatedly been pointed out in these columns the so-called object of the Anglo-Russian Convention, namely, the preservation of Persia's independence, has, to all intents and purposes, been defeated. England has tamely followed at the heels of Russia, and not to speak of others the *Times* itself regards partition as inevitable. And as long as the Muscovite domination continues, the future has little hope for Persia.

The Comrade.

The Moslem University.

NATURALLY enough, a community in a state of general anxiety and distress cannot easily address itself to a calm and patient consideration of its affairs, however vital the issues that may be involved. The period through which the Indian Moslems have been passing is one of the most distracting in their history. Some of their "friends" have been warning them, for obvious reasons, lest they should neglect and jeopardise their immediate interests nearer home by indulging in "pan-Islamic" fears, hopes and aspirations. The warning, not quite as innocent as it might look, has been entirely gratuitous. The "friends" of the Mussalmans both in India and abroad have absolutely misunderstood the character of Moslem feeling in India to-day. The feeling does not merely represent the outburst of religious emotion which has felt the pressure of a hostile environment. It mainly represents a great intellectual awakening. The old hypotheses, conventions and formulae that modern civilization had imposed on the Mussalmans of India along with the other Eastern peoples, and that had been accepted merely on trust, are being examined with minute care in the light of the new facts and the epoch-making events that have recently convulsed the world. A mood such as this is not exactly one of despair. Perhaps it is the only mood that can take ancient communities out of their old grooves and re-equip them for the life-struggle with fresh vigour and hope. The Mussalmans have been greatly distracted and torn with doubts, but they have not been, as their critics suggest, leading a mad dance along the blind-alleys of passion. They have been simply adjusting their minds to the new and startling things they have seen with their own eyes and heard with their ears. The old horizons have shifted, old scales have altered, old proportions of things have changed, in short, there has been going on a complete process of revaluation in accordance with the fresh and insistent experience that has been crammed into the last few years of their life. Every secular duty and purpose may consequently assume a new aspect, acquire a new quality and develop a new emphasis. The superficial and angry critic has rushed to accuse the Indian Moslems of neglecting their own affairs. They have been all the while studying their position in the new setting and with new pairs of intellectual eyes.

The proposed Moslem University is admittedly the greatest and most exacting concern of the Indian Mussalmans as far as their immediate secular interests go. And the manner in which the question has so far been dealt with affords an interesting clue to the psychological state of the community. The outstanding feature of the matter is the apparently long delay that has occurred in the settlement of the issues which involve the fate of the University. The delay has not, however, been due to indifference, the flagging of the communal interest, or a general helplessness and incapacity for sustained and decisive effort in face of a tough situation. It has been chiefly due to causes which no one could foresee,—the sufferings of Islam abroad, the life-and-death struggles of Moslem communities against formidable forces of bigotry and territorial greed. The Mussalmans of India could not maintain a heart of flint and face of bronze as successive blows fell on the secular power and prestige of Islam and grave problems arose in regard to its future existence. The ideals that had been nurtured by the life-blood of generations of Moslems throughout the world were in peril, and things of lesser moment could well afford to wait during the acute mental travail of a long-drawn crisis. As a matter of fact, the University project remained close to the hearts of Moslems even in the gloomiest days through which they have passed. They could not abandon the ideal without being faithless to their past history. Circumstances had of course thrown considerable doubt over the possibility of their realising it in its entirety. The Secretary of State had laid down certain conditions, and these were utterly at variance with the Moslem conception of a Moslem University. The altered outlook of the community also contributed towards a change of attitude in regard to the fundamental aims of the project and its ultimate utility under certain conditions. Views take time to mature in an atmosphere of flux and uncertainty. Our wonder is that the Moslem view in regard to the Secretary of State's decisions were unmistakably formed within a month of the announcement made by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler. The delay of about a year that has occurred since then in deciding upon a definite course of action has been due, apart from the circumstances noted above, to the dilatory methods, nerveless aims and feeble faith of those who had been the official guides of the Mussalmans in the matter.

The meeting of Mussalmans held in Lucknow in December last proved the striking resolve at which an overwhelming majority of Moslems had already arrived in regard to the scope and character of the University. It was not a regular meeting of the Moslem University Foundation Committee, but it nevertheless reflected in a remarkable manner the general feeling of the community. It con-

sidered the terms offered by the Government and found them altogether unacceptable. A Moslem University, without powers of affiliation, practically under the full control of a Department of the Government of India and without being Moslem even in name was not the ideal which the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had preached and for which the whole community had borne willing sacrifices. A Committee was formed with absolute powers to decide the issues in consultation with the Government in accordance as far as possible with the wishes of the community. However, some misunderstanding about the Lucknow transaction arose later on, which we had to discuss fully at the time; and as a consequence, the Committee thought it advisable to dissolve itself and refer the whole question back to the Foundation Committee.

Matters were thus hanging fire when it was at last announced that the Moslem University Foundation Committee had been called to meet at Aligarh on the 26th and 27th July. The meeting was naturally looked forward to with more than usual interest. The opinion of the Moslem community in regard to the main issues was no longer in doubt. But it was felt that determined efforts might be made to diagonal public opinion and create an *impasse*. The possibility of splits over questions of details and of method and procedure could not be ignored. The "leaders" of the community had squandered public trust by shady tactics, and no one could be sure that the Foundation Committee would agree once more to hand over the completion of its task to any body of men with any degree of confidence. Then, again, there was the official atmosphere of Aligarh. Men having prominent connection with the government of the College had never disguised their desire to urge the Mussalmans to accept the University on conditions laid down by the Government. No pains had been spared during the past six months to induce the Mussalmans to change their views on the question. Sir Theodore Morison, who had evidently taken a prominent part in shaping the decisions of the Secretary of State, happened to be in India as a member of the Public Services Commission, and he found occasion to visit Aligarh. He tried to impress on the Trustees and the Old Boys both in public and private the evils of an affiliating university. He exploited Moslem goodwill to the full and made no effort to conceal his violent dislike against individuals who had committed the great sin of thinking and acting for themselves.

All apprehensions of the sort were, however, soon laid at rest. The Aligarh meetings of the 26th and 27th July have made it manifest how strong and unshakable Moslem public opinion has grown over the main questions relating to the creation of the Moslem University. We publish elsewhere an English version of the resolutions passed by the Foundation Committee. The resolution relating to affiliation was carried unanimously and even Salimzada Aftab Ahmad Khan Sahib, who had held different and very militant views on the subject, expressed himself in perfect accord with the opinion of the meeting at Aligarh. He now seems to recognise the importance of securing the powers to affiliate colleges and schools for the University. A "compromise" had been suggested some time ago from unknown quarters to settle the dispute between the Mussalmans and the Government by allowing the Moslem University to exercise the power of affiliating secondary schools. The resolution of the Government of India on Education has only recently revealed what principles have to guide secondary education and how the secondary schools are to be conducted, controlled and governed. The resolution of the Foundation Committee relating to the powers of the Chancellor was unanimously passed without the least discussion. The attitude of the Foundation Committee in regard to this question could not well be otherwise. The Committee could not be expected to vest powers in the Chancellor the least exercise of which has recently roused the ire of the Calcutta University. We do not know what Messrs. A. Raza, Janyawal and Dr. Subrawardy have done that their appointments as University lecturers would be harmful to the general interests of the University. Men of capacity and energy amongst the Mussalmans are not enough for the thousand and one needs of the community, and if the Moslem lecturers of the Aligarh College or the Moslem University were to be debarred from taking part in communal movements, or even if their appointments were to be subject to the absolute Government veto, the community would stand little to gain by the establishment of a University of its own. The powers already reserved for the Chancellor in the draft Constitution were inserted in deference to the wishes of the Education Member in September 1911. The occasion and the time were altogether different and Mussalmans had not yet learnt their bitter lessons. Subsequent experience has, however, naturally put them on their guard, and they cannot reasonably agree to giving excessive powers to the Viceroy in the control and supervision of the affairs of the University. As regards the question of vesting the powers of the Chancellor in the Government-General in Council, the recent communication of Mr. Sturges on the subject of the Calcutta University lectureship points a wholesome moral and tells an edifying tale. The Moslem University should at least be an independent of official control as the Calcutta University declares itself to be, if it is not to become the dumping ground

of all the freaks of the Education Department. The resolution defining the relations of the Court and the Senate is also an important one and the decision of the Foundation Committee will be welcome to those who have an actual experience of the Aligarh affairs.

The first day of the meeting at Aligarh was practically wasted in discussing a motion to the effect that a committee with the name of Moslem University Association should be formed with absolute powers to settle and finally decide all matters relating to the creation of the University. Persistent attempts were made to press this motion in one form or another at different stages of the day's discussion. Much futile and absurd arguments were expended in the efforts to get the Foundation Committee to sign its own death warrant. It was naively urged that the members of the Foundation Committee who had met at Aligarh were not competent to form right judgment, and that in every civilised community matters of importance were dealt with by select committees or bodies of experts, who exercised delegated powers with absolute freedom. The question of competence is merely one of degree, indeed, when it is not one of presumption. And in the discussion of first principles the common people display as sure instincts and practical sense and have as much chance to arrive at the right conclusion as the wide-awake, unerring intellectual aristocrat. Those who distrust the common people seldom trust themselves. They value not so much the best view or the best opinion as the view and opinion they themselves hold, which the foolish world may refuse to accept at its peril. The Mussalmans have not yet evolved their Superman, and till the Samaritan class of Mr. Wells' conception springs up among them to do their intellectual thinking they will have to settle their common affairs together and take the risks. It is immensely gratifying that a clear line of action has been finally settled in regard to the question of the University. The Aligarh decisions have been almost unanimously accepted. It is possible the Government may not accord them the weight they merit. But the Mussalmans refuse to despair. The University ideal shines their noblest dream since the loss of their empire in India. If there is any virtue in self-sacrifice and self-devotion, the dream will not surely prove the mirage of their destiny. Nothing good or great has ever been won without perseverance. With constant effort and ceaseless toil the goal is assured.

The Cawnpore Sacrilege.

III

THE INDIGNATION and alarm that the demolition of a portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque in Cawnpore has aroused throughout Moslem India has drawn forth a *Press Communiqué* from the United Provinces Government. The *Communiqué* is a tissue of curious statements. But before we make any comment we would like to reproduce the following extracts:—

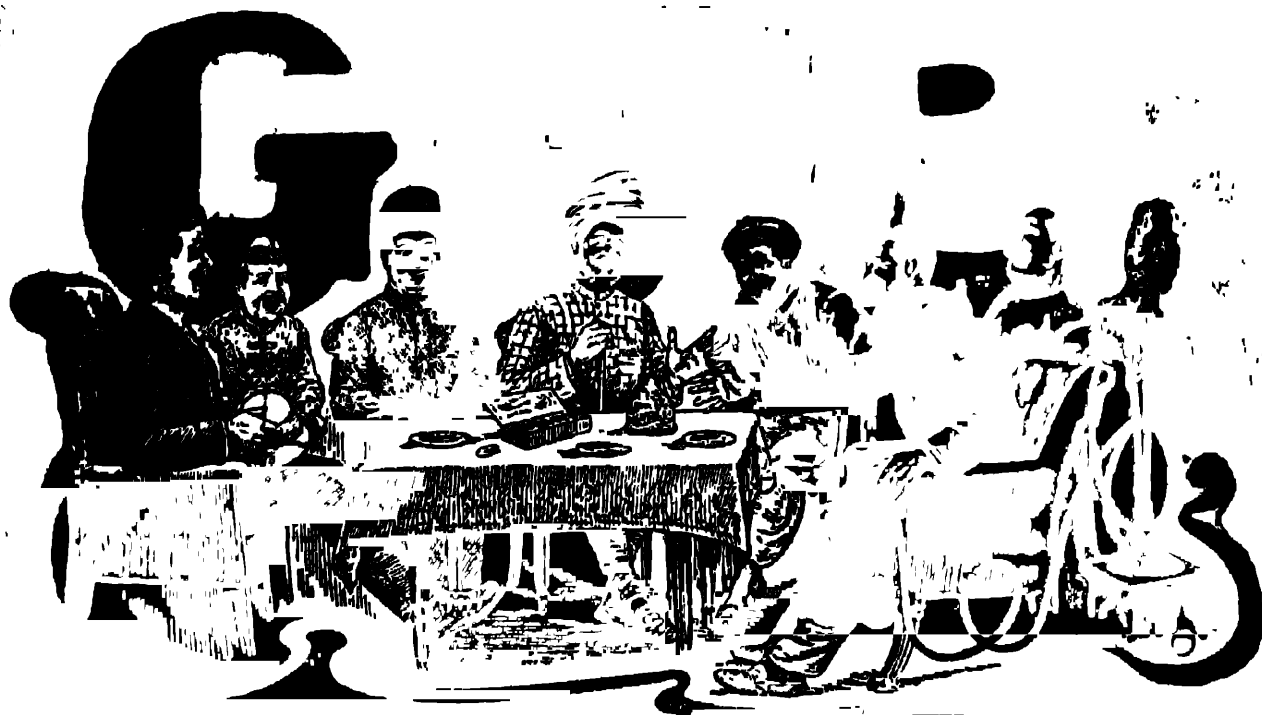
"Considerable excitement appears to have been aroused in Muhammadan circles in connection with the removal on the 1st of July of a small building attached to what is known as the Machhli Bazar Mosque in Cawnpore. The All India Moslem League are memorialising Government on the subject, and we hear of meetings and protests in various parts of the country. It is probable that the true facts of the case are not exactly known even to some of the organizations from which protests are now emanating, and in Cawnpore itself there is comparatively little excitement among the Muhammadan community on the subject. What has actually happened seems to be this. In the course of the much-needed municipal improvement scheme at Cawnpore, a project was matured and sanctioned for running a new road through the densely populated area between Mouleganj and the Dufferin Hospital. The intention to take up the necessary lands and buildings was duly notified as far back as November 1909; and the land plans were deposited for public inspection in the Collector's office. The plans indicated that a temple known as the 'Ish' temple would be removed, and also the outer or eastern courtyard of the Machhli Bazar Mosque, which is not far from the temple. . . . In November last when the Lieutenant-Governor was at Cawnpore, he visited the ground and, after an informal discussion with the municipal members, announced that the new road would be splayed in such a way as to spare the temple. . . .

"At the time of this decision some Muhammadan gentlemen asked whether the effect of it would be to destroy the mosque, and they were assured that this would not be the case. On the contrary, it was so arranged that the alignment of the road would spare the courtyard in its entirety instead of cutting off a piece of it as had been originally intended. The only portion of the mosque premises which would then be affected would be a narrow projection used as a washing-place on the extreme north-east of the main courtyard. . . . Towards the end of March letters began to appear in some of the newspapers, protesting against any interference with the mosque premises whatever; and a petition was sent up to the Local Government asking that the eastern portion of the mosque should not be acquired, and destroyed. . . .

"Some of the protests which have since been pouring in appear to suggest that the whole of the mosque has been desecrated, or even demolished. The truth is that a small building which projected from the eastern wall of the mosque across the alignment of the new road is all that has been removed. . . . It has been urged in some of the protests that the building was of equal sanctity with the rest of the mosque. The best comment on this is the fact that when the Chairman of the Board went to visit the building, the Muhammadans who accompanied him entered it with their shoes on, and a pile of shoes was seen lying on the platform inside. . . .

Shorn of its mass of verbiage, we find that the *Communiqué* seeks to justify the action of the Cawnpore authorities by one main assumption, which even constant iteration does not seem to stale. Throughout this painful affair the one official plea has been that the demolished portion of the mosque is not its integral part, and that its removal does no violence to the sanctity of the real place of worship. Now, in the name of all that is reasonable, will there be no honest effort made to arrive at the truth and ascertain what a mosque means according to the Islamic law? Will a myth invented by local officialdom continue to be used as the most effective weapon with which to confound the Mussalmans? Are the opinions of the Moslem *ulema*, Moslem lawyers and the clearest and most emphatic injunctions of the sacred *shari'at* of Islam to be swept into the dustbin because Mr. Tyler is pleased to think otherwise? The only official proof that the demolished portion is not as sacred as the rest of the mosque lies in the infallible testimony of Mr. Sim. "When the Chairman of the Board (Mr. Sim) went to visit the building," says the *Communiqué*, "the Muhammadans who accompanied him entered it with their shoes on, and a pile of shoes was seen lying on the platform inside." This is the bedrock of official argument, the incontrovertible proof of the part being less sacred or perhaps not sacred at all, and the Local Government seems to feel as if by quoting Mr. Sim it has finally disposed of Moslem grievance and the deep feeling it has aroused throughout the country. Is Mr. Sim to be the final authority on all matters relating to Moslem places of worship? Even if Mr. Sim's statement is correct, the shoe-test invented by him is ridiculous. The mere taking of shoes into any portion of the mosque does not divest it of its sacred character, and Mr. Sim ought to have known that Mussalmans are invariably in the habit of taking their shoes in their hands when entering the mosque and piling or placing them at some convenient place inside. What is, however, still more to the point, Mr. Sim's statement has been directly challenged by the Cawnpore Moslems and its accuracy has been categorically denied. A number of responsible Mussalmans wrote a formal letter to Mr. Sim requesting him to state the day and the occasion when he entered the mosque accompanied by Mussalmans, who went in with their shoes on as alleged. Mr. Sim, after more than a week replied that "in view of the circumstances that have arisen, I regret that I do not see my way to comply with your request." We do not know what those circumstances are which prevent Mr. Sim from proving the accuracy of his statement. He ought to know that his allegation fixes the entire responsibility of the matter on him. As a matter of fact, his testimony is the chief point on which the decision of the Local Government has been ostensibly based. It is, therefore, his duty as a public servant to prove his assertion, which has led to such serious consequences.

The obvious duty of the Local Government in the circumstances was to consult Moslem opinion in a matter affecting the Moslem religious sentiment and not to proceed on the unverified assertions of Mr. Sim. That duty appears to us to have been most unaccountably shirked. And now that the storm of protest and indignation is rising throughout Moslem India, refuge is being sought behind strange pretexts and novel assumptions. The *Communiqué* says that "in Cawnpore itself there is comparatively little excitement among the Muhammadan community over the subject." All that we can say is that the assertion is absolutely devoid of the fact. We have yet to know of a masterful and autocratic official who, after riding roughshod over popular feelings, has not declared aloud that there is absolute quiet and peace in the world he surveys. You may plant an iron heel and call it order, just as you may dub all genuine distress and cry an artificial agitation. Those who are industriously seeking to misrepresent the real facts by telling the Local Government that all is quiet in Cawnpore, are betraying both the Government and the people. If the monster meeting held by the Cawnpore Moslems on the 23rd July, which was attended by thousands in spite of the bad weather, cannot be an expression of the real feelings of Cawnpore Moslems, then it may safely be concluded that no form of protest within constitutional limits stands a chance of being heard. The *Communiqué* itself makes an indirect incitement to agitation, and we shudder to think of the consequences to which the ostrich-like officials may succeed in driving the Cawnpore Mussalmans.



The Railway Bore.

OF ALL the bores infesting this country—and their name is legion—perhaps the mightiest and indefatigablest is the Railway bore. I say this without fear of contradiction. The bore has received the scantiest of attention from the literary artists of this country. It is small wonder then that the most elusive of all bores—the Railway bore—should be so little known, and his feats of incredible loquacity performed in every train throughout India should excite so little admiration. Truly a country which rewards its bores, not with the immortality which they deserve, but with a cold and frigid neglect which kills nascent and disheartens confirmed and inveterate boredom has no right to exist.

The Railway thief has after the splendid promises of an incipient career, distinguished by artistic thefts nobly conceived and courageously executed, degenerated into a coward who, in order to avoid arrest, resorts to all sorts of mean shifts and prefers to perform his exploits in the dead of night. But the Railway bore still stalks freely abroad with the proud assurance and cool imperturbability of former days, defying law and legislators, the S. P. and S. P.-ridden Deputies, the omniscient *Pioneer* and the omnipotent *Englishman*. He does not seem to recognize that there are garrulous Sir John Ropes to put interpellations in the House of Commons as there are virtuous Pandits to move resolutions in the Viceregal Council and invent languages outside it. The promiscuous shower of printed missiles from the journalistic machine-guns of Bengal leaves him unscathed and unhurt. The constant drizzle of dubious wit and indifferent wisdom from the *Leader of Allahabad* leaves him as dry as ever.

The Eurasian Station Master and the Railway Guard, in spite of their reputations won by vigorous kicks administered to that most tempting of all kick-worshippers—the engine—and pushes lavishly bestowed on some loyalist passengers in the second class, fail to arrest the operations, bloodless but painful, of his ceaseless tongue. Their proximity, instead of frightening him into the timid and nervous silences of the 'native', stimulates and inspires him to an even greater degree of boisterousness and to a more spendthrift use of his vocabulary. The way in which he opens his campaign is worthy of him and his great mission in life. The fellow-passenger is gradually drawn into the meshes skillfully laid out for him without his suspecting it. The usual bait invariably used to hook an elusive passenger is an inquiry as to time, his destination or an observation on the condition of the weather. His answer determines his fate. As soon as it is given, the way for further questions is cleared. Particulars as to his birth and origin, religion, position, residence and means, present and prospective, are wrung out of the victim without a suspicion crossing his mind as to the *bona fides* of the questioner.

When the bore begins to talk of his own pedigree—not to satisfy any curiosity betrayed by the unfortunate listener, but as a concession to the pitifully poor stock of human knowledge—doubts begin to assail the mind of the unfortunate listener. When he waxes eloquent

over what his father of the blessed memory did to better the lot of humanity, which is ungrateful enough not even to accord a patient hearing to the son of its benefactor, the doomed listener feels that he is about to be swept away by an irresistible cataclysm of irrepressible volubility.

Sometimes he rushes into politics without the usual observations on the condition of the weather, the instability of the mundane life or the perfections of his late-lamented father, and begins a vigorous bombardment of the whole compartment with all sorts of opinions, original and borrowed, without one word of warning to the inmates as to his contemplated action. And the result is a cold-blooded destruction of everybody's patience, a universal panic and consternation. The victims don't protest, for they dare not. The daily paper resorted to in utter desperation proves a sadly ineffectual protection. The six-penny novel, instead of averting the onslaughts, tempts a renewal of them with greater vigour and keener zest. Pretended sleep does not disarm or outwit aggressive loquacity or make it suspend its operations.

The bath-room fails to ensure safety to its refugees, the shelling of it from outside being so violent and persistent. The victims gaze at each other with an impotent and helpless look, and pin their last hopes on the advent of a saviour in the shape of a Tommy who does not turn up.

The present writer had the occasion to go with a party of boisterous irresponsibles the other day. At one of the intervening stations our compartment was invaded by a gentleman who seemed anxious to relieve himself of a terrible load of accumulated opinions. The gentleman wore English dress and seemed particularly proud of his Bideshi hat and Swadeshi pair of legs, which he could not apparently decide where and how to dispose so as to exhibit them to their best advantage. He was a middle-statured man, had no faith in the spiritual virtues of a beard, but possibly an exaggerated one in the æsthetic perfections of his well-trained mustaches. He owned a big head and a fluent tongue—the former not much encumbered with that nebulous something which we call brains, and the latter absolutely unrestrained in its performances by any vulgar regard for sense and meaning. As ill-luck would have it, we were discussing the strength and merits of Muhammadan representation on a certain committee and wondering how the choice of the Moslem members could be reconciled to the reputed liberalism of the head of the Provincials—a liberalism as curious and inexplicable as the psychology of an Oudh Taluqdar or the logic of a Punjab vernacular daily. Somebody happened to remark that one of the members was reactionary and loyalist enough to be opposed to compulsory Primary education, and he could not therefore represent the Moslem view. The latter proposition was controverted by the gentleman sitting beside him, who facetiously remarked that, though a determined opponent of Primary, the member criticized was a strong supporter of Elementary education. This gave the intruder the opportunity of his life. He unsheathed his tongue which commenced its deadly operations with its

usual selflessness. He announced that the gentleman whose views were the subject of discussion was an intimate friend of his, and that he owed his rise to the sage counsel and priceless assistance which, though the speaker rigorously withheld it from an unappreciative Government and an ungrateful world, he freely bestowed on him (the gentleman discussed). After the announcement, which we did not question the veracity of, we could very well imagine how his grandmotherly conscience was shocked by the irresponsible manner in which we talked of the legatee of his inexhaustible wisdom and the heir of his accumulated sagacity. He next deprecated the line of the discussion and expressed his surprise that there could be any scepticism as to the perfections of one who had the rare privilege of being advised and guided by him. He was scandalised at the gratuitous assumption that of the two things—Primary and Elementary education—Primary education was more useful to India. He could tolerate anything—even anybody else talking—but not a sterile discussion.

He proceeded to tell us—what we had sadly overlooked—that there were good points in Primary education as there were good points in Elementary education. A discussion ensued which it would be very cruel on my part to withhold from the readers. I reproduce it in the very words of the gentleman for the edification and guidance of our hapless community.

Passenger.—Is your friend in favour of Elementary education? If so, he can't but be an opponent of Primary education, and as such his presence on the Committee is bound to prove detrimental to the best interests of the community.

Intruder.—He is not in favour of either. He combines both things. He picks out certain points in Primary education and certain points in Elementary education. And thus I advised him to do. He never does anything without my advice. I look after his affairs. He has got best horses in the district. He is going to purchase a motor. I am sending his sons to England. I shall go with them till Bombay. Primary and Elementary education are good things, but I have advised him to write the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police frequently. The Deputy Commissioner is a nice man. I talk to him very freely and candidly. Everybody knows that.

Passenger.—I fail to see how his possession of the best horses or an ideal adviser like you or even his intention to buy a motor or send his sons to England can affect the question whether, holding the views he does on Elementary education, he can effectively represent the Muslim point of view.

Intruder.—You don't understand me and never will. I am not like people who edit newspapers and talk rot. I am a practical man. I have been in my profession not many years, but I charge more fee than the oldest man. These people accept low fees which is disgraceful. It is not very materialistic what views you hold. You should be sensible. You assume Primary education is a good thing. A Hindu politician—I don't remember his name (somebody suggested Professor Rama Murli),—yes, Rama Murli said in some society or council that Primary education is a good thing and you all begin to howl that you don't know the Hindus. They want to entrap you. I say Elementary education is good, without it we can't get high posts—Deputy Collectors and Munsiffs.

Passenger.—I am surprised that a learned man like you should hold that view. The English Government has introduced Primary education at Timbuctoo and the results are simply amazing. Do you dare deny that?

Intruder.—Don't you talk of Europe. Things and conditions are different here. There even the washerwomen read the daily paper. Primary education is very well for Lords and Dukes, but India is too poor. We cannot afford that! We want posts in the Technical Department and Agricultural Department. Will anybody take us without Elementary education? What of you, I would say the same thing to a Deputy Commissioner! I am not afraid of the sahebs. Look at the row I had with Joint Magistrate. The Joint Magistrate said 'you are talking rot'. I said 'beg your pardon' and became red. Every body knows that you can ask.

His harangue had not concluded when the train stopped, and to our unexpressed relief we found that we had reached our destination. We jumped out of it to escape further torture, and did not say even good-bye to that untiring mentor of unregenerate humanity for fear lest he should be induced to get down and give us a little more of his company. When the train moved, we perceived that he was still lecturing, nobly undisturbed by the silence of the empty berths.

BAMBOOGUN.

The Islamic World. Turkey and Macedonia.

MR. CHARLES ROSHER gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, at the hall of the Institute of Journalists, on July 1, on "Turkey and Macedonia: Some Urgent Problems." The chair was taken by Mr. Ellis Schaap. Mr. Rosher drew the attention of his audience to the present condition of Macedonia, and referred to the removal of Turkish rule as a change for the worse. Government was one of the best methods of creating trouble in any country. The urgent problem before Europe was to provide for the 200,000 Turks who had fled to Asia. Their situation would have been happier had they perished like thousands of their brethren in the land they were forced to leave. He was as convinced of the cruelty of the atrocities as he was that there was a column in Trafalgar Square. The responsibility for these atrocities rested with the *komitatists* who, he pointed out, were always accompanied by a priest, from whom they received absolution before and after committing outrages. He was unable to touch on the relation of religion to the present war owing to lack of time, but he hoped to publish his conclusions shortly in the form of an article.

At the conclusion of the lecture Mr. Rosher moved the three resolutions which were given in full in our last week's issue. Mr. Schaap seconded the resolutions, and in so doing remarked that the motive actuating the Balkan delegates in signing the Peace Treaty was the threat on Sir Edward Grey's part to publish the Consular reports dealing with the alleged atrocities. After a short discussion the resolutions were carried.—*The New East.*

Kurds and Armenians.

We reproduce from the *Orient* the following translation of a letter addressed by Severekli Pasha Zade Mehmed Fakri to a Constantinople journal:—

"To be able to settle the important problem known as the Kurdish-Armenian question we must remember that the Kurds are Mohammedans and the Armenians are Christians. Now up to the present the religious chiefs of the Kurds have done their duty, which consists in securing good relations between these two elements. Unfortunately, instead of being praised they have been the victims of many suspicions and insults. On the contrary, the religious chiefs of our compatriots, the Armenians, pretending to direct simultaneously their spiritual and temporal affairs, have always been busy with politics and are injuring the self-respect of the Kurdish nation. So that they contribute to the raising of new misunderstandings between Kurds and Armenians.

"The question of lands is the most vital problem of the Kurdish people. But Armenians wish to condemn to inaction the active members of the Kurdish nation and to work only for their own betterment. Why does not the Patriarch approve of the principle of indemnity? Is his sole aim to see the Kurds oppressed? If an incident is reported between two Armenians even, or between a Kurd and an Armenian, it is always the Kurd who is blamed. The Kurds whom the Patriarch qualifies as pillagers and brigands are a people that have always been faithful to the State. A large number of Kurdish officers and soldiers have shed their blood for the Ottoman fatherland. If a Kurd or an Armenian is a brigand, this does not imply that all the Kurds or all the Armenians are brigands. We deny most emphatically the declarations of the Patriarch in the name of our nationality."

The New Turkey.

(FROM THE "DUNDEE ADVERTISER.")

A Talk with Hakki Pasha by William Maxwell.

(MR. MAXWELL is the famous international journalist and war correspondent. Arrangements have been made for a series of weekly articles from his pen to be published in the *Dundee Advertiser* on Wednesdays.)

Any one meeting Hakki Pasha for the first time would have difficulty in determining his nationality. He might easily be mistaken for French or German or even English.

Hakki Pasha, being cosmopolitan, is quite at home in London, where he is negotiating with the Government on the Bagdad railway and other important issues. No better envoy could have been chosen, for not only does he speak English—a rare accomplishment for a Turk—but he also has opinions and sympathies that are British.

At lunch the other day I discovered in him a characteristic common to the Englishman who, it is said, will eat no meat and

worship no God but his own. While enjoying a thoroughly English lunch I happened to speak of certain Turkish dishes, and especially of the curded-milk, known as *yahout*, beloved of prince and peasant. My host immediately told a waiter to fetch from his room two jars of *yahout*, and at a bound we leapt from the Thames to the Bosphorous.

The Pasha brings with him more than his national dishes. He brings also the spirit of true patriotism that gives unshaken faith in the destiny of his race, and the assurance that it will come out of the furnace of affliction purified and strengthened. His words, as we discussed many topics, were instinct with this confidence.

That the Turks have in Asia an empire of immense possibilities is certain. It is for them to prove that they can make better use of their opportunities than they have in Europe.

NEGLECTED ESTATES.

"In our efforts to retain a position in Europe," said Hakki Pasha, "we have neglected our great estates in Asia. These must now be our chief care and occupation. They will repay us a hundred-fold, and will give us a position in the world higher and firmer than any we have held for three centuries."

There are difficulties in the path. Nobody sees them more clearly than the man who will again be Grand Vizier, and will have the task of dealing with them.

Problems of race and religion present themselves in Asia as they did in Europe. Armenians, Arabs, and Kurds take the place of Bulgarians, Servians, and Greeks. But there is this difference in the Turk's favour. In Europe the subject races had countries round which to rally and to keep alive the national spirit; they also had a militant Church that was both a shield to protect them and a sword to wound their enemies. In Asia the conditions are not the same.

The Armenians have a nationality and a religion, but they have no country, for the ancient kingdom of Armenia has long been divided among Russians, Persians, and Turks. The Arabs have a country and a national spirit that has never been subdued, but they imposed their religion on the Turks, and are brothers in the Faith. The Kurds, too, are Moslems, but they are for the most part a nomadic race without a country to quicken national aspirations.

If there is trouble awaiting the Turks in Asia it will be with the Armenians, who already show symptoms of restlessness. Like the Jews, they have retained through generations of persecution and disaster an unconquerable spirit of race and nationality. And, like the Jews, they have developed in amazing capacity for practical business that has won for them throughout the Turkish Empire an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

HOW ARE ARMENIANS TO BE RECONCILED?

How is this wealthy, powerful, and intelligent race to be reconciled?

I put the question to Hakki Pasha, and this is his answer:—

"The Armenians will throw in their lot with their fellow-subjects. Their influence has always been great by reason of their intelligence and capacity for affairs. Even Abdul Hamid, while fearing them, employed the Armenians in the most responsible offices of the State. They had a real and personal part in the administration. Under the new conditions of empire they will have still greater opportunities. The Armenians are a scattered race. Only in two or three places are they a community and more numerous than the other races. Local autonomy is impracticable. And even if it were practicable, it would be dangerous, not to the Turks alone, but also to the Armenians. Do they imagine that they would be happier under Russian rule? Let them ask their brethren on the other side of the border."

And the Arabs, how will they regard the new conditions? While professing the same faith they have never accepted the domination of the Turks, whose efforts to subdue the country have cost hundreds of thousands of lives, and treasure untold. Only the fringe of the vast peninsula acknowledges the temporal authority of the Sultan and even that authority does not extend beyond the striking range of the Turkish garrison.

But the confidence of Hakki Pasha is unshaken. He sees in the Hedjaz railway both a sword and an olive branch. That railway, which is to unite the sacred cities with the capital of the Empire, has already won Medina, and will be continued to Mecca. It will consolidate the spiritual authority of the Sultan as Khalifa or Pope of the Moslem world; and when the need comes, as it must, he can strike hard and strike swiftly.

TURKEY'S NEED OF MONEY.

And this brings us to the really practical purpose of Hakki Pasha's mission to England and of the negotiations which are on the eve of a satisfactory conclusion.

Turkey is in need of money. Her Treasury is empty, and her normal resources of revenue are exhausted. It is easy enough, as Hakki Pasha says, for Europe to say to Turkey:—

"You have fine estates in Asia. Now that you are freed from the incubus of your European provinces, go and cultivate those estates. Develop the immense resources of the country, educate your people, build railways, construct irrigation works, make the desert a garden. Then you will be prosperous, and great, and happy. You might just as well say to a pauper, 'Go and build a palace and live like an Armenian millionaire!'"

Without money the new Turkish Empire will be a dream that can never be realised. And it is for permission to collect the money that Hakki Pasha has come to London. Turkey is not mistress of her own resources. Her revenues are pledged to her creditor in Europe, and the Powers in their wisdom decided that her Customs Duties should be limited. Without their consent the Ottoman Government cannot change the tariff. This has been a sharp weapon in the hands of the Powers and has often served a beneficent purpose for the Christian subject of the Sultan.

For ourselves at this crisis in the affairs of Turkey it is still a means of barter, and Sir Edward Grey has made a bargain for Egypt and for the Persian Gulf. Turkey agrees to abandon her control over Egyptian borrowing. She undertakes also to moderate her pretensions in the Persian Gulf by acknowledging the independence of the tribal chiefs and the conventions between Great Britain and the Sheikh of Kuwait. In exchange, Turkey secures greater freedom over her own financial resources.

A GOOD BARGAIN

This is a good bargain. It removes a constant cause of friction; it makes reasonably secure our position in the Persian Gulf, which is essential for the defence of India and the protection of our commercial and political interests in that part of the world; and it achieves yet another most important object for which successive Governments in this country have striven.

Under this new agreement, the progress of the Bagdad railway will no longer be a menace to our strategic position in the Persian Gulf and to our commerce in Mesopotamia. The terminus will be not at Kuwait, on the Gulf, but at Basra, on the Tigris, the port of entry for merchandise into Mesopotamia. Kuwait, therefore, cannot become a hostile base and a menace to our position in the Persian Gulf.

In time this railway will be a great asset to the new empire. But it is not enough to bring Berlin into direct communication with Bagdad. Something must be done to populate and improve the country through which the railway passes.

A few years ago I made the journey from the Persian Gulf to Constantinople, following, as closely as possible, the projected line. Everywhere are the remains of historic cities, such as Nineveh and Babylon and Shergat, and traces of great irrigation works, to prove that this "desert" is really the "deserted land," and was once both rich and populous.

Half a dozen Egypts are waiting in Asia. But money and honest effort must be spent on them. Sir William Willcocks has shown the Tigris and Euphrates, instead of wasting their substance, may be made inexhaustible sources of wealth, and how the ancient prosperity of the land between the two rivers may be restored.

This is an enterprise that will test the capacity and the integrity of the governors of the new Turkish Empire, and will give the Turks their last chance of demonstrating to the world that they have not lost altogether those qualities which made them in the past one of the great conquering races. It is a work that will be a source of wealth to Europe also, and one in which, with the consent of the Powers, Great Britain might be of assistance to Turkey.

Islam in the Philippines.

(FROM AN OCCASIONAL "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 28.

WHILE affairs of great importance have been taking place in this capital, an event has occurred, practically unnoticed outside the local native Press, which, nevertheless, cannot fail to interest those Englishmen who fully realise that we are a great Mohammedan Power.

Some three months ago there arrived in Constantinople Colonel Finley, of the United States Army, the Governor of Zamboanga, Philippine Islands. He did not come, however, as a representative of the United States Government, but as the *Vakil-i-muthak* or Representative Plenipotentiary of the Moslems of the Southern Philippines. This alone was sufficient to attract attention. In the various conversations which I was fortunate enough to have with Colonel Finley he told me of his work and of the object of his mission. He has been in the Philippines for eleven years, and has that real enthusiasm for the interest in the peoples confided to his charge which characterises the best of our own administrators in the East and elsewhere.

The history of Muhammadanism in the Philippines can be briefly summed up as follows:—It was first introduced into the islands in the sixteenth century by a certain Sherif Kabungsawan, of Johore, and Sherif Makdum of Arabia. For over four centuries the Moros, as the Moslem inhabitants are called, have successfully withstood all the efforts of the Spaniards to convert or exterminate them. To-day there are about a million Muhammadans inhabiting some 100 of the 3,140 islands comprised in the Philippine group.

The religion of Islam has deteriorated somewhat, but is still a living force, many members of the faith having made the pilgrimage to Mecca, though none, so far as is known, have reached Constantinople. The Moros have offered a spirited resistance at times to the occupation by the United States but Colonel Finley, by his sympathy, firmness, and justice, has won them over to such an extent that they appointed him their representative to obtain their recognition by the Khalif at Constantinople, and gave him an enthusiastic send-off on his mission. Surely few Anglo-Saxons or Christians have had a more remarkable work entrusted to them.

The prime object of the mission was to obtain from the Khalif the appointment of one or more Hodjas, or teachers, who should endeavour to influence the mass of the Moro people in the Philippines to acquire a more enlightened knowledge of their own faith in the teachings of the Prophet, to impress them with the virtues of Muhammadan tenets in order that they may live more consistently in the light of the best culture of Islam, and to lead them away from the abuses which have sprung up in their religion. Whilst this is being done it is expected that on the other hand the people will be impressed as to the necessity of submitting to the laws and regulations of the United States Government, and stress is to be laid on the fact that the United States Government is entirely non-sectarian, having no State religion and being absolutely tolerant of all beliefs.

At first Colonel Finley met with but little encouragement in official circles, although the Sheikh-ul-Islam, with whom he had several interviews, was most enthusiastic on the matter. To the Government, however, the idea was such a novel one that they did not quite know how to deal with it, and at the beginning they were inclined to seek for some ulterior political motive behind this seemingly disinterested mission, and to see if it were not possible to obtain some substantial *quid pro quo* in return for their support. Colonel Finley was able to enlist the sympathy of several influential Turks, among whom was "Edisof" Riza Tewfik Bey, ex deputy of Adrianople, who helped him considerably in his dealings with the various Government departments with which he came in contact. At length the frankness and honesty of Colonel Finley, combined with no small amount of energy and determination, gained the day. After a few interviews with the Grand Vizier, the late Mahmud Sherket Pasha, the necessary *firman* was decreed upon and an audience was arranged with the Sultan. On this occasion his Majesty asked if the Muhammadans of the Philippines were progressing, and replied that it was for the first time that the history of the Ottoman Empire recorded the fact of a special mission being entrusted to a Christian for the purpose of appealing to the Khalif on behalf of a Moslem community. The interview lasted half an hour and his Majesty handed over to Colonel Finley the *firman* and texts for a mosque which he was sending to the Moros. A few days later Colonel Finley had an interview with H. H. Prince Yusuf Izzeddin, lasting nearly an hour, in the course of which the Her Apparent asked many questions concerning the Muhammadans of the Philippines.

A few days later Colonel Finley left for his post and expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the results of his mission. Before his departure he signed a contract with the Hodja, a certain Djemal Effendi, who had been chosen as the delegate of the Sheikh-ul-Islam to go to Zamboanga for a period of five years at a salary of £250 per mensem. It is further intended to appoint two more teachers later on. Djemal Effendi, who has been selected for this interesting and important mission, is a young and active Mollah, a native of Nablus, and, therefore, a fluent Arabic as well as Turkish scholar. He has a slight knowledge of Sanskrit and Urdu, as well as of English, French, and German, and from the few conversations I had with him he appeared to be well fitted for his task.

Thus has come to a close the first phase of an event the development of which would be most interesting to follow up, and we can only wish all success to Colonel Finley as a result of enterprise, and to Djemal Effendi in the important and responsible task which has been assigned to him.

The Capitulations.

(By THE "NEAR EAST" CAIRO CORRESPONDENT.)

THE statement lately made in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Grey to the effect that the British Government intended

to raise the whole question of the Capitulations with the other Powers has been received in Egypt with intense satisfaction. Though differences of opinion exist as to the substitution to be made, I do not think there is any community domiciled in Egypt that will regret the passing of this medieval system, which, albeit it no doubt originally had its *raison d'être* and has in the past served its purpose, has to-day become an obstacle to reform and a clog to the progress of Egypt.

The popular idea of the Capitulations is that the privileges they confer were in days gone by wrung from the granting State by the States in whose favour they were granted, and that they consequently constituted an acknowledgement by the grantor of the superiority of the grantees. This idea is quite erroneous and is probably due to a misinterpretation of the word "Capitulation," which in this case has not the ordinary dictionary meaning, but comes from *capitulum* (Latin—"chapter"), the Capitulations having been originally divided into chapters. Moreover, if any one takes the trouble to examine the text of the early Capitulations, he will find that the privileges conferred were accorded as a gracious concession.

As a matter of fact, the system of Capitulations owes its origin to the peculiar standpoint from which foreigners were regarded in the many centuries by each State (especially those in the Levant), which considered them as outcasts and beyond the pale of the law. As, however, commercial relations with the West were absolutely essential to the welfare of the Eastern States, it became necessary to hold out some encouragement to the Western traders to extend their sphere of activity to the Levant. The encouragement which the times required took the form of guarantees for the safety of the lives of the Western traders and the security for their merchandise, etc., during their sojourn in the territories of the Eastern States.

Another popular fallacy, which it is as well to correct, is that the Capitulations were only granted by the Moslem Sultans to the Christian rulers of Western States, whereas they were also conceded by the Christian States of the Levant to the merchant princes of the West. Indeed, according to Mr. J. H. Scott, the first Capitulations were granted by the Christian kings of Jerusalem to the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. The first concessions of the same nature made by a Moslem ruler were those accorded by Sultan Suleiman II to Francis I, King of France, in 1535; although by many it is considered that agreement came to between Charlemagne and the celebrated Harun-er Rashid in the ninth century sets up the earliest precedent.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that the privileges conferred by the Capitulations in force in Egypt in this year of grace are a great development and a vast extension of those contained in the original grants. As time went on and circumstances altered, a wider interpretation was given to the conditions laid down, usage from time to time brought a slight addition to the privileges, and political events caused other concessions to be obtained from the ruler of the country. To-day the Egyptian Capitulations—no Power enjoys any greater privileges than the rest, although at one time the grants differed in some respects—excluded exemption from certain forms of taxation, protection from arbitrary arrest, liberty of religion, inviolability of domicile, immunity from the jurisdiction of the local courts in criminal matters, and subjection to special courts in all civil cases in which the other party is of different nationality, on all foreigners, who, as a natural consequence of the condition of extra-territoriality set up, can be dealt with by their particular Consuls in whatever manner the latter choose. It was in virtue of this that the Egyptian Government was prevented from intervening in the recent Adamovitch affair, and was forced to agree to the arrest and deportation of the three Russians in 1907, since the law regulating the relations existing between a foreigner domiciled in Egypt and his Consul is purely and solely his own national law. It may be added that to-day no Power enjoys any greater privileges than any other Power, although at one time the grants differed in some respects.

The Capitulations were granted at a time when the government of Turkey and of Egypt was essentially arbitrary, and a foreigner required some protection if he was to be induced to become domiciled in or visit either country. But to-day that protection is no longer so necessary, since the administration of Egypt has been completely reformed and reorganised, and, as a result, the immunities conferred by it, instead of preventing, give rise to many abuses, of which the foreigners themselves most strongly disapprove. The reforming hand of the Government is also stayed owing to the necessity of obtaining the sanction of the Powers holding Capitulations to all new legislation that it is proposed to introduce, and of having the acquiescence and at times the active assistance of the foreign Consuls in the execution of many of the existing laws. It is true that the General Assembly of the Mixed Court of

Appeal has now been given power to make additions and amendments of Mixed legislation, which is the only series of laws binding on foreigners in their civil relations with one another and with natives; but, as the Judicial Adviser said last year, this new scheme "can hardly be regarded in its ensemble as more than a temporary makeshift."

The system of Capitulations, in which are included the jurisdictions of the Consular and Mixed Courts, is therefore quite incompatible with to-day's condition of affairs in Egypt, for the simple reason, as Lord Cromer stated, that "Egypt stands in the unique position of an Oriental country which has assimilated a very considerable portion of European civilisation, and which is mainly governed by European methods, but which, at the same time, possesses no machinery for general legislation such as is possessed by the various States which, in judicial and administrative matters, it is taking as its model."

The simplest solution would consequently be the total abolition of European privilege and the enactment of one code of laws and the institution of one legislative machinery for all the inhabitants, native and foreign. But, whilst the Capitulations system undoubtedly leads to abuses, it still affords the foreigner certain guarantees, which are to-day just as vitally necessary for his welfare as they were in 1869. If the various European Powers came up to the same standard as that attained in European countries, they would afford the requisite guarantees. But despite the levelling brought about by the presence of European consulates and courts, these institutions still tend to be despotic.

The complete unification of jurisdictions are quite out of the question, and an improvement in the situation must be sought in the direction of special treatment for the foreigner, whereby the introduction of laws binding both the foreign and the native inhabitants is rendered more simple and expeditious, so that that is worth preserving in the Capitulations is retained, while all that has led to abuse in the past is done away with. In other words, a modification in the Capitulations system and in the conditions under which foreigners dwell in Egypt is all that can be hoped for at present, and how far-reaching and satisfactory such modification will be, will depend entirely on the manner in which the Powers receive Great Britain's proposals and the attitude which the foreign colonies in Egypt adopt towards the question.

In his reports for the years 1904-6, Lord Cromer sketched the lines along which relief from the present *impasse* could be obtained. Although he put forward his scheme more in the light of a suggestion and as a means of exciting discussion locally, with a view of obtaining an expression of opinion from the communities interested, and arriving at a solution giving general satisfaction, the question was treated so carefully and so completely that his proposal constitutes what might justly be called a standard treatise on the subject. It is, indeed, highly probable that the modification ultimately decided upon will be based on his scheme.

Space forbids my going into all the details in this article, so readers of the *New Zeit* who wish to study the scheme *in extenso* had best refer to the three Blue Books mentioned above. Briefly stated, however, Lord Cromer's proposals are: The creation of a Legislative Council, composed entirely of subjects or protected subjects of the Powers who were parties to the institution of the Mixed Tribunals, the suppression of the Consular Courts (except in so far as the settlement of questions of Personal Status), the abolition of the quinquennial periods of the Mixed Tribunals, and the creation of Courts in which the Mixed Courts (and presumably the Native Courts) will be absorbed, and to which the criminal jurisdiction of the Consular Courts will be transferred. The Legislative Council is to consist of thirty-six members, viz., the Advisers (the Ministers of Finance, Justice, Interior and Public Works, presumably where the Advisership has been abolished, the Under Secretary of State will be substituted), the Vice-President of the Native Court of Appeal, provided he is a European, six judges of the Mixed Courts, to be elected in a manner to be determined; twenty members elected by the foreign communities; and five unofficial members nominated by the Egyptian Government, and chosen from amongst those nationalities which are not represented by four representatives amongst the Mixed Court judges and the elected members. Legislation passed by a majority of this Council and promulgated by the Egyptian Government with the assent of the British Government would be binding on all foreigners resident in Egypt, and this Council would have full power to agree to fresh taxation of foreigners.

With regard to the criminal jurisdiction, which is to be taken away from the Consular Courts, certain guarantees are to be given to the foreign colonies. Thus, no warrant for the arrest of a foreign subject or search warrant shall be issued otherwise than by or with the authority of a magistrate who is himself a subject of a Treaty Power; wherever the execution of an order of the Court involves the entry upon premises belonging to a foreign subject, a police officer or officer of the Court who is a subject of a Treaty Power must be present; every foreign subject who is arrested on a criminal charge must be released on bail or be brought within twenty-four hours before

a magistrate who is the subject of a Treaty Power; no sentence of death passed on a foreign subject can be executed until one calendar month after that subject's consular representative in Egypt has been notified, and that representative will have the right to claim that such sentence be commuted to penal servitude for life; all prisons in which foreign subjects are confined are to be open to the inspection of the consular authorities concerned; every foreign subject who is proceeded against for an offence will have the right to submit his case to a judge who is the subject of a Treaty Power, or to a tribunal at least three-fifths of the members of which are subjects of Treaty Powers, and no sentences of imprisonment or severer sentence can be enforced until the case has been submitted in this manner.

As an alternative for this, and as calculated to produce the only really satisfactory results, Lord Cromer suggested that the Powers should transfer to Great Britain the legislative functions which they at present possess. This would certainly be an easy solution and a Great Britain would declare that every reservation in favour of her subjects would act for the benefit of those of other Powers, there should be no fear of any preferential treatment to the detriment of other nationalities. But in return for the assumption of this extra responsibility, Great Britain should undoubtedly have her position on the banks of the Nile regularised. Will the present Government have the courage to bring this about?

Egypt and the Capitulations.

LORD CROMER raises some very large questions about the future control of Egypt in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. He proposes a modification of the Capitulations and the creation in Egypt of a legislative Chamber, which should enact laws to which Europeans will be amenable. These suggestions come at a timely moment. For some years there has been a tendency to move towards a modification of the Capitulations in Egypt, but the movement has hitherto been vague and indefinite. It has lately been brought into prominence by the arrest and deportation of a Russian subject, whose offence, if he has committed any offence against the laws of his country, is a side issue. Under the Capitulations a foreign subject resident in Egypt is liable to be handed over to his own Consular authorities even if he has committed no offence whatever. Some people dispute the validity of this spacious interpretation of the Capitulations. It is enough for us to know that it is the interpretation commonly observed in Egypt, and though the practice pursued may be open to abuse, and at any rate seems anomalous, the best remedy is to modify the Capitulations. They are responsible for a great many other anomalies in Egypt. As is well known, they derive from Turkish suzerainty. When the earlier Sultans of Constantinople contemptuously granted various privileges to the Venetians and Genoese dwelling at their gates, they did so because they wished to encourage the foreign trading communities to remain and supply them with merchandise. The Turks, even in their feebler days, have always been strong enough to prevent excessive encroachments based upon the Capitulations. But in Egypt where the foreign community attained relatively greater power and influence, the Capitulations were gradually so used that by the time of the British occupation they had a blighting effect upon indigenous Egyptian authority. The foreigner in Egypt enjoyed a degree of liberty to which he was usually a stranger in his own land. He was outside the pale of Egyptian law, and was only amenable to the laws of his own country if his Consul chose to put them in operation. The result was, and often still is, paralysing. Lord Milner wrote long ago—"Do you want to clear out a cesspool, to prevent the sale of noxious drugs, to suppress a malarious or immoral print, you are pulled up by the Capitulations." Lord Cromer has said that the Capitulations have protected "the smuggler, the keeper of a gambling hell, the receiver of stolen goods, the retailer of adulterated spirits," and still more questionable characters.

Yet, evil though the results of the Capitulations have been in Egypt, they have still represented certain principles which cannot lightly be forgone. They may have untidily sheltered "European ruffians," but they have given the European community as a whole a protection which once was necessary, and even now should not be wholly abandoned. The British administrators of Egypt are naturally anxious to clear irksome obstacles from their path, but they must first show that it would be beneficial to all reputable foreigners alike if the Capitulations were modified. There are fourteen other countries concerned, and, while none of them have the same direct interest as ourselves in the successful administration of Egypt, they are all extremely tenacious of their existing rights. We shall not illustrate further the extraordinary confusion which the Capitulations produce in Egypt, neither shall we discuss the degree to which the confusion has been modified in civil cases by the Mixed Tribunals. The broad fact is that the Capitulations remain a clog upon Egyptian progress, and Lord Cromer places

his finger upon the real reason why they have never been adequately dealt with. It lies in the indefinite character of the British occupation. Our first intrusion into Egypt was honestly meant to be temporary. Sir Edward Grey authorized in 1907 an official statement which was intended to remove "the existence of any doubt as to the continuance of the British occupation of the country." Yet the doubt possibly still lingers abroad, and until it is finally dissolved other nations will perhaps be slow to relinquish their privileges. Given an assurance of the continuity of British occupation, there should be no cause for foreign nations to withhold that confidence in the character of the administration which is already generously conceded. There remains the difficulty of convincing them that a modification of the Capitulations would be to the advantage of them as residents in Egypt. It is at this stage that Lord Cromer's project assumes importance.

He wants to see two Chambers in Egypt. He is convinced that "one Chamber, composed of both Europeans and Egyptians, with power to legislate for all the inhabitants of Egypt," would end in failure. The "natural aspirations of the Egyptians" would be in conflict with the desire of the Europeans to safeguard their own legitimate rights. It may be, he continues, that at some remote future point the two Chambers might be amalgamated, but the present tendencies of the Egyptian Nationalists render such a prospect hopeless. To the objections that two Chambers of such a mixed character would be a novel experiment he replies that the "land of Egypt" is, moreover, a cosmopolitan entity, and the mixture of races is so pronounced that complete autonomy upon the lines advocated by the Young Egyptians is never destined to be realized. The object of the European Chamber would be not to replace the privileges conferred by the Capitulations, but to modify them by legislation specially applicable to all foreigners. Such features as are good in the present system would be retained, and the rest gradually discarded. We are not at present prepared to commit ourselves to unreserved endorsement of this bold scheme, nor, doubtless, does Lord Cromer expect it to be accepted in any quarter without very careful consideration and discussion. Upon a first examination it sounds feasible enough, and the fact that it is the product of Lord Cromer's unvalued experience of Egyptian affairs must ensure for it respectful attention. To us the strongest point he urges in its favour is the peculiar cosmopolitan character of Egyptian society. Cairo and Alexandria are not as other great cities, and their exceptional condition doubtless requires exceptional remedies. The nation which devised that unique form of control the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in the Sudan will not shrink from another novel scheme simply because it is novel. Unfortunately the last word rests not with ourselves, but with fourteen other nations of very varying views and interests. Our first task is to induce them to recognize that the anomalies now permitted under the Capitulations should not continue. When we have done that, when we have convinced our neighbours that, in their interests as well as in our own, some change should be made in the privileges of foreigners in Egypt, Lord Cromer's plan will furnish a solid and attractive basis for subsequent negotiations. The case against the Capitulations as at present administered is strong enough to warrant pressure, and we trust that before very long the whole subject will be placed under review by every country concerned.—*The Times*.



The Balkan Crisis.

The News of the Week.

London, July 18.

RUMANIA learns that the Conference of Ambassadors has unanimously endorsed Sir Edward Grey's principle of non-intervention, and has decided on the formation of a gendarmerie for Albania under foreign officers, probably Swedes. Albania will be independent under a Prince. The questions connected with the Epirus frontier are still not settled.

London, July 17.

The Bulgarians announce that the Turks have occupied Lüle Burgas and Viza, and are marching towards Kirk Kilisesh. Dr Danef has requested the Powers to make urgent representations at Constantinople to arrest the Turkish advance as a contravention of the Treaty of London.

A Constantinople message states that it is officially announced that the Turks have occupied Midia, Serai, Karistiran, Seidler, Muratli, Malgara, Keshan and Enos as outposts, and are entering Rodosto.

The Armenians, serving with the Bulgarian Gendarmerie, attacked the Turks yesterday. A fight ensued in which a number of the gendarmes were killed.

Renter's correspondent in Constantinople is positively assured that the Government is determined to push the Turkish advance to Adrianople. It is held that the moral effect, apart altogether from material advantages of such movement, would strengthen and consolidate the Government. Therefore, the adventure is worth risking. It is believed in Turkish circles that, even if the Powers brought pressure to bear on the Porte to cause the latter to adhere to the Enos-Midia line, which is thought improbable, Turkey would be able to insist on autonomy for Thrace.

Bukharest: The King has proceeded to the Army Headquarters.

Salonica: A high Rumanian officer has arrived at the Greek Headquarters. It is believed that Greek, Serbian, and Rumanian armies will march on Sofia where peace will be signed.

Belgrade: The Greek and Serbian Pleniers met at the station at Uskub. They found that their views on the present situation were the same.

The situation of Bulgaria is pitiable. The Rumanians have seized the cable between Varna and Sebastopol and have occupied the railway between Varna and Sofia, the sole means of re-provisioning the army. No letters have reached Sofia from abroad for ten days, and the only telegraph in operation is that connecting Bucharest. Ruses are pressing on Bulgaria from every side. The Greeks report a victory at Nevrokop, and the Serbians one near Kustendil, the Bulgarians losing heavily and thereby in disorder. Bulgaria is making urgent appeals to the Powers, but the probability of any of them is highly improbable. Much depends on the conduct of Rumania. If she is moderate she may come to be regarded as the mandator of Europe for restoring peace, but if there comes any question of the partition of Bulgaria a general conflagration may be apprehended.

London, July 18.

A conference was held in Paris yesterday between M. Pichon, Foreign Minister, and the Ambassadors. M. Pichon subsequently telegraphed to the French Minister at Sofia to urge Bulgaria to send immediately a plenipotentiary to Nis or Uskub to negotiate with the Allies. He simultaneously telegraphed to the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople to urge the Porte to respect the Treaty of London. It was likewise decided to make representations at Bukharest. It is considered that the extreme brevity of the conference between the Serbian and Greek Pleniers at Uskub argues perfect agreement between them.

Renter states that the situation in the Balkans is described in diplomatic quarters as a threatening and complicated but not dangerous. The Powers are urging Bulgaria and Turkey in a similar sense to the telegram sent them by M. Pichon, and are advising Rumania not to occupy Sofia. They are determined not to allow Bulgaria to be crushed, nor to allow Turkey to retain Adrianople, if the Turks occupy it which, however, the Powers do not believe will occur.

The Rumanians have reached Plevna and Mezdra, the latter being thirty-one miles from Sofia. It is stated in Bukharest that King Ferdinand has wired to King Charles asking for terms of peace, and that King Charles has replied fervently wishing that unity may be restored, and suggesting that a preliminary peace be concluded by all the Powers concerned. There is a feeling in Vienna that a definite settlement of the differences between the Balkan States is imminent. In a note to the Powers, Rumania says she does not desire conquest. She merely desires to be assured of a frontier for the territory beyond the Danube. She believes that she is supporting the pacific efforts of the Powers in preventing a Bulgarian hegemony.

Horrible tales of the misdeeds of Bulgarian troops while evacuating towns and villages continue to arrive, and are largely corroborated by European observers. The Turkish troops advancing also find the evacuated region land waste, houses destroyed, wells filled and trees cut down.

London, July 19.

A telegram to Berlin from Constantinople says that Turkish cavalry has arrived before Adrianople. It is semi-officially announced in Rome that the Powers will exercise collective direct intervention if Turkey allows her troops to march into Adrianople. It is stated in Constantinople that the Porte protests to give conspicuous attention to the advice of the Powers, but the Porte is maintaining complete secrecy regarding the movements of the army. The newspapers are unanimous in urging the Government to take a bold course. The Russian Ambassador has had repeated interviews with the Grand Vizier and it is understood condemned in the strongest terms any encroachment on Bulgarian territory.

Replying to the request of the Queen of Bulgaria to suspend the Rumanian advance, "Carmen Sylva" replied that the advance would be carried out with the greatest consideration.

Bukharest: The Rumanian cavalry has defeated a Bulgarian brigade at Ferdinandovo, between Lomparanov and Sofia. The Bulgarians, with a general and twelve guns, surrounded.

London, July 20.

The British warships *Yarmouth*, *Inflexible* and *Proserpine* have arrived at the Piræus. Four British destroyers are also expected there.

It appears from an article in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* that the new Bulgarian ministry has sent the ex-Premier, M. Guechoff, to Bukharest, thus meeting the wishes of Rumania, Greece and Serbia for direct independent negotiations.

Apart from the capture of the Bulgarian brigade by the Rumanians, there has been no engagement of serious importance in the Balkans recently, but sharp encounters have continued all along the frontier. The Servians entered Bulgarian territory near St. Nicholas, the Bulgarians falling back, and ordering all the inhabitants to leave the district. Rumania has declined to conclude a separate treaty with Bulgaria.

London, July 21.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that the Government has ordered the Army to occupy Thrace and Adrianople. Turkey has sent a Note to the Powers declaring that the Bulgarians' delay in evacuating Turkish territory showed a manifest intention to misinterpret the term "Enos-Midia line," which the Porte insists, must follow Must a northward to Adrianople. The Porte would have preferred to settle the question with Bulgaria through diplomatic channels, but says that the latter's atrocities make the hope of a diplomatic solution impossible. The Porte hopes that the Powers will recognize that the recent developments compel Turkey to secure, as soon as possible, a frontier which will guarantee the safety of the capital and advise Bulgaria accordingly. The Porte casts on Bulgaria the sole responsibility for the hostilities. The Note is regarded as foreshadowing a declaration of war, which is necessary to enable Turkey to recover the liberty of action compromised by the Peace of London. While great reticence is observed regarding the position of the Turkish Main Army it is understood that patrols were in sight of Adrianople yesterday.

A message to the *Times* from Sofia states that the Turks entered Adrianople after a short conflict with the small garrison.

The Rumanians are advancing in and are threatening Eastern Rumania.

Reuter wires from Sofia that Bulgaria has sent Peace Delegates to Nish and has agreed to Rumania taking part in the negotiations there.

Bulgaria has offered Rumania an important cession of territory which the latter has accepted. The Turks have reached Kuleli Burgas.

The Powers hitherto were truly persuaded that the Turkish advance on Adrianople was not seriously meant, but was merely intended to placate the Chauvinists in Constantinople by an appearance of activity. The Turkish Ambassador undoubtedly gave positive assurances to this effect in the different capitals. Consequently, the news of the seizure of Adrianople, coupled with the Turkish Note to the Powers justifying the step by a new interpretation of the Enos-Midia line, has created something akin to consternation in European capitals. The Powers are so closely identified with the London Treaty of Peace that they cannot possibly accept this overt flouting by the Turks even if the latter purpose regularising the situation and resolve to declare war on Bulgaria, as they talk of doing. There are undoubtedly means of exercising strong pressure on Turkey. The difficulty will be to agree thereon.

Reuter wires from Sofia that the civil authorities and population of Adrianople are fleeing into Bulgaria. It is reported that Enver Bey commands the Turkish troops at Adrianople. Thousands of refugees, mostly women and children, have arrived here from various parts, and seventy thousand more are on the way here.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith said that the latest information regarding Turkey was occupying the attention of the Powers. He could not state what action they might agree to take.

Speaking at Birmingham, Mr. Asquith said that the Powers had been doing their utmost to bring the disputants in the Balkans to a peaceful conference. He believed that the meeting at Nish must result in an immediate armistice, and speedy terms of settlement.

In regard to the latter however, in view of what had happened, the Powers must reserve their own judgment.

The Bulgarian Peace Commissioners, M. Ivantcheff and General Paprikoff, are hurrying to Nish. The Rumanians are already within thirty miles of Sofia, but it is explained in Bukharest that cavalry reconnaissances necessitated by military plans do not imply occupation. The Greek army continues a general advance. The Greek captured twenty-two guns in the recent fighting.

London, July 22.

The Conference of Ambassadors here yesterday discussed at length the Turkish advance and the necessity for the belligerents

to come to an early arrangement. The Conference was unanimously of opinion that the attempt of Turkey to effect a revision of the decisions of the Powers on the subject of the frontier is absolutely inadmissible. The Ambassadors expect instructions on the 24th instant from the Governments with regard to the action to be taken in Constantinople. Mr. Asquith yesterday stated that if Turkey were ill-advised enough to defy the Treaty of London, she must be prepared for the bringing up of questions which it is in no way to her interest to bring into the debate. Official Turkish despatches yesterday evening state that the Bulgarians opposed Turkish occupation at various strategic points, compelling the Turks to give battle with the result that the Turks captured Kuleli Burgas, Lule Burgas, the Ergene bridge and Baba-Eski, taking 136 prisoners.

Telegraphic communication between Bulgaria and Europe, interrupted by the Rumanian advance, has now been re-opened. Consequently, there is flood of despatches from Sofia, for the most part official accounts of alleged atrocities committed by the Servians, Greeks, and Bashi Bazouks. It transpires that King Ferdinand has telegraphed to German Emperor appealing to His Majesty on the subject of the Rumanian advance. The nature of the Kaiser's reply is not known. Despatches from Athens state that the Greeks are only thirty miles from the Bulgarian frontier.

Bukharest M. Ghenadieff, the new Bulgarian Foreign Minister, has sent a long telegram to the Rumanian Government which King Ferdinand has endorsed by a telegram to King Charles suing for peace and offering to appoint plenipotentiaries to negotiate anywhere that Rumania chooses. While negotiations for an armistice will take place at Nish, peace preliminaries will probably be signed at Bukharest.

Two contradictory reports come from the Balkans to-day. The announcement of the appointment of a Turkish Vali at Adrianople is made simultaneously with the receipt of news from Sofia that communications with Adrianople have been restored, and that the report of Turkish occupation is false, being due only to the appearance of three squadrons of cavalry and some irregulars in the neighbourhood of the city who subsequently retreated.

The Ambassadors in London hope to be fully instructed by the next meeting on Thursday.

Constantinople: It is officially announced here that the army entered Adrianople and Kirk Kiliseh to-day. The Bulgarians offered slight opposition at Kirk Kiliseh, but evacuated Adrianople without resistance, after blowing up the stores and some Government buildings.

The *Local Anzeiger*, which is regarded as the semi-official German journal, does not believe that anything will be done beyond putting diplomatic pressure on the Porte. This, however, can hardly be reconciled with Mr. Asquith's statement. An important factor in the present situation is the coincidence of the interests of Austria and Russia, who are equally desirous of preventing excessive humiliation of Bulgaria. It is apparently settled that peace negotiations, which are entirely independent of the armistice negotiations at Nish, will be held at Sinua.

Sofia. M. Ghenadieff, the new Foreign Minister, in a speech in the Sobranje, said that he has assurances that the Great Powers would not allow the Turks to establish themselves beyond the frontier already fixed under their direction.

London, July 23.

Sofia. The capital is now isolated from the outside world. No mails have been received and no news has been published for a fortnight. In spite of the ignorance prevailing here as to the happenings in Europe the public is admirably patient and calm.

A Constantinople message states that Adrianople is occupied by a Cavalry Division under Ibrahim Bey, supported by a flying column of infantry under Enver Bey, the latter covering fifty miles in 24 hours.

A Sofia message states that the Turkish prisoners in Adrianople were sent into Bulgaria before the Turks entered.

Belgrade: Continual fighting took place on Monday and Tuesday. The Bulgarians were everywhere defeated. The Servians occupied Belogradchik in the north-west of Bulgaria.

Constantinople: It is officially stated here that the Bulgarians before retreating from Kirk Kiliseh, exploded the magazines in the barracks and the principal buildings. It is declared that, notwithstanding the excitement, the inhabitants displayed indescribably joy when they came to meet the Turks, weeping women showing flowers on the troops.

Sofia: Depression in Sofia is extreme, though some consolation is derived from the belief that the Powers will oblige Turkey to respect the Treaty of London, and from a telegram which the Tsar is reported to have sent to King Ferdinand, declaring that Russia will not tolerate the humiliation of Bulgaria.

Belgrade: The Servians report that a fierce battle at St. Nicholas preceded the capture of Belogradchik. The Servians captured thirty-two guns.

Various reports indicate that cholera is raging among the Bulgarian troops, and that it has spread to the Greeks. The penitential and distress in the country which is the scene of war are appalling. The whole land is wasted with fire and sword. There are thousands of homeless wanderers who throng all the roads. Fighting, however, continues with unabated fury.

Greece insists that the signature of an armistice shall be simultaneous with the acceptance by Bulgaria of certain peace preliminaries, which it is believed Greece intends making very stringent. This may protract the negotiations at Nish and delay the meeting of a peace conference on Rumanian soil.

Greek despatches report a series of desperate encounters with rearwards of retreating Bulgarians, who are being incessantly driven back.

London, July 24.

Sofia: The King of Rumania has telegraphed to King Ferdinand informing him that he has proposed to Servia and Greece the immediate cessation of hostilities, pending the signature of an armistice. The conciliatory disposition which Rumania has displayed lately has mitigated the feeling of resentment at the invasion.

Belgrade: The feeling is easier here in view of the belief that peace is on the eve of conclusion.

Athens: The terms to be submitted to Bulgaria at the conference at Bucharest will be based on the balance of power in the Balkans. The Allies are in no wise disposed to recognise Thrace as either Turkish or Bulgarian. Thrace, in their opinion, is the common property of the Allies.

Telegrams from the Allies' capitals indicate much concern at Turkey's advance. It is suggested at Bucharest that the Powers may ask Rumania to compel the Turks from Adrianople. The German press, which admits the difficulty of applying coercion against Turkey, hints of the possibility of the rectification of the frontier in favour of Turkey.

Reuter wires from Sofia that the Turks have crossed the frontier northward of Adrianople, and are marching on Jamboli. Consternation was caused at to-day's Conference of Ambassadors by the reports that the Turks were advancing towards Philippopolis. King Ferdinand has appealed to the Powers to intervene.

Constantinople: The Porte has replied to Bulgaria's protest against the Turkish advance, repeating the reasons communicated to the Powers. The Porte hopes that Bulgaria will be reasonable, and accept a speedy understanding.

Constantinople: The occupation of Adrianople has been received with the utmost enthusiasm in the principal towns in Turkey.

The British squadron at Piræus left yesterday for an unknown destination.

Greece is yielding to the representations of the King of Rumania. She appears to have waived her insistence on the simultaneous signature of an armistice and peace preliminaries, and is disposed to agree at least to a general armistice pending the assembling of the peace conference at Bucharest or Sinain. Servia likewise acquiesces. The delegates at Nish, therefore, will probably merely arrange the cessation of hostilities. King Ferdinand telegraphed to King Charles begging him to intercede with the King of Greece, the King of Servia, and the King of Montenegro to hasten the conclusion of peace. King Charles thereupon telegraphed to the three Sovereigns pointing out that further bloodshed between the former allies would only aggravate the situation.

Athens: The British naval Captain Cardale, who has just returned from Kavalla, says he counted 1,700 corpses of old men, women, and children at Dexato apparently massacred by the Bulgarians. He saw children pierced in such a way that they seem to have been thrown into the air and caught on bayonets.

London, July 25.

Constantinople: Thanksgiving services for the recovery of Adrianople have been arranged in the mosques to-day, and there will be a monster meeting to express the unity of Turkish opinion on the question of Adrianople.

Bucharest: It is understood that King Charles has addressed a personal representation to the Sultan urging the inexpediency of the Turkish advance.

Athens: Russia and Austria have urged Greece and Servia to conclude an armistice on account of the supremely critical state of Bulgaria.

Sofia: The representatives of the Powers were summoned to the palace yesterday, where King Ferdinand, addressing them, protested against the outrageous action of the Turkish army in laying Bulgaria in the direction of Tirnovo and Jamboli, burning villages and massacring inhabitants. "I cannot believe," he said, "that the Powers who attached their names to the diplomatic act, which is now being trodden underfoot, will remain impassive under the insult in the distress of the Bulgarian nation. I appeal to Europe to end the sufferings of the people fleeing before the return of their old oppressors."

It is expected that the Turkish invasion of Bulgaria will induce the Balkan States to settle their differences speedily as the Powers may otherwise not be averse from conceding some of Turkey's claims.

Athens: The papers represent Greece as still uncompromising on the subject of the armistice. It is stated that the Rumanian Government has warned Greece that if she persists in pushing on to Sofia, the Rumanian army will occupy the Bulgarian capital beforehand. The Rumanian Government also pointed out the necessity of calling Bulgaria to resist the Turkish invasion.

The following telegram from Stamboul, dated the 23rd, has been addressed by Bessim Omar Pasha to the *Habul Matin*:—

"Present situation in Balkan necessitates increase of hostilities. We foresee extraordinary expenses. Also help for orphans and rely on usual kindness of our Indian brethren. Respectful greetings."

London, July 26.

The Servians are beginning to surround Vidin. The capitulation of the town is expected shortly. The troops of General Kutinich's command are already beginning to surrender. Cretschak reports from Bucharest that Bulgarian troops are wholly demoralised and refuse to face the enemy.

Greek mariners have occupied Dedragatch.

Delegates from the different States are betaking themselves to Bucharest. The Italian Minister, M. Tancrèdi, has started, as also has the Greek delegate, M. Pannas. M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, has gone to Salona to see the King before going to Bucharest.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that the mosques were crowded yesterday with worshippers and an hour was set aside for silent and thanksgiving to the Almighty for the recovery of Adrianople.

London, July 27.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that appalling reports are being received of massacres by Turkish irregulars and Kurds following in the wake of the regular army in the newly occupied districts of Thrace, where the conditions are described as "Hell on earth," irregulars slaughtering the inhabitants and destroying the villages. The Porte has given stringent orders to the troops to refrain from reprisals, but the men are influenced by the countless tales of Bulgarian savagery. Two Moslems have been sentenced to death for murders at Maldara and Redosto, and eight others have been given terms of imprisonment ranging from three to seven years.

A Berlin message states that the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* warns Turkey that she cannot hold territories she is at present occupying against the opposition of all the Great Powers. Moreover, any further inroad into Bulgarian territory will not improve Turkey's chances of realising her desire for a more favourable delimitation of frontier.

A wire from Constantinople says that the spoils of the Turks at Adrianople include 150 guns, 75 of which are Bulgarian, 50,000 Mausers, a million sacks of corn, and 2,000 sacks of flour.

Bucharest: The Conference will open here on Wednesday.

Salonica: The Greeks forced the Kosna defile and attacked the Bulgarians commanding the mouth of the pass who retreated to Djumala leaving three guns.

London, July 28.

An Athens message states that the fighting at the mouth of the Kresna defile was most desperate and lasted two days. The Bulgarians were strongly entrenched on a rocky mountain, and offered determined resistance from successive positions.

Athens: King Constantino has again refused to entertain the proposal for a three days' truce. The fighting will continue while the Conference sittings at Bucharest.

Constantinople: The Heir Apparent, with the Sultan's son, is proceeding to Adrianople, where he will be received with great

and will attend a great military review. More officials have gone to reorganise the administration. The Ottoman press is unanimous in the opinion that it is impossible to evacuate Adrianople, since that would mean serious internal dangers.

London, July 29.

Bukharest: It is officially stated that the Rumanian advanced guard has halted east of Sofia, close to the city. It is understood that Rumania has demanded the demolition of the forts at Rustchuk and Shumla.

Vienna: In consequence of changes in the strategical conditions in South Eastern Europe the Austro-Hungarian Army is to be considerably increased.

Special excursion trains will be run to Adrianople on Thursday to enable all wishing to do so to perform their Friday devotions in the Selimieh Mosque.

Constantinople: The Embassies have exchanged views on the subject of the Turkish advance, and it is understood that the original plan of collective representation to the Porte has been abandoned owing to the inability of the Powers to agree upon the wording of a joint note. The Ambassadors will separately urge the Porte to withdraw within the Enos-Midia line.

Replying to a friendly warning from the King of Rumania, the Sultan repeated the recent arguments in the note to the Powers in favour of the frontier following the river Maritza.

Sir Roper Lethbridge writes to the *Times* on July 28 upholding Turkey's claim to Adrianople. He says that over sixty millions of his Mahomedan fellow-subjects are eagerly hoping for a sign that England, at least, is not altogether unmindful of her ancient ally.

The Greek, Servian, and Rumanian armies have cut all the railways around Sofia. The Bulgarian troops are concentrated in the capital, where the inhabitants are threatened with famine. The Bulgarians have asked the Rumanians to consent to open the Varna line so that they may obtain provisions. It is expected that Rumania will acquiesce.

Salonica: The Bulgarians, on the 27th instant, encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements turned upon a pursuing force of the Greeks north-east of Djumia and a fierce fighting ensued. The Greeks were three times dislodged from one position at the point of bayonet, but the Bulgarians were finally repulsed with heavy loss. The Bulgarians had burned the Greek and Mussalman quarters in Djumia.

Bukharest: The delegates will hold a preliminary meeting to-day. It is understood that all possess full powers to conclude a definite peace, but it is believed that the question of immediate cessation of hostilities will cause a divergence of opinion, and that the Greeks and the Servians will decline to sign an armistice pending Bulgaria's acceptance of their terms.

The conference of Ambassadors is agreed regarding Albania which will be governed by a Prince appointed at the end of the half year. Meanwhile, a Commission consisting of a representative of each Power and one Albanian will enquire on the spot as to the best means of the reorganisation of the administration. It has been decided that the gendarmerie shall be officered by Swedes.

London, July 30.

Constantinople: The Crown Prince arrived at Adrianople yesterday and was received in State by the civil, military, and religious authorities. Replying to an address of welcome at the municipal buildings, the Prince thanked the Almighty that the second capital of the Empire had been reconquered by the valour of the army. At a mass meeting in the afternoon, a resolution was passed expressing the desire of the population to remain Ottoman.

Bukharest: It is expected that the peace conference will be protracted. Rumania will probably support the Bulgarians in their demand for the immediate suspension of hostilities. In an interview, M. Venizelos insisted upon Kavala remaining Greek.

Salonica: A division of the Greek fleet has occupied the ports of Zangor, Marouia and Makri on the coast of Thrace.

King Peter's Proclamation.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Belgrade, July 2.

KING PETER has issued a proclamation stating that the Bulgarians, although brothers and Allies, have begun a war without any formal

declaration, shedding the blood of Serbians and on June 28, the day of the Treaty of Alliance. The Bulgarians have so ignored Serbians fraternal help, the blood shed for them, and the heroes who have fallen on the plains of Turcos, and have given to the State and to the whole civilised world a repulsive example of ingratitude. This they have done in order that they may wrest from Serbia Old Servian territories, that Serbians liberated in the recent war. The proclamation concludes with an appeal to the heroism of the Army to be worthy of the warriors who have fallen and whose shadows cry for vengeance.

King Constantine's Appeal to His People.

THE following is the text of King Constantine's message to the nation, read in the Chamber:

"To my People—

"I am summoning my people to a fresh struggle. As allies of the other Christian States for the deliverance of our suffering brethren we had the good fortune of seeing the common struggle crowned with victory, and the abolition of tyranny, of seeing the Greek arms triumph on land and sea. The vanquished Empire ceded to the Allies the liberated territory undivided. Greece, just as ever, and in accord with the other Allies, wanted an amicable partition of the liberated territory in proportion to the rights of each. She even proposed arbitration in the event of differences of view.

"Bulgaria, on the contrary, a voraciously, refusing any understanding and any arbitration tried to appropriate to herself alone the major part of the fruits of victory. Granting the others no rights either ethnological, or based on their sacrifices, nor any rights arising from the logical necessity of equilibrium, she resorted to every species of fraud, she acted arbitrarily, and forgetting the liberating aim of the war, forgetting her obligations to her Allies, forgetting the lessons to be drawn from the bitter experience of the peoples of the peninsula in their past discords, and the startling results of their collaboration, she at last went so far as to combat liberty itself by turning her arms against her Allies, trampling under foot and usurping their rights, and thus profaning the sanctity and the aim of the common struggle.

"In the face of such unspeakable conduct on the part of Bulgaria, the duty of the other Allies lay clear before them. That duty was to close their ranks and to maintain their union, in order to oppose the insatiable voracity of their former ally and to defend their vital interests by striking at Bulgaria's claims to a hegemony, and thus guaranteeing that equilibrium of the Balkan States which is so necessary for their harmonious co-existence. The Hellenic people, in close solidarity with Serbia and Montenegro, and confident in the holiness of its cause, once more takes up arms and begins afresh the struggle for its homes and hearths. My forces on land and sea which have made Greece greater, are called to continue their noble struggles to rescue their brethren, already freed from Turkish tyranny, from the new and terrible slavery with which they are threatened.

"The Hellenic nation, strong in its unshakable confidence in the strength of its right and in the heroism of its forces, which have covered the Greek name with glory and raised Greece to the level of her heroic traditions, and her illustrious history, will, I am absolutely sure, once more spare no sacrifice for the success of the fresh struggle which is to complete and guarantee that work of liberation which was the aim of the struggle recently ended. And this struggle is blessed of God, as was the first, and I invoke His benediction. Long live Greater Greece! Long live the Hellenic nation!

"Done at Salza, June 20, 1913.

(Sd.) "CONSTANTINE."

King Nicholas's Manifesto.

Constantinople, July 2.

KING NICHOLAS has issued a proclamation to his people concerning the declaration of war against Bulgaria. His Majesty begins by expressing deep regret that the Balkans, after the peace of the Crescent had been gloriously driven out, should have become the scene of sanguinary battles between the Allies. The King sorrowfully confirms the fact that from the Danube to Salonika fraternal blood is already flowing in streams, and that

The Greek Advance.

A Conversation with King Constantine.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, July 8.

I ACCOMPANIED Prince Nicholas to the Greek headquarters yesterday and returned to Salonica in the hospital train overnight.

The journey north showed to the full the shady side of warfare. Wagon loads of wounded Hellenes blocked the stations, ruined villages and smoking townships dotted the countryside, discarded impedimenta littered the roads, evacuated trenches broke the monotony of the smooth brown hills, while at Sarigol the fields were encumbered and the air was tainted by the yet unburied Bulgarian corpses. I found the King and his staff newly encamped on the shores at Lake Dorian. There was little to suggest the bloody war now raging, as I sat at the waterside and gazed across to the mountains behind which I knew the Bulgarians were continuing their disordered flight with the Greek divisions at their heels. All around us were piled hundreds of tons of sugar, biscuits, flour and ammunition abandoned at the station by the Bulgarians in the hurry to put a safe distance between themselves and their advancing enemy. Just outside the station, drawn up in a line, were 18 captured field guns which bore further testimony to the precipitate flight of the adversary. Before us worked two companies of telegraphists heliographing orders to the Greek divisions pushing northward towards Strumitza.

As I wired from Dorian the enemy, who fought an insignificant but expensive rearguard action to cover their retreat, split into two columns making for Strumitza and Demir Hisar respectively, both hotly pursued by the Greeks. If as appears to be their intentions, the Bulgarians press on beyond Strumitza, Ishtip will become the principal theatre of war, and for reasons which it is not permissible to telegraph, this may easily result in a Bulgarian Waterloo. Much naturally depends upon the Servians at the present moment. The Greeks are in splendid condition, fresh drafts having meanwhile arrived to make up losses in the ranks. The men are full of enthusiasm and confidence, and there is an absence of any bustle or flurry at headquarters, which suggests that the General Staff have the situation well in hand.

King Constantine, who received me when I arrived at Dorian, is proud of his army and full of admiration for the valour of the soldiers, who, he said, fought like lions. He was obviously delighted to find himself opposed to such a vaunted adversary. His Majesty said that the battle of Kukush was a tremendous effort, which completely smashed the Bulgarian army opposed to the Hellenes. The losses, unfortunately, were very heavy, but were more than compensated by the success obtained. The outbreak of hostilities took him completely by surprise. He was sitting discussing the situation with M. Coromilas, the Foreign Minister, when M. Venezelos walked in with the news of the Bulgarian attack. He left Salonica immediately. His Majesty informed me that at Kukush, where the distances had previously been carefully measured, the enemy's artillery got in some particularly deadly work.

Vahib Bey, who was Chief of Staff at Yanina, a Turkish officer of whose capabilities the King has a high opinion, having begged with insistence to be allowed to join the Greek Army, his Majesty has appointed him to the staff of one of the divisions.

At nightfall the view from Dorian was magnificent but awe-inspiring. Across the waters of the lake and on every hand blazing villages lit up the countryside. The Bulgarians in retreat had all the Greek and Turkish township. This so infuriated the Greek troops that they did not fail to retaliate on Bulgarian settlements.

Capture of Strumitza.

Salonica, July 10.

The Greeks occupied Strumitza this morning. Seven hundred Bulgarians were taken prisoners. Further details are lacking.

Kavala was occupied by a detachment of Greek Marines at midnight.

Yesterday morning the population of Dorian, with the Greeks at their head, followed by the Municipality, visited the Greek headquarters to offer thanks to King Constantine for the deliverance of the town. After the presentation of gifts, according to the Turkish custom, the Mufti requested the protection of the King for the 600 Mussulman women and children in Dorian whose husbands or fathers were massacred by the Bulgarians on their arrival in the town in October last, and the restitution of the sole mosque undestroyed, which has since been used as a Christian church. The King ordered the widows and orphans to be cared for at the expense of the State, and the mosque to be given back to its former owners.

The first victims have been the Bulgarians, who were provoked by the Russian hand of Bulgaria. The same hand has also struck at the Greeks, who with their army and their fleet rendered the most meritorious services to the Balkan League. The Bulgarians have become intoxicated by the joint successes of the Allies, and they now wish to seize by violence for themselves alone all that has been won in the war, not even respecting the paternal award of the Russian Emperor. Bulgaria has been misled and must be punished with the same weapons that she has turned against her brothers and Allies, and brought back to the path of solidarity.

"I regret that matters have gone so far, but I hope that from the bloodshed in this struggle Slav unity in the Balkans may gain a fresh lease of life and strength. I am sure that my troops in Macedonia will show themselves to be the champions of justice. I ask my people once again to do its duty towards the Fatherland and the Serb race. God and justice are on our side, and may the Almighty defend our common cause."

WAR OF 1,500,000 MEN

The following list gives the approximate strengths of the armies of Bulgaria and the four countries with whom she is at war:—

Bulgaria	...	...	400,000
Rumania	...	...	500,000
Servia	...	...	300,000
Greece	...	...	250,000
Montenegro	...	...	50,000
TOTAL	...	...	1,500,000

Servian Strategy.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Army Headquarters, Uskub, July 9.

THE recapture of Krivolak by the Servians (on Sunday) marked the conclusion of the first big move in the campaign. Both armies are now engaged in strategical movements, preparatory to the development of the second stage. The Bulgarians are utilizing the interlude in making cavalry raids and *Komitat* incursions on the peaceful villages which lie on the old Serbo-Bulgarian frontier in the neighbourhood of Piro. It is not difficult to penetrate the motives that actuate this kind of aggressive action. There is always a chance of terrorizing the countryside, and of exciting local disaffection. In addition it affords excellent pabulum for the citizens of Sofia. The general public, which is unable to understand that the Army has been thoroughly defeated at the main point of attack or totally ignorant of the occurrence, is able triumphantly to point to the invasion of the enemy's country at four different points, though from the military point of view the presence of troops in those places is of little value.

The big battle on the Zletovska and Bregalnitsa afforded an interesting example of this kind of popular deception. The Bulgarians laid the greatest stress on the fall of Krivolak itself, but the capture of various positions which command Krivolak forced the Bulgarians to leave in a desperate hurry, not only without destroying the few Servian guns that had temporarily been abandoned at the moment of the Bulgarian assault, but without making even the slightest attempt to remove their sick and wounded. The Servians found themselves encumbered with three Bulgarian field-hospitals and their attendant doctors. This desertion is the more striking, since on retaking a position in the neighbourhood of Ishtip the Servians, who had previously been obliged to abandon a field-hospital, found their wounded with their throats cut and bayonet gashes in their chests.

The Bulgarian wedge, the thin end of which was originally inserted at Gyevgeli, is in danger of being caught between the two horns of a semi-circle which are gradually turning inward.

The number of wounded arrived last night and this morning gives without doubt that the fighting has been of the most desperate character. The Servians estimate that their wounded during the last six days' fighting number 15,000, and on the Bulgarian side about 26,000 men.

The joy of the Turks at the defeat of the Bulgarians is one of the most remarkable features of the present campaign. King Constantine is in receipt of a multitude of telegrams from Mussulman communities containing fervent messages of gratitude at the success of the Greek arms.

Br.M.

A telegram just arrived from headquarters states that a column of the enemy which endeavoured to pass Petritsch was repulsed by the Greek troops, who captured 15 guns. Confirmation of the occupation of Iliadovich by the Serbians is to hand. The Bulgarian retreat from Izbilip would therefore appear to be entirely cut off.

The first steamer left for Kavala this morning.

The Balkan War.

We append a selection of the British Press opinions respecting the new Balkan struggle:—

The Balkan Allies entered Macedonia in the guise of liberators, and to-day they seem bent upon plunging the whole region into worse and more implacable strife than it has ever known since the days of the Ottoman conquest. Their original triumphs, which aroused the sincere but perhaps premature admiration of Europe, could have had no more deplorable or repulsive sequel. They set forth to carry freedom to their kinsmen, and they are ending by spreading devastation through a land already tried almost beyond endurance. Christianity and civilization are alike humiliated by the spectacle now unfolding. The Balkan States are falling into a barbarism deeper and more shameful than was ever imposed by the Turk. They are destroying the high hopes formed for their future, and bringing themselves dangerously near collapse.—*The Times*.

It is not the fault of any of them that there are three sets of hopes and that not all of them can possibly be realized. On the contrary, the courage and determination with which Serbs, Greeks, and Bulgarians are ready to die for their ideals deserves universal admiration. It gives hope to observers that if the standard of courage and endurance which all have run high during the war against Turkey can be now maintained the present unhappy conflict, which just now begins in seething hate, will lead at any rate to a mutual respect, and so to a settlement which, though for one side or the other it must probably bring disappointment, may yet be accepted as corresponding to the intrinsic powers of the three races and the three States.—*Morning Post*.

This at least may be safely and emphatically said—that all three Powers are deeply at fault for allowing their differences to come to a pass by which they have brought disgrace as well as disaster upon their names and upon the cause of Christendom in the East.—*Scotsman*.

The sort of war in the Balkans is a wicked waste of human life and a triumph for the cynics who scoffed at Christian freedom during the struggle with Turkey. It is difficult to discuss with patience the subjects of quarrel between the Allies, for none of them makes a respectable or even a rational excuse for the fighting.—*Manchester Guardian*.

Above all, the intentions of Russia are extremely obscure. What seems to be plain is that the Powers have for the moment, indeed, postponed a war between Austria-Hungary and Russia. But they have wrecked all hope of a federation of free Balkan States, which would give peace and good government to a region that for so many centuries has groined under the worst misgovernment, and that by so doing they have cleared the ground for that very dreaded struggle between Austria-Hungary and Russia which they were mainly anxious to prevent.—*Statesman*.

These "interesting nationalities," as Mr. Gladstone called them, are taking pains to show how far they have to travel towards the standards of European self-respect and chivalry. It is in too many aspects a most lamentable war.—*Full Mouth Gazette*.

A more wicked war was never entered upon, and whether the aggressor was due to Austrian principles or was dictated by her own ambition, it remains utterly unjustifiable.—*Globe*.

The transactions in the Balkan regions must occasion serious reflection to some of the enthusiasts in this country who were so anxious to applaud the unprovoked attack on Turkey last autumn as a

kind of Holy War. For ourselves, while we recognized the courage and skill of the Allies, we were never able to see that they had much claim to be regarded as Crusaders. They saw their chance in the weakness of Turkey, reeling under internal disorders and the Italian attack, and took it, with the unscrupulous resolution which often leads to success in an imperfect world. It is quite natural—and highly disgraceful.—*Evening Standard*.

And now what is the panorama before our eyes? It is a triumph for the cynics, the despair of all honest men. The Christian Allies have flown at each other's throats, and have proved conclusively that their original object in going to war was not so much the liberation of oppressed nationalities as the acquisition of new territory.—*Daily Telegraph*.

It is not merely themselves that the ex-Allies are fighting; it is Europe. A week or two ago Sir Edward Grey dragooned them into peace with Turkey. But nobody has dragooned them into peace with themselves. So far they have had only soft words and soothing diplomatic syrups from the Great Powers on the subject of their own differences. They do not understand these medicaments. Like most other warriors, they will listen to threats but never to reason.—*Manchester Courier*.

Now the late Allies have succeeded in forfeiting every shred of Europe's sympathy and respect.—*Daily Express*.

It is a shameful situation—shameful to the Allies, shameful to the Powers, shameful to our European civilisation. In what respect are the Allies better than the Turks? It is difficult to say. They appear to hate each other as bitterly as they hated their fallen oppressor.—*Star*.

The Serb and Greek detest the Bulgar, because they dread him the coming master of the Balkans. If, then, by a combined effort they can smash Bulgaria now, they will be enchanted. That Roumania should wish to take a hand in this squalid game is also comprehensible enough. She also does not want a powerful Bulgaria, and since the process of keeping that State within narrow limits lends itself to territorial pickings, Roumania will not leave the monopoly of it to the Serbs and Greeks. We wonder whether the three will agree among themselves when they have Bulgaria at their mercy. The probability is that that will be the starting point for another scrumming for the booty.—*The Daily Graphic*.

Balkan Financial Claims.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, July 9.

THE Committee of the Balkan Financial Commission on the pecuniary demands of the belligerents met this morning, when the Turkish representatives again protested against discussing any of the demands of the Balkan States until all such demands had been completely formulated in detail. The Committee, nevertheless, proceeded to a general examination of the demands already formulated by the Greek and Bulgarian representatives for reimbursement of the expenditure upon the maintenance of prisoners of war. The Turkish representatives announced that they would only acknowledge in this respect obligations imposed by the Hague Convention of 1907, which only contemplates reimbursement of expenditure for prisoners of war in certain distinctly specified cases. The Turkish representatives next acknowledged that they would take into consideration the expenses incurred by the Greek Government for the maintenance and repatriation of Ottoman refugees. They declined to make any declaration with regard to the demands arising out of detention of Greek ships until details of those demands were presented.

In connexion with the Bulgarian pecuniary demands an exchange of views took place on the question of the Land Bank and the reimbursements which might be claimed by its local agencies. The Committee adjourned for a week in order to enable the different delegations to study the elaborate material which has been laid before it.

The Committee on Concessions took note of a report by a sub-committee on the effect of annexation upon the nationality of companies operating in one of the annexing States. It discussed the application of the laws of the annexing State to companies on the basis of absolute respect for all existing conventions, and it appointed three of its members to draft regulations on this subject.

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is unable to furnish them, the Swedish Government pointing out that many Swedish officers are engaged in Persia.

London, August 8.

Vienna - The Servian and Greek demands at Bukharest are considered altogether excessive and unacceptable. The majority of the Powers are in favour of Bulgaria obtaining Kavalla with a sufficient hinterland.

The Bulgarian counter-proposals to those of the Allies suggest that the boundary shall start near Djumajala and terminate at the Gulf of Orfano, including within Bulgaria, Egri Palanka, Kratovo, Kocelana, Ishtib, Doiran, Serres, Drama, Demirhisar and Kavalla. The Bulgarians refuse to pay indemnity or to enter into any undertaking with regard to the Aegean Islands. Diplomats regard these terms as the maximum and believe that they will be modified. They expect that peace will be signed on the basis that points on which no agreement has been reached shall be reserved for the decision of the Powers.

Salonica - Hostilities between the Greeks and Bulgarians lasted a month. The Greek army advanced nearly 200 miles, fighting continually, and storming at the point of the bayonet steep hills 6,000 feet high which were considered impregnable. The Greeks fought twenty-two important towns. They made 10,000 prisoners, captured 120 guns, and inflicted 80,000 casualties on the Bulgarians.

Berlin - The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* publishes an article which, while appreciating the desire of Ottoman patriots to retain Adrianople, points out that the retention of the town might leave a lasting pretext for a Turko-Bulgarian conflict, and might force Turkey to ceaseless military efforts in Thrace, thus consuming resources which could be applied to more useful tasks.

Adrianople - A concourse of pilgrims from Constantinople attended on Friday in the Selim Mosque which was restored by Moslem rite. A meeting of thirty-thousand people resolved to make every sacrifice rather than surrender Adrianople.

Sofia - It is believed here that the Greek and Servian claims will be reasonably modified and that the five days' armistice will be followed by a definite peace.

London, August 4.

Bukharest - The Bulgarian and Rumanian delegates have finally agreed regarding the frontier between Bulgaria and Rumania and other Rumanian claims. Bulgaria undertakes to raze the fortifications at Rustchuk and Shumla. The Bulgarian, Greek, and Servian delegates have hitherto been unable to agree regarding the frontier affecting those three countries, therefore Rumania will to-morrow propose an extension of the armistice for three days.

Vienna - The Bulgarian counter-proposals are considered as ridiculous as those of the Allies were exorbitant, but the expected modifications of the Greek and Servian proposals encourage the hope of a successful settlement without the intervention of the Powers.

Sofia - The Bulgarian Macedonian Deputation has appealed to the Powers for an autonomous Macedonia declaring that the Macedon-Bulgarian refuse Serbisation or Hellenization.

Bukharest - The Conference to-day extended the armistice three days and then adjourned till to-morrow.

Bukharest - The negotiations have reached the culminating point. Both sides will have to make concessions to which end

The Week.

London, July 30

REUTERS wires from Constantinople that the Her-Apparent has issued a statement that he cannot believe Europe really intends to take Adrianople away from Turkey. Adrianople to-day is more sacred to Turkey than ever.

Bukharest: At an informal conference to-day, it was agreed in principle to have a five days' armistice.

London, July 31.

Constantinople: The Russian Fleet is in the vicinity of the entrance to the Bosphorus. Turkish official circles declare that more than a naval demonstration will be necessary to induce them to abandon Adrianople. Moreover, there is nothing to show that a demonstration is intended.

Rebid Bey, the Legal Adviser to the Porte, has gone to Athens to sign a protocol for the renewal of diplomatic relations.

A Bukharest message states that the conference opened yesterday when M. Majorescu, the Rumanian Premier, was appointed permanent president. M. Venizelos accepted the proposal for the suspension of hostilities, and the conference approved a five days' truce.

The Bulgarian account of the fighting on the 27th instant says:—The Bulgarians, repulsing the strong Greek forces, seized the Upper Bregalnitsa plain at Petchoyo thus separating the Greek and Servian armies, the Greeks on the Bulgarian left were forced to retreat abandoning supplies. The account declares that the plain of Razlog was completely cleared of Greeks.

London, August 2.

Bukharest: The agreement between Bulgaria and Rumania appears to be complete. The new frontier extends practically from Turtukal to Balchik, but with an extension in favour of Rumania of about ten kilometres in each direction. Bulgaria further undertakes to erect no fortifications within a certain distance of the new frontier.

The conference of Ambassadors had decided to apply to Holland for a supply of officers for the Albanian gendarmerie, as Sweden

Rumania and the Powers are exerting themselves. It is understood that Rumania, being one of the parties to the conclusion of peace between the Balkan States, will continue to stand by Serbia and Greece, though she will use her influence in moderating their demands.

London, Aug. 5.

A telegram from Sofia says that the Greek Army in the Struma Valley has been retreating for two days profiting by the armistice to escape from a critical situation which would have ended in the main body being surrounded in the Struma Pass had the operations continued.

It is understood that intimation has already been received from Constantinople that the occupation of Adrianople will not be upheld in the face of the opposition of the Powers. The occupation is regarded merely as an attempt to restore Ottoman prestige, and to extort financial concessions from Europe. When these have been secured, the Turks will retire behind the Enos-Midia line.

Reuter wires from Bukharest that while it is certain that small concessions have been announced, all moves are still holding tensaciously to their main demands. No decision is expected to be made before Thursday. All the delegates have telegraphed to their Governments asking for further instructions.

London, Aug. 6.

The Vienna Press is disquieted by the proceedings at Bukharest and fears in consequence of the excessive demands of Serbia and Greece that the task of revising the work of the Conference which Austria does not desire is unpleasantly imminent. The impression prevailing among the Balkan States representatives in London is that Bulgaria will prefer to the demands of the Allies rather than resume hostilities, hoping that the Powers will intervene.

Reuter learns that Rumania expects that as the armistice will not be prolonged beyond Friday an agreement will be reached to-morrow. Rumania insists upon Greece relinquishing her claim to Kavalla and some of the Hinterland, and upon Serbia giving up her pretensions to Radovishte, Strumnitza and Kotehana. Rumania will not tolerate Bulgaria being weakened to such an extent. If, however, an agreement is not reached, Rumania herself will present a protocol which she expects the belligerents to accept.

Bukharest: Peace has been concluded

London, Aug. 7

Bukharest: The frontier agreed upon starts a point on the old frontier west of the river Struma and follows the watershed to the west of the town of Strumnitza, thence through the Struma Valley to the Delashitza mountains, and then straight to the Mesta river, leaving the town of Strumnitza and the port Lajos and Xanthi to the Bulgarians. It is expected that the protocol will be signed to-day. The Bulgarians are depressed, their only hope being that Europe will revise the Treaty. It transpires that M. Majorescu privately notified the Bulgarians on Tuesday that if they refuse to accept the modified frontier, the Romanians would occupy Sofia on Saturday. The general opinion of the papers is that this peace is only preparatory to another struggle this and the Turkish occupation of Adrianople leave the Eastern question thornier than ever.

A telegram from Constantinople says that the Ambassadors met yesterday, and as a result the representatives of the Six Powers to day separately visited the Grand Vizier and demanded that Turkey respect the Treaty of London and evacuate Adrianople.

Prolonged negotiations in Bukharest yesterday preceded the final agreement. Bulgaria ultimately secured Strumnitza but forfeited Kotehana and Radovishte to Serbia, and Kavalla to Greece.

London, Aug. 8.

Bukharest. The Peace Conference has agreed to an armistice *à la carte*, and has nominated delegates to draft a definitive treaty of peace which it is hoped will be signed on Saturday. The Greek and Bulgarian delegates have agreed regarding the frontier.

Sofia: Bulgaria, in a Note to the Powers, informs them of her decision to demand immediately peace is signed notwithstanding the danger of Turkish invasion. Bulgaria says she is convinced the Powers will make Turkey respect the Treaty of London.

Numerous articles have appeared in the Austrian Press insisting on the necessity for a revision of the Bukharest Treaty.

An identical communication to the Porte yesterday reminded Turkey in the most categorical terms of the respect due to the Treaty of London and declared at the same time that the Powers were prepared to consider in the delimitation of the frontier any conditions which the Porte might consider indispensable to the security of the frontier. While Austrian semi-official organs appear to regard the revision of the Bukharest Treaty as indispensable, even hinting that Austria will act alone, if necessary, the newspapers in other European capital, especially in Paris, are either lukewarm or directly deprecate revision as tending to create fresh difficulties.

TETE À TETE



Mr. ABDUL RAHMAN in the course of his letter, dated Constantinople, 22nd July, says:—"I have sent you some news of the march to Adrianople. I am sending you two maps showing the lines along which the different armies marched Bulgaria did not oppose anywhere except between Kirk Kilisse and Adrianople. Some slight fighting took place and 2,000 Bulgarian cavalry was taken prisoner. The Ottoman cavalry entered Adrianople on Friday last, and I had been dying to send you a telegram since then, but as our information was direct from Talaat Bey, and the Cabinet wishing to keep the thing a secret, the Shaik Saleh did not permit me to speak a word. Ultimately last night I was permitted to send you that very guarded cablegram. Well, to-night the whole army is definitely to enter Adrianople without the slightest doubt, and to-morrow they are going to celebrate the anniversary of the Constitution. It is strongly rumoured in well-informed circles that Russia has informed the Sublime Porte that if the Ottoman Army enters Adrianople, she will order her armies to march on Erzeroum without any declaration of war. Such a note is said to have been presented, but it may be a bluff only. If Russia makes good her threat Turkey is ready to stick to her decision. Turkey is taking up a strong attitude. Izzet Pasha said he would not move an inch unless three million pounds were forthcoming. Well, Talaat Bey has found the sum. I have also heard a rumour that the last instalment for the two battleships, *Reşadiye* and the other one, being overdue, the Company informed Turkey that it would sell the ships to some other Power. There was no money here, and so the Grand Vizier, Prince Said Halim Pasha is reported to have paid it out of his own pocket. This rumour is not confirmed yet. We may go to Adrianople as mere visitors."

WE REPRODUCE below the translation of a letter of thanks received from the President of the Municipality of Kalé Sultanah (Dardanelles) regarding the work of the Chanák Kila section of the All-India Medical Mission.

All-India Medical Mission:—"Our Indian Moslem brethren, who had been greatly touched by the painful and calamitous consequences of the last two years' wars, were generous enough to form, organize and send to the Ottoman Empire many Red Crescent Missions to do religious, sympathetic and humane deeds and help and assist in treating the wounded Moslem *mujahideen* and perform all sorts of sacrifices with God-pleasing motives. One of these respected missions, formed of generous and skilful doctors, honoured Kale Sultanah by opening a hospital under the respected name of "Indian Red Crescent." The wounded and sick *mujahideen* were treated in this hospital with extraordinary care, and the necessary surgical operations were performed with great skill according to the rules of the exalted Science of Surgery, with the result that numerous patients regained their health. Over and above this noble service they were generous enough to treat thousands of out-patients, men, women, and children, without distinction of race or religion, and to give them medicine and food free of charges. Further, from the time of the opening of this hospital to its closing-up thousands of refugees used to go there day and night, the sick to receive medical aid and the rest to receive very nutritious and delicious food, new clothes, and those who were in need of monetary help also. These deeds gave a very renowned name to the hospital, and the sympathy and love shown by the members touched all the Ottoman soldiers and the population of the city and all were very happy and grateful. On the occasion of their departure the military band was playing tunes of great pathos and feeling, and the Mutasarrif, the notables of the city and spiritual leaders with thousands

from amongst the population came to bid them farewell, which was very touching and full of love. All this shows that the members of the Mission have left behind them deep and everlasting impressions of love and brotherly affection. To express our everlasting affection and grateful thanks to the remembrance of this magnificent band of workers, I write and submit this letter of thanks." In this connection we may also give an extract from *Tesfir-i-Efkhar*, dated 19th July: "In a letter received from Kalé Sultanah the writer expresses thanks and gratitude for the humane services done to the Ottoman soldiers and to the population of the city by the Indian Red Crescent Mission which came to Chanák Kila from India for the noble object of helping the wounded Ottoman soldiers. The *Tesfir-i-Efkhar* seconds these expressions of admiration and appreciation and publishes them with great pride."

MR SAID HINDUSTANI, writing to us on the 22nd July from Constantinople, says—"I am sending you a little news gathered and translated from our Constantinople papers, thinking it may interest your Muhammadan readers. Mr Zafar Ali Khan and our mutual friend Dr Ansari, when here, both advised me to send you from time to time news of this country. Turkey can never forget the kindness and help shown her in her time of trouble and distress by her Indian Moslem brothers, including the able Editor of the *Comrade*. I suppose Dr Ansari is already once again amongst you. Rumour is rife this evening that the Turkish army has to-day re-occupied Adrianople and Kilk Kisse. I know this news will give you and Dr Ansari great pleasure. We are now preparing here for the national feast, the anniversary of the Constitution. Over 2,700 refugees have just arrived at Salonica having fled from the villages evacuated by the Bulgarians. They are in the greatest distress, the Bulgarians having burnt their houses and stolen all they possessed. Over 19,000 refugees are concentrated near Nigrita. The Prefect of Salonica is sending medicine, food and tents to these unfortunate peoples. Every day numbers of fresh refugees are pouring in to the villages abandoned by the Bulgarians. God in great, my brother, and justice sooner or later is sure to overtake those bloodthirsty Bulgarians." We are thankful to our correspondent for his promise to send us occasional news regarding affairs in Turkey. They will surely be read with interest by our Moslem readers.

A LARGE public meeting of the Mussalmans of Delhi was held at the Eidgah on the afternoon of the 10th instant to protest against the Cawnpore sacrifice and its tragic sequel. In spite of very hot afternoon, the Rain, and the long distance,

The Protest of Delhi.

over 5,000 Mussalmans had assembled to give expression to their feeling of disgust and indignation at the official doings at Cawnpore. If the meeting had been held in the heart of the town, we feel sure there would have assembled 20,000 people. The President of the meeting, Mr. Abdul Aziz, informed the audience that the Deputy Commissioner, Major Beadon, had sent for him, Mr. Zakur Rahman, and Mr. Muntazuddin, some of the speakers, and told them that he would himself attend the meeting, bringing with him a cart-load of cartridges to shoot not the mob but the leaders. The audience was very much moved at this show of great "Bahaduri." We must say we expected better things from a man of Major Beadon's experience and position. If Mr. Tylor or Mr. Jacob had said such a thing we would not have been surprised. We do wish responsible Government officials fully recognized that they were making themselves ridiculous. Such a display of strength and use of bombastic expressions when there is no occasion for either, lowers their position more than anything. How very ignorant the official world is of the real feelings of the people. Official precautions were taken in an extraordinary scale, and we are told a large force of armed police was held in readiness for emergency. The meeting passed off quietly, and Major Beadon was thus prevented from carrying out his threat. If his object was to strike terror into the hearts of the Mussalmans and keep them from expressing their feelings about the Cawnpore affair, he certainly failed. Recent Moslem demonstrations throughout India have without exception been orderly and peaceful, and we do not know what induced the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi to give such tremendous warning to the Delhi Mussalmans. If the police reports of the meeting have been faithful, he must have realized that there was little to distinguish between the leaders and the led. The feelings of the entire Moslem community without distinction of class have been most deeply stirred by the dreadful events at Cawnpore. "Cart-loads of cartridges" may succeed in repressing them for a while; but, then, such repression is never without its consequences; and Major Beadon probably knows them as well as any Mussalman who is equally anxious for the peace and welfare of his community and country.

Before the *Comrade* was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, the Proprietor took an occasion to see Major Beadon, the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, with a view to ascertain if he would be required to deposit security for the new press he intended to establish. Major Beadon's views about the application of the Press Act were refreshingly original, and he expressed them with equally refreshing candour. He said that he would require every new press in Delhi to deposit security, for "the sword of the Sircar must always be kept out of the scabbard." Where the District Magistrate seemed so much impressed with the military virtues of the Press Act, there was indeed little room for ambiguity, and the Proprietor saw his course clear. In due time the *Comrade* was transferred to Delhi and "The *Comrade* and Standard Press" was established, and when the application for the registration of the press was made the Proprietor naturally made arrangement to deposit the maximum amount of security under the Press Act in the belief that he would be required to do so. But the security was dispensed with at the time and the press was duly registered. We felt this not so much as a concession, as a simple recognition of the fact that the *Comrade* had never during its brief career trafficked in those questionable commodities which the Press Act was ostensibly designed to check. When the Proprietor launched forth his journalistic venture his sole asset was his confidence in his ideals, and his one desire was to serve in some small measure his people and his country. He knew the venture was full of risks, and the path he had chosen was steep and weary and bristled with many thorns. On the other hand, there was his strong sense of duty born of the faith that was in him. He made his choice, and he has never had any occasion to repent, and we hope he never will. The *Comrade* has been in existence for about two and a half years and the generous reception and encouragement it has met with at the hands of the public has been altogether gratifying. The Proprietor has naturally felt that in making his plunge he had not made a false calculation. The moral success of the venture has, however, brought corresponding responsibilities. The *Comrade* can not, unlike certain class of journals, begin its life anew every week. It has got to be loyal to its past, to the high and ideals that gave it birth, with greater fidelity, if possible, than ever before. It cannot chameleon-like change its colours, or, with every issue call the world to witness a new earth and a new heaven. The Proprietor and Editor had set forth without reserve his aims and hopes and aspirations when the first issue of the *Comrade* saw the light of day. Those aims have been steadily kept in view, and the same hope and aspirations continue to inspire our efforts. If the success of the *Comrade* means anything, we may confidently assume that our aims reflect, at any rate, the views of a large and important section of an important community and of an influential and growing class of the Indian people as a whole, who share our hopes with enthusiasm. There is nothing extraordinary about our aims, nor is there anything visionary or impossible about our aspirations. Our eyes are fixed on a United India confident in the strength of her people and the loyalty and affection of the various communities that compose them. We desire each community to be strong by itself that it may contribute to the strength of the whole. We believe that ultimate unity of aim can alone be achieved under the influences when British rule has helped to create, and which can take permanent root only under British guidance, and with British co-operation and advice. All that serves the ultimate ends deserves our whole-hearted sympathy and support. Everything that tends to compound the issue and darken the best path of India, be it an official error or ignorance, or a non-official prejudice, shall be visited with frank and free condemnation. This, in brief, has been our purpose and line of conduct. We have never consciously swerved from that course, and by the time that was ours at the beginning, God-willing we shall always abide. The Mussalmans being the weaker part of the whole have naturally claimed for the most part our energies and attention. There have been forces at work in India which have touched to the quick a traditionally proud and sensitive people. The Government, too, has done certain things which it may well have left undone, and has refrained on occasions from acting in a way that would have been conducive to general good. We have frankly criticised the Government and its officials in all their errors of omission and commission, and our best justification for such criticism has been our strong sense of loyalty to the ideals which the British Rule itself has helped to foster. It is possible our frank utterances have caused offense, and it is perhaps on this account that the District Magistrate of Delhi has after more than nine months suddenly discovered that "The *Comrade* and Standard Press" has not up to this time deposited any security," and that therefore "it should be ordered to make a deposit of Rs. 2,000." Well! We can only say with the poet—

من از آن حسن روز الزور که یوسف داشت دالتم
که شقی از پرده عصمت بیرون آرد زلیخارا

(I knew from the daily-growing beauty which Yusuf had that love drags Zuliekha out of the veil of chastity.)

Need we say that we could not but be prepared for "the sword of the Sircar" the moment we took our conscience as our guide? Such things are among the accidents of our existence and they will not be taken tragically. We are conscious of having committed no sin against God or man or the Government established by law in British India. If the District Magistrate of Delhi has discovered anything in us that he does not like, we are sorry for him, but we remain unrepentant. Let us assure him that we shall continue to do our duty in the same spirit and with the same will and purpose that have marked our efforts in the past. And we are perfectly confident that, as long as there is justice to be had in the courts of British India, our two thousand rupees are as safe with Major Beadon as with the Bank of Bengal. "The sword of the Sircar" has its terrors for those who feel the guilt in their conscience. For us whose withers are unwrung it has no terrors at all. In any case

برین باشم دم میں بگم * وگر بکورد بیغ فی از سرم

Our readers are aware that immediately after the Government of India declared the pamphlet, entitled *Come Over into Macedonia and help Us*, to be forfeited to His Majesty, we were required to surrender the portions of the

The Proscribed Pamphlet

Comrade and the *Hamdard* which contained reprints and translations of the pamphlet. We surrendered them under protest, and applied to the District Magistrate to re-consider the validity of his order. The District Magistrate has thereupon passed the following order:—"By Home Department Notification No 384, dated 16th July, 1918, the Governor-General in Council declared to be forfeited to His Majesty a pamphlet entitled *Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us*, published by a certain firm in Constantinople. The notification was issued in virtue of the powers conferred by Section 12, Act 1 of 1910. Information having been received that the pamphlet had been reprinted in a paper called the *Comrade* and translated into Urdu in a paper called the *Hamdard*, both of which are produced by the same Editor, a warrant was issued directing a Gazetted Police Officer to require the said Editor to surrender to him all copies of the pamphlet together with such portions of the issues of his papers as contained reprints and translations of the pamphlet. The warrant having been duly executed, the Editor, by name Mohamed Ali, prays that, as the Governor General in Council have only declared the original pamphlet to be forfeited, the portions of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* which have been surrendered should be returned to him. I agree that the claim of the applicant is justifiable one. Only such documents can be forfeited as are indicated by the notification and, although it is obvious from the notification that the Government of India issued the notification with the laudable intention of preventing the dissemination of certain printed matter likely to bring into hatred and contempt certain clauses of His Majesty's subjects in British India, the authority of the Police and Magistracy is limited by the actual wording of the notification. A curious feature of the case is that the applicant himself at first took the opposite view and considered his newspapers liable to seizure, as is evidenced by his having addressed on 18th July 1918 the Local Government asking for orders as to what should be done with the issues of the papers containing reprints of the pamphlet: it was not till after the warrant was issued that the technical point embodied in the application was realised. In the circumstances I accept the application and grant the prayer for relief. Orders will be issued to the Police to return to the applicant all documents seized except the actual pamphlet which was proscribed. Dated 1st August 1918." We may state here that the forfeited portions of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* have been returned by the Police. The impression of the District Magistrate that we considered our newspapers liable to seizure is incorrect. We had addressed the Chief Commissioner, because we could not be certain that the District Magistrate himself would not "take the opposite view", as he certainly did soon after. But this is in itself a secondary matter. The larger question whether the pamphlet itself is of such a character as should be proscribed by the Government of India is pending for decision with the Calcutta High Court. An account of the application made by Mr Norton, on behalf of Mr Mohamed Ali, before the Chief Justice is published elsewhere.

With regard to a resolution respecting the formation of the Moslem University Association passed at the meetings of the Moslem University Foundation Committee, held at Aligarh, on the 26th and 27th July, 1918, Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan, the Honorary Secretary of the Association, has notified to

the editors of all Islamic journals in the country to hold, at their earliest convenience, a meeting to elect from amongst themselves the ten members to represent them in the Association as provided in the resolution referred to. The names of the elected gentlemen should, as far as possible, be reported to the Secretary within two months and must be duly attested by the secretary and the president of the meeting in question. The attention of the electors is specially drawn to the fact that elections should be so arranged as to represent all the provinces of the country. In continuation of the same, all Moslem Graduates (including Munshis Fazil and Maulvis Fazil) of five years' standing are requested to elect from amongst themselves the twenty members to represent them, as provided in the resolution, provided they pay, as soon as possible, Rs. 10 as registration fee and Rs. 5 as an annual subscription. They are further asked to send to the Secretary an initial sum of Rs. 15 (Rs. 10 as admission fee and Rs. 5 as subscription for the first year), before it is too late for them to join the Association and participate in matters connected thereto. While doing so, they are required to submit a statement, giving in the following particulars:—(1) Name, (2) title of the Degree or Diploma, (3) name of the University granting the Degree or Diploma, (4) date and year of graduation, (5) residence, (6) occupation, (7) designation, and (8) remarks, if any. The Muhammadan Zamindars and Jagirdars and tax-payers, too, are similarly requested to get themselves registered at Aligarh to elect the ten members, each from amongst their respective bodies, to represent them in the Association, as provided in the resolution, on an initial and recurring payment similar to that of the Graduates. Among the tax-payers are to be reckoned, besides the Zamindars and Jagirdars, all tax-paying Muhammadan merchants, lawyers, Government servants, and persons in other professions. All such persons should as soon as possible make their payments, and thus help to facilitate action in connection with the Association. Like Graduates, they too are required to submit statements filling in the necessary particulars as noted below:—(a) Zamindars or Jagirdars: (1) Name, (2) amount of revenue paid to Government, (3) Province, (4) permanent residence, (5) address, and (6) remarks. (b) Tax-payers: (1) Name, (2) amount of annual tax paid to Government, (3) occupation, (4) Province, (5) permanent residence, (6) address, and (7) remarks.

MAULVI MAHSUB ALAM SAHEB, Editor of the *Paiza Akbar* who is at present in England, sends us a thoughtful letter for publication. The letter deals with the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards Turkey, particularly in regard to her recent capture of Adrianople. Maulvi Mahbub Alam Sahab points out the injustice of coercing Turkey, and the grave consequences that might ensue if England participates in any such coercion. He writes to us to say that "all the daily papers of London hold views quite antagonistic to Turkish interests, and the Prime Minister of England has threatened the Turks with serious consequences if they reoccupied Adrianople." And further on he says that "I have written a letter to-day to the *Times* and some other papers on this subject, though I am told these papers don't sympathise with such letters and don't publish them at all." The prejudice of the English Press against Turkey is not a matter of surprise, and we wonder how in the same breath the free organs of British opinion can talk of their Imperial responsibilities and their much-vaunted liberalism. The final responsibility, however, rests with His Majesty's Government, and we are anxiously waiting to see how that responsibility is met. The highest interests of the Empire demand that British policy at this stage of the Balkan crisis should be guided by considerations of honesty and justice. Maulvi Mahbub Alam writes:—"It goes without saying that India forms the most precious possession of England, and the English people. The statesmen and particularly the Ministers of His Majesty's Government must possess a thorough knowledge of the thoughts and aspirations of the people of India. But unfortunately sometimes one or other of the Ministers of the Crown shows the deplorable lack of such knowledge in his public utterances. The speech that Mr. Asquith delivered the other day at Birmingham, threatening Turkey that if under the circumstances presented to her in Balkans she perseveres in her course of rehabilitating her lost prestige to some extent by re-occupying Adrianople, she must expect to see the questions raised, which it is by no means in her interests to bring into debate, and this threat is offered to Turkey by the Premier of the Power which has got seventy millions of Muhammadans in India alone under her and another thirty millions of Muhammadans in her other possessions or protectorates as Egypt, etc., who all of them deeply sympathise with the Turkish Muhammadans in their recent misfortune. In fact, England has got such a large number of Muhammadan subjects under her sway that Muhammadans of India have learned to style the King of England as the Greatest Muhammadan Sovereign in the world, even greater than the Sultan of Turkey.

himself in this respect, and yet English statesmen pay no attention whatever to the idiosyncrasies of a hundred millions of their Muhammadan fellow-subjects. They must have fully known by this time that the Muhammadan religion teaches its followers that 'All the faithful are brothers,' and they naturally sympathise with their Turkish co-religionists in their misfortunes, while they are particularly bound by ties of religion to the Sultan of Turkey who is believed as the successor of the Prophet and who as the Protector of the Holy Shrines is held in much reverence by them. But this sympathy or rather reverence for the Sultan does not detract a whit from their loyalty towards the British Throne. As every Roman Catholic Englishman can have a religious respect and reverence for the Pope and yet remain a thoroughly loyal British subject, similarly can every Indian Muhammadan while respecting the Sultan can remain a thoroughly loyal subject of the King-Emperor. Again, as the Turks have suffered much in Tripoli and Balkans their sufferings have drawn the sympathies of Indian Muhammadans still closer as all brave men will be compelled to sympathise with the weaker and persecuted party. Particularly the masses in India have deeply been affected by this flow of human sympathy. Therefore the contributions towards the Turkish Relief Fund have mainly come from the masses of Muhammadans in India. The Government of India felt it necessary to sympathise with the Muhammadan feeling in India and the Viceroy and some of the provincial governors themselves contributed towards the fund or presided at its meetings. But the Indian Muhammadans are extremely sorry to find now and then that a responsible British Minister comes forward to give expression to some views that their feelings are deeply wounded. The present writer, as an Indian publicist of twenty-five years' experience and the conductor of the foremost Muhammadan journal, the *Panjab Akhbar*, holding admittedly the most sober and loyal views, feels it his duty to say at this juncture that this indifference on the part of the Ministers of the Crown towards the cherished feelings of the Muhammadans of India produces a good deal of bitterness as well as a consternation among them and is liable to shake rudely their loyalty. I don't mean that the foreign policy of England should always be moulded by having alone the wishes of the Indian Muhammadans in view. But the desires of 70,000,000 of the most loyal Indian subjects of the King-Emperor must have some weight and consideration with the responsible Ministers of His Majesty. The Indian Muhammadans are naturally bound to resent when the Prime Minister of England alone of all other Premiers of Great Powers is found anxious to take the first opportunity to warn Turkey of serious consequences, while no other responsible Minister of any other Power, however more directly concerned with the Balkan muddle, has uttered a sentence. Similarly Mr. Asquith had given the first sigh of relief when Salonica was changing hands and had expressed his approval that the gate from which Christianity had entered Europe was passing from the hands of the Turks. The Hon. Mian Muhammad Shafi, one of the most gifted Muhammadan statesmen in India, in his Presidential Address of the last session of the All-India Moslem League had pointed out that same fact with much force and clearness which I am sorry has been entirely lost on the present liberal Government. The Muhammadans of India have great claims on the attentions of the responsible British statesmen of all the parties and these must not be ignored so lightly. There are still politicians who are coming to support Turkish action of the re-occupation of Adrianople. The Paris Correspondent of the *Times* on July 22nd gives the French Public Opinion as follows: 'There is now a noticeable lukewarmness with regard to any idea of European Intervention against Turkey. There is even an attempt to make out a case for non intervention on the ground that the great Powers had manifested the deplorable slackness in obtaining the evacuation by Bulgaria of those territories which were assigned to Turkey by the Treaty of London. The *Temps* for example says that it would perhaps be better not to intervene in the present Balkan muddle but to let things take their course.' Again the St. Petersburg Correspondent of the *Times* on July 21st can be quoted in support of Turkey: 'It is generally admitted that it would be bad for all concerned that Turks should regain territory in Europe, but it is exceedingly difficult to invest this profound conviction with a cloak of justice. The Christian atrocities have made Europe's task doubly invidious vis a vis Turkey and the whole Moslem World. In any case, some diplomats regard the London Treaty as formed to meet a state of things which has entirely passed away. The allies who signed the treaty are no longer allies and they have thereby destroyed its validity.' Well, here are the views of the two members of the Triple Entente. Then why it is not possible for the third member of the Entente also to hold the similar views or to at least wait and see the events take their course."

The Comrade.

The Cawnpore Tragedy.

WE PUBLISH elsewhere a detailed account of the occurrence at Cawnpore furnished to us by our Special Correspondent after a careful and thorough investigation on the spot. He appears to us to have extenuated nothing, nor has he, we believe, set down aught in malice. It is a plain, unvarnished tale of how a tragedy that is being mourned in every Moslem home throughout India came to happen. The accounts that had been published by the *Pioneer* and copied by almost all the Anglo-Indian and some of the Indian papers in the country wore on the face of them so absurd and inadmissible that we thought it imperative to make direct inquiries to arrive at the truth. The result of the enquiries made by our Correspondent on our behalf are published to-day, and we vouch for their authenticity. It is unfortunate that no detailed and coherent version of the case from the standpoint of the victims—the only standpoint that may lead to the elucidation of the facts—should have been given to the public, and the story dressed up by the *Pioneer* and its "Special Correspondent," whose features may be visible to many even through the mask, should have held the field unchallenged. Very different complexion, indeed, has been put on the whole affair; convenient "causes" have been invented to explain the so-called riot, and not only the Moslems of Cawnpore but also of the whole India have been held up to public obloquy and odium. The facts as disclosed elsewhere tell a very different story, and we let them speak for themselves.

As His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor said in his speech at Agra, responsibility for the dreadful occurrence is for the Courts of Justice to fix and determine, and we will not imitate His Honour by delivering judgments. There are, however, certain circumstances which pre-eminently call for notice. In the first place we have to take into account the facts which shed light on the impulse and motive of the crowd that surged towards the mosque after the Idgah meeting. The official and inspired accounts have been elaborately rendered to show that the Moslems came on fearful mischief bent, with the breath of fiery speeches still hot about them. It is, however, a plain fact that no fiery speech was made at the meeting, that there was not even a suggestion to violence, that on the contrary many speakers urged the Mussalmans to confine their actions strictly within constitutional limits and try to undo the wrong by legal means. It may be asked, if there was no pre-concerted plan of action, what it was that drove the crowd towards the mosque. The answer is simple enough. It was the burning sense of the outrage. It had been rankling in the heart of every Mussalman, and hundreds of Moslems used to go daily to the place taking tears and silent prayers as their offerings to the despoiled mosque. If the intention of the crowd had been to restore the mosque at all costs in defiance of the law and the powerful guardians of the law, it would not have been composed in large part of babes and sucklings, so to speak, and of old men on the verge of their graves. Our Correspondent suggests another explanation which is, in fact, believed to be correct by the Cawnpore Mussalmans. It appears that there were a number of "Kabulis" present at the Idgah meeting who were heard to be passionately denouncing the Maulvis for their lukewarm and timid ways. They exhorted every Mussalman they met to forthwith repair to the mosque and restore the demolished portion regardless of the consequences. When the meeting was over, they called aloud for people to follow them and themselves led the way to the mosque. After reaching the place they at once began to pile up loose bricks along the demolished walls and urged others to do so. Within a short space of time armed police led by the Superintendent and the District Magistrate appeared on the scene, and the "Kabulis" instantly melted away into thin air. They have not been heard of since then, and they have unaccountably escaped the attentions of the police. Most people believe that the riot was carefully engineered by the police themselves and the "Kabulis" were the police hirelings. It is also said that the stones were thrown at the Hindu temple with a view to stir up Hindu feelings against the Mussalmans. And it is a significant circumstance that armed police was being held in readiness before the meeting at the Idgah had come to an end, and when not even the omniscient guardians of the law could be presumed to know that there would be a breach of the public peace later on. All this shall have to be carefully and minutely threshed out by the Courts of Justice. In the meantime, the Moslem public is forming its own conclusions, and we need not say what those conclusions are.

The most serious aspect of the whole tragedy is the nervous haste with which the District Magistrate gave the fatal order to fire on the mob. Even if the crowd was excited and determined, there was absolutely no reason to conclude that "it was ripe for any mischief," as has been alleged. The worst that it could do was to

pile loose bricks one over the other, and such an act would have been only a contravention of the orders of the Municipality and not a criminal breach of the public peace. There was ample police provocation and stones and brickbats were thrown only after the mob had been goaded into a state of exasperation by assaults, insults and abusive language. But even then the situation had not become so desperate that a patient and tactful Magistrate would have been unable to cope with. Mr. Tyler had previously confronted the Lieutenant-Governor with the accomplished fact by demolishing the *dalan* of the mosque before His Honour had had time to reconsider his decision, and now he has had a "serious riot" close at hand to teach the Mussalmans another lesson. The Courts of Justice will have to decide whether the District Magistrate was justified in giving the order to fire indiscriminately on a defenceless and unaggressive crowd. The dead and mangled corpses as well as the wails of the dying children and the sufferings of old men cry aloud for justice. We need not despair of results, for the poet has not said in vain

قرب می یار روز عشر چهیگا کشتون کا خون کیونکر
جو چپ دمیگی زبان خنجر لو پکا ریگا آستین کا

Sir James Meeson has praised the humanity which the officers displayed after they had done their hideous work. The bathos of it all, in face of the gruesome sufferings inflicted with a certain heartless cruelty, is very soul-grIPPING. His Honour was impressed with the cries of the dying and the tragedy of the dead. Many have been equally impressed with the ferocity of the charge which did its work with merciless thoroughness—children mangled to death or crying in agony, venerable old men hunted out of their places of hiding in the mosque and gored with spears. Moslem blood was spilled in the mosque to satisfy the District Magistrate that no attempt would be made to disturb the tranquillity of Cawnpore! The police have been trying to wash the blood-stains off the bricks and stones of the mosque, but can the hands that bear the real blood guilt be washed clean?

The *Pioneer's* Special Correspondent in a long message declared to the world that the real sufferers from the riot are now cursing the men who led them astray and that they are sincerely repentant and see the folly of what they had done. The *Pioneer* has never been the true interpreter of what generally passes in the people's mind, and no one who wants to know what India thinks and feels has turned for enlightenment to Allahabad. But in this case its Special Correspondent has for his own good reasons elected to regale the world with undiluted falsehoods. Not a single sufferer from the consequences of the high handedness of the authorities is repentant for the simple reason that not one of them is conscious of his guilt. They still have their trust in British justice and most certainly they trust their God. And let us be sure that their sufferings will not have been in vain.

The Indian Budget.

Mr. Montagu's annual statement on Indian affairs in Parliament is never wholly devoid of interest. He has the gift of fluent speech and appears to have cultivated a sense of imaginative sympathy, and this furnishes him with no mean equipment for interesting oratorical performances on such occasions. In India he has a large and expectant audience, thanks to his engaging and expansive style and his comparatively wide and unconventional outlook. His greatest charm lies in the robust faith he seems to have in himself. The one thing impressive about him is, not so much his grasp of the essentials of the Indian problem, as the self-assurance with which he addresses himself to the task of elucidation and debate. There is just a trace of the light fantastic toe over all his utterances. It is difficult to avoid at times the impression that he is excessively optimistic and loves to generalise with needless haste.

He introduced the Indian Budget in the House of Commons on the 7th instant with a characteristic speech which ranged over a variety of topics. The only thing that he did not discuss was the budget, for he considered the debate offered the only opportunity in the year for a full discussion of Indian affairs, and he preferred to devote the time to the discussion of matters of general public interest. He utilised his untrammelled freedom in the exposition of his views in regard to the general condition of things in India. After referring to the extraordinary expansion in the resources of India the increase in educational expenditure and sanitation, the appointment of the Financial Commission, he made a definite announcement regarding the Army. The Nicholson Committee's report was confidential, but Mr. Montagu believed that it would lead to improvement in the Army in India. And in order to dispose of all hopes on the one hand and all fears on the other, he stated that "the general conclusion of the Committee proved undeniably that although we may get a better army for the money we now spend there is no chance of any reduction of expenditure either on the British Army in India or on the Indian Army." It would appear, then, that the Nicholson Committee

has proved an expensive utility. The only justification for its formation was the hope that some ways would be found for the retrenchment of the military expenditure. The Tory Press in England had taken early alarm at the prospect and had begun vigorously to assail the Nicholson Committee and scare it away from its task. Even the most important secrets of the inquiry at Simla were spirited away and published broadcast in England. The Tory campaign appears to have been successful at last, and the hopes of those who had been urgently pressing for relief in heavy expenditure on the Army have been shattered.

Referring to the Native States, Mr. Montagu said that the Ruling Princes "more and more watch international and imperial politics and vie with one another in improving the condition of their administrations and their reputation for efficient government." Consequently the last twenty years had witnessed striking progress and development in the Native States. "This advance entails more advanced methods in our treatment of those of their affairs with which we are concerned." For this purpose the creation of a new post for "Political Secretary" in charge of the affairs of the Native States has been decided upon. We trust the advanced methods of treatment will not curtail what little initiative the Native States are allowed to exercise at present. Perhaps Mr. Montagu has imperfect idea of the position that the English Resident holds in the actual direction of affairs in a Native State. The existing control must in many cases be relaxed, if real freedom of action is to be enjoyed by the Ruling Chiefs in administering their affairs.

Passing on to more vital topics, Mr. Montagu said that "with regard to the rest of the administration I think we have at present three problems,—first, concerning the relations between the religious races in India, second, connected with the maintenance of law and order, and third, with the service questions with which the Public Services Commission is dealing." In the opinion of Mr. Montagu, the real problem in connection with the Public Services is to ensure the recruitment of the best men selected by the most suitable test and animated by the highest British traditions, "proceeding to India confident of their own choice of a permanent career and of goodwill and fair treatment by the British people." The Civil Servant in India has now to address himself to new and onerous tasks. The old type of official that was merely concerned with "governing" a people is no longer fit for the new responsibilities and the new conditions. The real need to-day is to secure men who would be trained "to co-operate with the people in the government of the people's own country." "The problem in India is," observed Mr. Montagu, "not the problem of material advancement, of increasing the prosperity, or of new public buildings. It is not even the problem of efficiency. It is the problem of government and co-operation, of giving the Indian increasing opportunity in his own country and increasing assistance in the development of his capacity for local government and administration." These are wise words based on right judgment. They touch the keynote of the Public Services problem and indicate the only sure method of solution. If every Englishman engaged in the task of Indian administration were animated by the ideals sketched by Mr. Montagu, most of the complexities and uncertainties that beset the existing situation will completely disappear and leave the path of progress easy and calculable.

As regards the maintenance of law and order, the question is not primarily one of police efficiency. The class of crimes that have their genesis in conditions generally summed up as "political unrest" cannot be effectively tackled merely by strengthening the law or the machinery of its administration. For this it is imperatively necessary to stamp out the conditions in which such crimes take their rise. Some of the conditions are inherent in the political organism itself and will only disappear when Mr. Montagu's ideals of the governance of India take shape and thoroughly permeate the Administration. The development of the true ideal of citizenship and of the sense of responsibility towards the State constitutes the real need. The spread of education side by side with the increase of the people's confidence in the purposes of their rulers will finally meet the need. Apart from these general considerations, it may be noted with satisfaction that efforts are to be made to reform in some measures the methods of the police relating to the recording of confessions.

Some of the most important observations of Mr. Montagu relate to what he calls "the relations between the religious races in India." He said the Government of India desires harmony and "*Drīde et Inqera*, one of the most dangerous of all maxims, is not written in our text book of statesmanship." He looks confident of the future, and assures the Hindus and Mussalmans of ready co-operation of the Government of India, if they try to come to mutual agreement. According to him, "one of the outstanding causes of trouble is the problem of special representation of Muhammadans." Mr. Montagu's diagnosis of the evil is, we are afraid, imperfect and superficial: he seems to take the symptom for the cause. A wholesome change has recently been perceptible in the respective attitudes of Hindus and Mussalmans in regard to their mutual relations, and we would be loth to say anything that might even remotely tend to cause umbrage to Hindu susceptibilities. It is, however, necessary to understand the position as it is, if a lasting

unity of aim is to be reached in the future. Mr. Montagu regards the special representation of the Mussalmans to be one of the main causes that lie at the root of the Hindu-Moslem question. As a matter of fact, it is not a cause but a consequence. Mutual distrust and differences existed before separate electorates were devised as the safety-valves. But even if the grant of special representation to Mussalmans was the cause and the occasion of racial outbursts, does not Mr. Montagu perceive in the Hindu cries an unreasoning exaggeration and an overmastering desire for dominance? Separate electorates themselves have proved more than anything else that the creation of separate electorates was absolutely necessary at this stage of the political evolution of India. Nowhere in any Legislative Chamber in the country have Mussalman members overwhelmed the Hindu element. In no case Hindu interests have been overridden or attacked. Everywhere numerous instances have come to light of Mussalman members of Councils working shoulder to shoulder with their Hindu colleagues for the good of the people. Then, where does the sting lie, where the pinch that has kept the Hindu politicians so fidgety and disconsolate? It is the attitude of the thorough-going Hindu patriot that is responsible for the evil. The Mussalman realises this with sorrow and pain and silently thanks his star. If the Hindus require special representation in any province, the Mussalmans will most cheerfully support their demand. But we rather thought there existed no virtue in special electorates according to the Hindu patriot's philosophy of Nationalism and his notions of the rights and duties of minorities. According to Mr. Montagu, another cause of difference is "the securing for the relatively backward Muhammadan youth of a substantial share of Government offices." There is no doubt Mussalmans are relatively backward in education, and Mr. Montagu's general observations on the subject are well conceived and timely. But it is a mistake to think that competent Mussalmans are not easily available for the Public Services. They have to combat all the rigours with which a condition of long established monopoly has brought them face to face. The cry of incompetency or relative inferiority has been naturally raised by the monopolist in their self preservation. The Mussalmans may not deserve favours—they do not certainly depend on them—but they do not surely deserve prejudice. All that they desire is an equality of opportunity.

Mr. Montagu referred in sympathetic terms to the fact that "the Mussalmans of India are deeply moved by the fortunes of their co-religionists in Persia, the Balkans and North Africa." We wish the fact were equally borne in mind by His Majesty's principal Ministers when they take part in those international transactions which frequently decide the fate of Moslem lands. Mr. Asquith's recent utterance has caused deep distress to millions of Mussalmans of India. It is scarcely a part of British mentality that the Prime Minister of England should go out of his way to ensure to one of the parties in the Balkan war "the fruits of its victory" and threaten the other with dire consequences if it dared to take back a part of what it had been treacherously shamelessly despoiled. And this has happened in utter disregard of the feelings of millions who owe willing allegiance to the British Crown and have never failed to make sacrifices for the Empire. But apart from "the peculiar concern which the Indian Moslems feel in the fortunes of Islam abroad," their anxiety about their own fortunes has increased tenfold. We need not discuss the causes—they are obvious enough. We can only say that a statesmanship of a very high order is necessary at this stage to handle the situation with tact and sympathy.

THE CAWNPORE MOSLEM RELIEF FUND.

We think it is altogether unnecessary to make an elaborate appeal on behalf of the widows and orphans of the Cawnpore Moslems who were the victims of the tragic occurrence—the helpless wounded, and those who have been taken in police custody and will have to undergo severe and protracted trial. The wave of sympathy has been running deep throughout Moslem India and funds are being collected with enthusiasm in different places. As several contributions have been forwarded to us, we have opened the Cawnpore Moslem Relief Fund in our columns. It will not be out of place to state that not less than a lakh of rupees will be needed for the purposes indicated above. We trust public response to our appeal will be both prompt and generous. The following is the first instalment of the contributions received during the week:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Delhi	25	0	0
Shahat Ali Khan, Esq., B. A. (Alig.), Delhi	15	0	0
Shahid Fazlur Rahman, Esq., Delhi	25	0	0
Mohamed Ali, Esq., Editor of the <i>Comrade</i> and the <i>Hamdard</i> , Delhi	100	0	0
Maulvi Abdur Rahman Sahab, Pleader, Delhi	25	0	0
The <i>Comrade</i> and <i>Hamdard</i> Staffs, Delhi	28	0	0
Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai, Dar-at-Law, Srinagar	500	0	0

Verse.

Nature's Harmony.

A harmony from Nature's depths profound
Still heavenward soars, on mystic wings upborne;
And in each breast that feels its power is born
A thrill that answers in melodious sound.
'Tis that which makes the Lark's sweet notes resound
Through the blue vault of heaven in dowy morn;
Which bids at eve the Nightingale forlorn
Charm with her plaints the trembling air around.

Ay, 'tis an echo of that mystic strain
That, mingling with the Poet's dreamy soul,
Doth shape itself into a song supreme
—A breathing charm with power to control
Wild Passions' throbs and lull the heart of Pain
And make the ills of life an idle dream!

NIZAMAT JANG.



The Cawnpore Tragedy.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Cawnpore, 9th August, 1919.

بجرم عشق توام بیکند و غوغا نیست
تو نیز بر سر بام آ که خوش تماشا نیست

I awoke here yesterday morning with my eyes and ears open. I have met many people of all classes and shades, and have made very good use of my eyes. What I have seen and heard I have sifted carefully, and the rest I am sending to you.

The moment I awoke from the rain at the Cawnpore E. I. Ry: station, I noticed things were rather queer. It appears that the Cawnpore authorities and the United Provinces Government are making frantic efforts to "hushen e cryboudi," so that the real facts of the case may not be known to the outside world. In all conscience they are ugly enough. Wherever one turned one saw a policeman either in uniform or in plain clothes, trying to look severely and knowingly at every newcomer. However, they did this so clumsily that one was inclined to laugh. In spite of this, it is curious that the first question every Mussalman passenger asks the coolie or the Ry: ticket collector or anybody that can possibly give him an answer is about the mosque.—How many people were killed? How many were in Jan? Has the demolished portion of the mosque been re-built? After receiving an unfavourable answer to the last question, he walks back in disgust into his apartment openly saying that "the demolished portion of the mosque must be re-built. It is a question of Islam, and Mussalmans cannot accept such an open insult to their faith."

I saw and noted all this. I spoke to several policemen and others, and then got into a *tacca ghari*.

I went straight to the mosque. Meanwhile I could not help but notice that after every few hundred yards on the road there was a policeman armed with a spear, at every corner or turn of the road there were one or two more and near the mosque, they were greatly in evidence. To the left from the road that goes to the Hospital, one sees lots of small bricks and in their midst a tall funny-looking building that has some resemblance to a temple. I have seen many temples, but none like it. I am glad the Hindus of Cawnpore would not allow such an architectural curiosity to be demolished. It is double storeyed, and on the top of it I saw a glimpse of a red turban. It is right in the centre of the new road that is proposed to be built, and is certainly a more striking building than the mosque. No mosque is visible from this road—at least I could not see it. A narrow road to the left, running parallel to this new road, takes you to the Bisati Bazar, where a turn to the right brings you down to the temple. The mosque even from this place is not visible to a stranger. I was pointed out the sacred ground taken up for the road. Every vestige of the existence of *razoolhane*, *ghusuli khana* and the *dalan* has been removed and the ground levelled up.

مساری قرب پاتم جو آقا نوایک مھوکر لگایے جانا

نشان مرقد جو کچھ ہو باقی اسی جی پیارے مٹایے جانا

Not only that but an ugly red brick wall was being built, which blocks up the mosque altogether. A man from the mosque cannot see anything on the road, nor the mosque is visible from the road.

Two day I arrived Mr. Syed Wasir Hasan, Hony. Secy., All-India Moslem League, Dr. Naziruddin Hasan, Bar-at-Law, Mr. Waseem, Bar-at-Law, and a party had also arrived from Lucknow and had visited the mosque and interviewed the leading Moslems, or what was left of them. With them was also Mr. Dutt, Barrister-at-Law, whom the Mussalmans of Lucknow had sent to enquire into the facts of the case and the high-handedness of the Police and the District authorities. The Mussalmans of Cawnpore were sad but firm, determined to fight for the sacredness of the mosque. Great sorrow had been caused to them by the unwarranted action of the District authorities, as not one of them either wanted a riot or had encouraged a breach of the peace. The wanton cruelty and bloodshed and the indiscriminate arrests of innocent men had unnerved them during the first two days, as the police was having a fine time of it and nobody was safe. After that they recovered wonderfully well and organized a strong defence. Mr. Fazalur-Rahman, Vakil, and the other workers deserve the thanks of the whole Moslem India. With the exception of the few sycophants all the Mussalmans in the city are united, and they have the support of the thinking Hindu citizens who desire to see justice done in this case. If the Mussalmans deliberately wanted a riot or had encouraged one, they should certainly be punished; otherwise those who had engineered a riot to strengthen their weak case, ought to be dealt with as murderers, no matter what their race, rank or position may be.

The mosque is a small one, right in the midst of shops of the Bisiati Bazar. It is frequented by the busy merchants in the Bazar, who can offer their prayers to their Maker without loss of time. Of this more later on.

Mr. Mohamed Ali was expected by the mail on the 8th from Calcutta, and a large number of people had gone to the station to receive him, but he did not turn up. On the 9th Dr. Ansari and Mr. Shaukat Ali arrived by mail from Delhi to see the wounded and those in *hawalat*. Nobody knew of their coming, as Dr. Ansari had decided suddenly to pay a flying visit to Cawnpore. He had received numerous messages to organize medical relief for the wounded. He went straight to the Hospital, where the wounded and the sick were lying. Here too there was a strong police-guard with spears, surrounding the small building. When they saw these visitors coming the Sub-Inspector of police on duty came to meet them. They told him who they were and that they wanted to see the wounded. The Sub-Inspector was courteous, but said that he could not allow them to visit the wounded without the S. P.'s permission. They were going back to see the S. P., when Dr. Ansari learnt on enquiry that the Civil Surgeon was there. They both went to him and, after seeing Dr. Ansari's card and knowing who the august visitor was, he courteously invited them to go round the Hospital. This Hospital is a small block of building by itself with two rooms and a *verandah* running all round it. The place was fairly clean. There were twelve beds in the eastern *verandah* and six beds in each of the rooms. As soon as the patients learnt that the brave, humanitarian Dr. Ansari, one whom the whole Moslem India loves and honours, had come from Delhi to see them especially, in spite of their wounds they tried to get up to kiss his hands. Dr. Ansari and Mr. Shaukat Ali went near each bed, kissed the hands of the wounded and enquired about everybody's health. Doctor Ansari felt their pulses and noted their conditions. He spoke words of consolation to all and asked them to "trust in God Almighty who will give them health and life." "Allah, Allah" was on every tongue, and there was not a Mussalman present there, whether a visitor or on duty, who had not a huge lump in his throat, and whose eyes were not moist. Amongst these brave and innocent people the majority were either very old or very young. I asked one white haired old gentleman, with the superb courtly manners of the Old-School Mussalman, how old he was? "I was 20 years old during the Mutiny." This fragile old man of 76 had gone out, unarmed, without even a stick in his hand, to do battle with Mr. Tyler's armed police, both foot and mounted! There was another old gentleman about the same age. Then there was Moulvi Muhammad Suleman Sahab, an old gentleman of about 60—black and blue all over his body. After the mass meeting was well over, according to his usual habit he had gone to the Machhi Bazar Mosque to pray, when the police got hold of him. He was down on the ground, but that did not matter. They mauled him badly. The Moulvi Sahab, in spite of his wounds and pain, was keeping fast. But this is not the worst. The old people had lived their lives. Amongst the severely wounded were two little boys also, aged about 3 or 4 years each. They were shot in their head, and I regret to say there was not much hope of their recovery, unless God in His great mercy helps them—poor little wits! They were lying unconscious, and who would not kiss their heads and feet as did these two visitors! After shaking hands with the Civil Surgeon and with each patient both Dr. Ansari and Mr. Shaukat Ali left for the Machhi Bazar Mosque, and on their way called on Dr. Abdus Samad who lives close to the Hospital and who had been indefatigable in his attendance on the poor wounded in spite of the frowns of the authorities. The current official theory in Cawnpore is that whosoever is humane enough to help his poor wounded Moslem

brethren or sympathises with the unfortunate innocent people in the Jail and does not echo the official version of the affair is disloyal to our august master, His Majesty King George V. Dr. Ansari's arrival in Cawnpore had become known by this time and people were anxious to see him. Wherever his carriage passed, Mussalmans ran after it, wanting to kiss his hands. In the Bisiati Bazar near the mosque people left their shops and flocked into the demolished mosque. Both Dr. Ansari and Mr. Shaukat Ali after making their *vazoo* said their *qaza* morning prayers, which they could not do in the train. Everyone was anxious to embrace them. There I learnt how a young boy, a mere child, was deliberately shot down inside the *dalan* of the mosque. Even the southern corner of the inside *dalan*, the great sanctuary, which at least ought to have been respected, bears the marks of bullets and buckshot.

As for the roof of the mosque, which you reach through a very narrow door, it bears huge big marks of splashes of blood, not one or two but several. The whole party saw them very distinctly, in spite of the rain that had fallen and the fact that the place had been washed by the police. The walls too bore marks of blood. The poor fellows had run up to take shelter on the roof, but the police (mostly Sikhs) followed and bayoneted them there. Here too we heard from all, the same complaint that the riot was engineered and that the authorities were spoiling for a chance to teach such a lesson to Mussalmans as they could not forget for years.

Enough has been said about the mosque. The portion demolished naturally I could not see, but was told that it was a narrow *dalan* at one end of which ran the *nali*, near which people sat to make their *vazoo*. Prayers were also often said there when the courtyard was full. Beyond this *nali* was the *ghusulkhana* and *istinyakhana*. All these have been demolished and a red brick wall is being built by the Municipality to shut off the mosque from the new road. Photos are being taken of the marks of bullets in the *dalan* of the mosque and of blood on the roof. After this second visit to the mosque, I accompanied Dr. Ansari and Mr. Shaukat Ali to the Railway Station to enquire if Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque had arrived by the Express which was running two hours late. We saw Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Sharif, Bar-at-Law, whom the Bengal Moslem League and the Muhammadans of Calcutta had deputed to enquire into the case and who is to arrange for their defence. Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. S. M. Sharif called on the Magistrate (Mr. Tyler) in his court, but as he was not there they went and saw him at his bungalow and asked for permission to see Maulana Azad Subhani, Sheikh Ahmadullah Sahab, Sheikh Yasin, and others in Jail and also the wounded in the Hospital. Mr. Tyler was very courteous and gave them permission to visit both the Jail and the Hospital. He informed Mr. Mohamed Ali that he had received Rs. 200 for the help of the wounded and the families of the dead and requested him to help him in this matter. Mr. Mohamed Ali very willingly promised.

وہمیں آکر ہمیں میری مان جاے
اللہ ہی فلان کی قربان جاے

He also informed Mr. Tyler that Moslems all over India were opening funds for the families of the dead and wounded and for the defence of others, and that he expected a very generous response. Mr. Tyler wanted to talk things over with Mr. Mohamed Ali, but he excused himself then by saying that unless he went out and saw things for himself and formed an independent opinion he could not discuss these matters. At the Magistrate's request 9 p. m. was fixed for the interview.

The party which included Mr. Mohamed Ali, Dr. Ansari, Mr. S. M. Sharif and Mr. Shaukat Ali, visited the Jail first. As soon as they entered the Jail, they saw to the right a party of Mussalmans who were getting the food which their relations had sent them. The visitors embraced everybody and there was a most touching scene. Everyone was affected. Dr. Ansari's visit affected them most. Mr. S. M. Sharif asked all of them if they had any complaints about their treatment in the Jail. They one and all spoke very highly of the kind treatment of Mr. Ganis Singh, the Jailor, who treated them all with great consideration. The whole party then went to the ward where all the others were kept. Here were about 70 more Mussalmans under *hawalat*. On learning who the visitors were, they rushed and embraced all. Mr. Sharif enquired from each individual if they had anything to say. He told them he had come from Bengal to defend them on behalf of the Mussalmans of Bengal, and that Mr. A. Ravul and Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, the well-known counsels, were also coming to live in Cawnpore to conduct their case, besides several other well-known lawyers. Friends of Maulana Azad Subhani would be glad to know that, though very much affected by the sight of friends, he was smiling. He fully trusts in God's help and in his own innocence. Sheikh Ahmadullah Sahab, son of Sheikh Muhammad

Halim, the big hide merchant, who was arrested two hours after the occurrence at his home along with Maulana Asad Subhani, being nowhere near the mosque, looked cheerful, only anxious about his old father. All the prominent men had a long consultation with Mr. Sharif, their legal adviser, who was very much satisfied with the interview. The people in Jail had not been, so far as I learnt, allowed to see any visitors, and so this first visit of friends affected them a great deal. They learnt that the Mussalmans all over India were subscribing liberally for their defence, as they were sure of their innocence. There were some complaints about the irregularity in identification. After an hour the party again embraced their brethren in Jail and bade them *Khudu-hafiz*. The visitors felt great pain in seeing so many boys still under custody. There was one bright little fellow barely ten years old. There was also one gentleman, a merchant who had returned from Delhi the very morning of the riot at about 10 A.M. and who, on learning about the police firing at the mosque, had gone to see the place with the result that he was also taken and put into Jail. Then there was the half insane son of Mr. Shaikh Rahmatullah Ra'ad of the *Nami Press*. He went to Mr. Mohamed Ali and asked if he knew his father Mr. Rahmatullah Ra'ad. Mr. Mohamed Ali embraced him, and said "yes." Quite unconcerned, he sent a message to his father, asking for clean clothes. They all needed clean clothes badly. I was told that most of the grown up people in Jail were keeping their fast. They were all unanimous that so far the Jail authorities and especially the Jailor, had been very considerate. The party thanked the Jailor who had shown them round and then left for the Hospital. There was no objection to the visit now after the Magistrate's permission. Dr. Ansari took minute notes about each case, and I am told he will be sending to the Press a short note giving his conclusions. Mr. Mohamed Ali also made full enquiries from each patient, specially about the assertion of the Cawnpore Correspondent of the *Pioneer*, who said that "these poor deluded people were cursing the Manjis for having brought all this trouble on them." They one and all denied and some very strongly.

There was a general complaint by the patients about the food, the bread being very bitter. Mr. Mohamed Ali left some money with the permission of the doctor for the *Iftar* and supply of food to the wounded.

Before leaving the Hospital, everyone was very much affected, and the sight of big, strong men in tears was painful. Others may or may not have heard the "wails of the widows and the orphans"—to them it may only be a piece of brilliant rhetoric—but we did see there the death pangs of the little mite, Ashfaq Elahi, barely 8 years old. The other little fellow Nomi Elahi was close by him. He was in delirium, shouting every now and then for his *abbaji* and *amma*. The poor mother was not there, but the *abbaji* was there to give him water. This child might survive, but God alone can help Ashfaq Elahi. He was unconscious when we visited the Hospital in the morning, and he was still unconscious in the afternoon. He was a pretty little child, and God will certainly bestow on him His unbounded love. Every one present kissed the child and offered silent prayers for him.

رواں ہاکی ملے ہیں! جو وہ کام کیا
خوشی وہ کام کیا کام ہی تمام کیا

Twenty-three people were already dead (officially), and there were 38 wounded in the Hospital. Great many more, after receiving serious wounds and injuries, had disappeared into their houses to die quietly. Persistent rumours are abroad and people are gathering evidence to prove that a large number of dead bodies were done away with. Over 700 rounds of ball and buck-shot cartridges alone were fired, leaving aside injuries inflicted with the bayonets, the spears and the butt-ends.

There is not the least doubt about it, that the Moslem leaders at Cawnpore and elsewhere never wanted to employ any unconstitutional methods in this mosque affair. They had and have a very strong case. They were sure that the decision of the District Magistrate would be upset even by Sir James Meeson, leave aside the Government of India. As said by Mr. Mohamed Ali in his private correspondence with Sir James Meeson, "this affair was for *ulema* and lawyers to decide and Tylers and Sims did not come in. The case is there even now, and the real issues cannot be obscured. What good could a riot do to the great cause? The Mussalmans desire the demolished portion of the mosque to be rebuilt and nothing less than that will satisfy them now or for all times. They had no desire to quarrel with either the District Magistrate or the Lieutenant-Governor. A riot to them meant the loss of public sympathy. They did not want to weaken their exceptionally strong case. On the other hand the obstinate Magistrate, Mr. Tyler, wanted to force the game and strengthen his own weak case. A riot was just the thing needed at any cost. As the Mussalmans did not want a riot, and in the big mass meeting all the leaders

unanimously exhorted the audience to adopt nothing but constitutional methods, so a riot must be forced on them.

People in Cawnpore want to know where are the six or seven Pathans who were so noisy in the meetings and who were abusing the "*ulema*" and calling them cowards. They decoyed the boys and the foolish to the mosque, and after starting the show could not be found. They were not seen fighting, they have not been amongst the dead, they are not in the Hospital with the wounded and they are certainly not amongst prisoners in Jail. Where are they? Either God Almighty or the police knows. The real Pathan is not in the habit of shirking a fight. He is not afraid of a pistol which ends in a little blood sprinkling; what kind of Pathans were these? The District Magistrate and the police force were ready at hand. They came on within 10 minutes and started firing.

The second question is generally asked why was the order for firing given. There was only a crowd, a small crowd, too, of boys and others (when compared with the big meeting at the Idgah), who went to the mosque without any lime or mortar and began to pile loose bricks one on the top of the other and to plant a black flag on it. They had not even walking sticks in their hands, leave aside other murderous instruments. Surely they were not gone there to fight with His Majesty's trained soldiers? They could have been easily captured with a little patience. Brickbats don't last very long with an excited crowd of boys. They would have cooled down pretty quickly, and then there would have been no trouble.

Another very pertinent question asked is "did the humane Mr. Tyler order the firing for the sake of dispersing the crowd or for killing people outright?" If only for dispersing the crowd, then why so many of the wounded are hit in the back?

These are questions which the District Magistrate and his subordinates will have to answer before God and men. The Mussalmans should ask for nothing in this case but for absolute justice. Whosoever is responsible for these murders, whether Mussalmans or Mr. Tyler and his subordinates, they should be treated as murderers and punished accordingly.

An independent enquiry is needed and both Mr. Tyler and Mr. Dodd must be sent away from Cawnpore, as they are personally involved and are responsible for the whole of this trouble. A bungalow is being taken up to accommodate Mr. A. Rasul and other Barristers.

The *Bengali* has sent a Special Correspondent to Cawnpore to report all the details of the case. Every Moslem paper must also send its correspondent to give full reports of doings in the court. There is great danger of the authorities intimidating local men.

A strong committee was formed in Cawnpore to distribute relief to the families of the *shohada* and the wounded and to organise proper defence of the people in Jail.

Dr. Ansari and Mr. Shankat Ali went back to Delhi after six hours' stay at Cawnpore, and Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Sherif went on the morning of the 10th by mail to Calcutta.

I saw Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Editor of *Alhulal*, and have learnt that the Police sergeant on duty there at the station at once recognized him and asked him to go inside the waiting room and not to speak to any people. Later on I heard that he was ordered by the authorities to leave Cawnpore immediately—one would like to know under what authority? The account that appears in the *Pioneer* about the Cawnpore affair may be taken as emanating from the officials and must not be accepted as true. They are very anxious to obscure the real issues.

I must say there was one bright feature in this horizon of gloom. The Hindus of Cawnpore in spite of official cajoleries are for truth and justice. The Hindu members of the Bar Library came out to meet Dr. Ansari and the party and spoke very kind things. They said they were sorry for the trouble in Cawnpore, but were glad in one way that it gave them an opportunity of meeting such a distinguished countryman of theirs as Dr. Ansari.

Mr. Tyler and the police have really no case. They were ambitious at one time to include the whole of Moslem India in a gigantic conspiracy. For what? To subvert the British Rule in India or to bring Messrs. Tyler and Sims to book for their wanton and sacrilegious act of demolishing a portion of the house of God?

I feel certain that they cannot get evidence to prove that either the "inside" or the "outside" agitators wanted a riot. It does not exist. Mr. Tyler and officials may pretend, but we are genuinely sorry for it. However, the famous police officer Mr. Shaikh Habibullah, Deputy Superintendent of Police, is in charge of the case and many impossible things are possible for the police. We would like to remind all that besides honest and independent courts down below on earth, there is one Supreme Court above where the Great Judge could read the workings of the hearts of all including Messrs. Tyler, Sims, Dodd and Shaikh Habibullah.

A Confiscated Pamphlet.

APPLICATION IN THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT.

AT THE Calcutta High Court on Wednesday before the Chief Justice, Mr. Norton, on behalf of Mr. Mohamed Ali, editor and proprietor of the *Comrade*, applied under section 18 of the Press Act for the constitution of a special bench to hear an application in the matter of forfeiture of the pamphlet entitled *Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us*, published by L. Comite de Publication D. A. C. B., 15 Rue Djagal Ogion, Constantinople, copies of which were received, amongst others, by Mr. Mohamed Ali several months ago, and four copies of which were surrendered in Delhi by him in pursuance of a warrant issued by the District Magistrate on the authority of the Government of India notification published in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary* in July, and one copy of which was surrendered in Calcutta, under protest, to Sir Frederick Halliday by Messrs. B. N. Basu and Co. on Tuesday last on behalf of Mr. Mohamed Ali, and seized by that officer under a notification of the Government of Bengal, published in a *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, dated 22nd July last.

The Chief Justice : What is the suggestion you make to us ?

Mr. Norton : Speaking personally, I fail to understand how the Government of India could make out that the pamphlet in question is a seditious one. I have been at some pains to go through it carefully and I cannot understand how it could create any class or racial hatred in any section of His Majesty's subjects in India.

The Chief Justice : What is actually being done in this case ?

Mr. Norton : A Notification was issued in Delhi by the Supreme Government in consequence of which Mr. Mohamed Ali surrendered copies of this pamphlet. The Government of Bengal followed a suit and issued a notification in Calcutta on Tuesday afternoon last. The remaining copy was handed over to the Commissioner of Police under protest. Mr. Mohamed Ali is thus placed in the peculiar position of having no copies with him to exhibit in this court, but he has with him some reprints of it published in his paper the *Comrade*, which the District Magistrate at Delhi would not excheat.

The Chief Justice : I suppose the publication of the reprint was at Delhi.

Mr. Norton, continuing, said that he would invite his Lordship's attention to section 18 of the Press Act which stated that application should be heard by a special bench composed of not less than three judges. Mr. Norton regretted the fact that his client had not with him the original pamphlet, the reading of which would convince His Lordship of the nature of it. He had, however, reprints of it which contained small typographical mistakes.

The Chief Justice : Then you had better exhibit a reprint. We cannot now issue any rule. There must be three judges for it. I am not sure as to who should serve the notice.

Mr. Norton : There is no provision, either in the Act or in the rules framed under the Act, as to service of notice. I should, therefore, think your Lordship will constitute the Bench and will also cause notice to be served on the Government, for there is no machinery for me to do it.

The Chief Justice : Yes, that is so, Mr. Norton. My only difficulty is that I am not in possession of the original pamphlet.

Your Lordship will direct the Government to have it printed ?

The Chief Justice : It seems to me that it is enough for you to produce secondary evidence. If you have not got copies in your possession it is not your fault.

Mr. Norton : I should like to invite your Lordship's attention to the opening few lines of this pamphlet. I should certainly say that it is an appeal made to the British people at home, and not to any section of the people who are His Majesty's subjects in India.

The Chief Justice : The order of which you complain, you say, was made only on Tuesday.

Mr. Norton : No, it was on July 22nd last. My client has got two months' time before him.

The Chief Justice : Then you had better file your secondary evidence, explaining the circumstances under which you do it. I shall let you know later on as to what will be your proper course.

Mr. Norton : Very well. The long vacation is fast approaching and I trust that this application will be heard before that.

The Chief Justice : I am not sure whether we shall be able to hear it before that. At any rate you had better make formal application. Is it a matter of temporary urgency ?

Mr. Norton : My client says that so long as this order remains in force it reflects upon his character as a loyal citizen in that he had been guilty of exciting racial hatred.

The Chief Justice : Is the press suppressed ?

Mr. Norton : No, it is still working.

The Chief Justice : You had better make formal application to me, explaining the circumstances under which you do it, and then I shall consider the question of constituting a special bench to hear it.

Mr. Norton : As your Lordship pleases.



Moslem Meeting in Calcutta.

(FROM THE "BANGLADESH.")

AN OVERFLOW meeting of Muhammadans of Calcutta and its suburbs was held at the Town Hall on Sunday, the 3rd instant, to protest against the action of the United Provinces Government in demolishing a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque and other matters. The Hon. Nawab Nawabali Chaudhuri presided. The meeting was very enthusiastic. Such was the enthusiasm of the Muhammadans that all shops owned by Muhammadans at Colootola, Amartola, Lower Chitpur Road and other places were closed. The gathering was a huge one, every one who attended it was led away by religious feeling and smarted under sense of wrong. No less than fifteen thousand peoples representing all classes of Muhammadans attended.

As the number of people far exceeded the capacity of the hall, three other open air meetings were held on the maidan and in the ground floor hall.

After the Sheriff declared the meeting open, the Hon. Monvi Fazul Huq proposed and Monvi Abdur Rahman Dakhilabadi seconded that the Hon. Nawab Nawabali Chaudhuri take the chair.

A prayer was then said by a Moulana.

The President rising amid loud and vociferous cheers delivered the following address :—

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Gentlemen,—I do not use the language of convention when I say that I consider it a very great honour to be asked to preside over your deliberations this afternoon. The gathering which I see before me in this historic hall represents all classes of the Mussalman community in the metropolis and the suburbs and I also see before me leading Muhammadans from all important districts in the Presidency. An assemblage of such great importance and significance full of Ulema, leading merchants, zemindars, leading men of the various professions, representing all shades of opinion in our community is proof positive, if proof indeed were needed, that the deliberations, in which we are going to take part, concern matters of utmost importance to the community. I am not one of those who would rush into the arena of political agitation for the sake of notoriety, or who would consent to publicly criticise the action of the authorities unless I am sincerely and deeply convinced that such criticism is imperatively necessary in the interest of the administration itself. From all that I have heard, and from all that I have read about the unfortunate happenings at Cawnpore and about the mosques at Delhi and Agra the conviction has irresistibly forced itself on my mind that the feelings of the Muhammadan community have been very deeply stirred, that the minds of all classes in our community are in a state of ferment, and that there is ample reason for this state of feelings. I have therefore considered it my duty not only to be present at this meeting but to thankfully accept the great honour you have done me by selecting me as your President in order that I may discharge my duty to the community to which I have the honour to belong and also to the Government to which we are bound by all the ties of loyalty and devotion, by interpreting to the authorities the true feelings of the Muhammadan community in these matters. If at a critical moment such as this when even the best intentioned error of judgment on the part of the Government may provide a turning point in the ideas and feelings of the Mussalmans, would it be right for any of us who claims to be devoted to Government to keep aloof from the counsel of his community and give Government the wholly wrong and misleading impression that the feelings to which I have referred are confined to a few zealous agitators and have not permeated every stratum of Moslem society in India.

No, gentlemen, these are not the views and opinions of a few misguided enthusiasts or of mischief-mongers bent on unguiding their co-religionists. These are the views and opinion of all classes of Mussalmans and I do not interpret my duty to Government as silence or serene assurances that may lead Government to the edge of the precipice. I hold that it is the duty of every loyalist to warn the Government in time and save it from unrealised and incalculable dangers. What would the general of an army think of his scouts who gave in false assurances about the dangers of an advanced movement merely to confirm his own fancies ?

In the next place let me assure Government that an agitation of such magnitude and importance is at all a local affair or merely got-up for the occasion. Its roots lie buried deep down in the

cherished religious conviction of a community the binding force of which is neither race nor colour but religion. It is this which makes the affairs of a mosque as much an affair of Calcutta as of Cawnpore, as much an affair of Dacca as of Delhi. That is the justification of our assembling here to-day and let me assure Government that no wirepulling from beyond Bengal was necessary in a matter in which our religious duty has been tugging at our heart strings ever since the 1st of July.

Coming now to the matter in hand there is no doubt that the portion of the Cawnpore mosque which has been demolished is an integral part of the mosque itself. The Futwas of the Ulama leave no room for doubt that this portion is as sacred as any other part of the mosque. Even if it be accepted for argument's sake that the eastern *dalan* of the mosque was a place only utilised for purposes of ablutions and not also for prayers can any one who knows anything about our mosque believe that shoes were taken to place where ablutions were made. From everything which the authorities have published it appears that the only evidence against the contention of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore which the authorities have is that the Chairman of the Municipality states that he saw some shoes in the eastern *dalan* and when he went in with his shoes on, the Mussalmans of Cawnpore followed his example. This single statement, contrary to the most complete and categorical denials of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore to which the Chairman has nothing to say has been unreservedly accepted by the Lieutenant Governor and without offering the least chance for a cross examination of rebutting evidence. Sir James Meston has not only given judgment against Mussalmans but has also had it executed even before it was delivered.

This Cawnpore sacrilege was preceded by an act of similar lamentable affair at Agra and has created a universal apprehension that the authorities are growing indifferent to the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadan community. Apprehensions like this creates such grave dangers for Government that it is our bounden duty to bring them to its notice. After this we expect that the Government would also do its duty and remove them by action which will be both appropriate and effective.

It is well known that all important cities of India are full of mosques, tombs and shrines of saints held in the highest veneration by all classes of the community. Schemes of City Improvement are being pushed on with utmost vigour and enthusiasm all over India and it is not impossible that under excess of zeal through with the best of intention officials may overlook the veneration due to these sacred places. We should bring home to the authorities the duties they owe to an important section of His Majesty's subject in India, a section of His Majesty's subjects whose loyalty to the King has only been exceeded by their submission to the commandments of their God. Therefore, while expressing our resentment at what has taken place let us request Government to take all reparation that is now within its power, and make such action as may effectively prevent sacrileges in the future. I am informed that His Honour Sir James Meston is about to receive a deputation of some eminent Mussalmans on the subject. Let us hope, Sir James would himself see the error of the policy hitherto followed and order the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque. In any case His Excellency the Viceroy is sure to do justice and we look to him to heal our wounded feelings.

Coming to the question of Haj, in the first place, all monopolies are objectionable and particularly a monopoly in a matter like this which affect a religious observance of supreme moment to our community. In the second place number of pilgrims have no intention of returning at all or at any rate until after a fairly long sojourn in Arabia. To give to a European firm a monopoly of the Haj traffic and to insist on the purchase of the return tickets would cause a great deal of hardship and annoyance and is likely to be misunderstood by the people as an official interference in the performance of a sacred religious duty. It is the latter aspect of this question which fills me with grave apprehensions although I cannot regard with complacency any action tending to increase the cost of pilgrimage and thus place it out of the reach of the poor who, I must confess, are keener in the performance of such religious duties than the well-to-do classes.

I cannot conclude my remarks, gentlemen, without some reference to stirring events abroad and also when no one expected it. Turkey had to go to war with four Balkan States whom no one acquainted with their bitter hatred of each other could have expected to become allies of each other.

At the first outbreak of hostilities in the Balkans the British Government proclaimed its policy of strict neutrality and of preserving the *status quo*. When, however, the Turks began to lose the policy of preserving the *status quo* was changed and the victors were assured that they would not be deprived of the fruits of their victory. To-day the Turks have regained some of their

lost territory specially Adrianople, but the British Premier is threatening to force the Turks to go back to the Enos-Midia line which however is to be interpreted by the Powers. (Shame). Gentlemen, this is a matter in which we owe a double-duty. We owe a duty to the Khelafatul-Muslimeen to do all in our power to assist him and we owe a duty to our Government to assist in preventing all actions likely to diminish the capital of goodwill and loyalty which, in the words of our former Secretary of State deservedly held in high reverence for his love of honesty and his wise statesmanship, now happily exists among Indian Mussalmans. I have no hesitation in saying that British insistence on Turkey's abiding by the terms of the Treaty of London which can be more sacred than the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, would be regarded in India as an unfriendly transaction and would cause no less resentment than the British partition and occupation of Persia. The Powers could not restrain Serbia and Greece from not only driving back Bulgaria from her recently acquired territories but also from entombing her in her Capital. The Powers could not restrain Rumania which had not even the shadow of a reason for declaring war on Bulgaria. Is Turkey, then, to be the only belligerent that must be restrained and is her territory to be the only portion of God's earth which must remain Bulgarian in spite of all Bulgarian reverses? Is this the preservation of the *status quo* or is it the observance of neutrality? What concerns us most, is Great Britain to be the only Power whose Prime Minister should openly threaten Turkey? The policy of his Cabinet has been so contradictory and so parochial that even Anglo-Indian journals have repudiated it. Unless this policy is completely upset I have grave apprehensions that it would come to be regarded by Mussalmans in India as openly hostile to the spiritual head of the Mussalmans of the world. The Emperor is the temporal sovereign of hundred million Mussalmans. The belief that the Governments of the two are opposed to each other and that Great Britain is so unreasonably prejudiced against Turkey that she is willing to be unjust to her and her Prime Minister is prepared to swallow his own words repeatedly will do incalculable mischief. As members of the British Empire we owe it a duty and may we never falter in carrying it out in the hour of its need. But as such we have some rights also and we trust they will be fully respected. It is primarily on such a basis that the Empire can grow and prosper and we pray and work for its growth and its prosperity. (Loud and prolonged Cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haq moved the following resolution:

That this meeting of the Mussalmans of Calcutta and its suburbs most emphatically asserts that according to the principles of the Muhammadan religion and law, the portion of the Machli Bazar mosque at Cawnpore which has been forcibly demolished by the U. P. authorities, is an integral part and as sacred as any other part of the said mosque, and it strongly protests against the various misrepresentations contained in the recent official *communiqué* in connection therewith.

He said that in those matters no matter what the consequences might be, no matter what the difficulties might be in their way they were determined to make it plain to Government that in the matter of their religious susceptibilities they would not allow even their highest officials to interfere.

Mr. Khurshed Husain seconded and Maulvi Abdul Rasool and Maulvi Abdul Ahad supported the resolution which was carried.

Mr. Abul Kasem moved.

That this meeting expresses its deep sense of resentment and indignation at the sacrilegious conduct of the U. P. authorities and thereby seriously interfering with the religious liberty of His Majesty's subject assured under the Royal Proclamation of 1858, the Charter of the Indian people.

He said that the official *communiqué* stated that the portion of the mosque demolished was not the integral part, who was to decide that? The Muhammadans or the members of the Indian Civil Service? The Muhammadans and the Matwallis were proper persons to decide that question. They had met there that day under the shadow of a calamity unprecedented in the history of the country.

Nawab Nasir Husain Khayal seconded the resolution which was carried.

The Hon Maulvi Mahomed Tahir moved.

That this meeting respectfully requests His Excellency the Viceroy to direct the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque and urges upon the Government to take such action as may be necessary to insure in future due respect on the part of the authorities for the religious sentiments of the community.

Mr. S. M. Shariff seconded, and Mirza Ahmed Ali and Maulvi Kasim Hossain supported the resolution which was carried.

Agan Munsul Islam Zalaiddin moved :

That this meeting of the Mussalmans of Calcutta and its suburbs requests the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to order the early restoration of the mosque of the late Moulana Abdul Haq Mohaddis Daharvi, which was demolished by the mistake of the local officials, and further to show respect to the religious feelings of the Muhammadans by issuing necessary instructions to the local officers to abstain in future from the acquisition or demolition of any old mosque, tomb, graveyard, or their places intended or used as places for the observances of religious rites under the New Improvement Scheme.

Mr. Eshan Karim seconded and Maulvi Bakhsh-din supported the resolution which was carried.

Maulvi Najmuddin Ahmed moved :

That the recent recommendation by the Bombay Government about Haj traffic for the grant of monopoly to Messrs. Turner Morrison and Co., or any other shipping company and for the introduction of the system of compulsory return ticket is detrimental to the interest of the Hajjers. This meeting therefore opposes the introduction of any such regulations and prays that the Government of India refuse their sanction to the proposal.

He said :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I rise to propose the resolution V. which stands in my name relating to the Haj question which has been agitating the minds of the Indian Mussalmans ever since it was announced that the Bombay Government had submitted proposals to the Supreme Government for placing certain restriction for the Haj traffic. The concern grew into an alarm when a local newspaper published a report that the proposals have been accepted by the Government of India. This report fortunately turned out to be premature and inaccurate and there has been ample evidence since to show that the Government of India was anxious to consult Mussalman opinion on the matter before acceding its sanction. For this, gentlemen, we must be grateful to Lord Hardinge and his colleagues for it would have been a grievous wrong to the Muhammadan community to have ignored their opinion in a matter affecting the performance of their great religious duty. The Bombay Government which apparently did not consult local Muhammadan opinion in this respect profitably take a lesson from the reasonable procedure adopted by the Government of India for future guidance, especially in questions touching the religious practices of the Indian people.

As you are aware, Gentlemen, the two proposals of the Bombay Government to which we take exception are :

(1) The granting of a monopoly of the Pilgrim traffic to Messrs. Turner Morrison and Co., and (2) the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets for all pilgrims going from India. We object to both because in our opinion they are calculated to increase the cost of journey to the Holy places and to impose unnecessary restriction upon many pilgrims.

The grant of monopoly of the traffic to any particular shipping company will necessarily abolish competition which is the principal factor in maintaining minimum fares with maximum comforts. That a rise in the fares will be inevitable and operate hardly upon the poorer pilgrims is not denied by the Government and in fact a suggestion has been made to subsidize the Company from the public revenue for keeping down the fares. Prevention is better than cure and we naturally ask why should the Government first create a state of things and then try to remedy the same by expenditure from Public Revenue? It is said that this regulation has been proposed in the interest of sanitation, a legitimate and laudable object which every civilized Government must adopt, but can any one seriously argue that the interest of sanitation cannot be served without the grant of monopoly of traffic and without abolishing a system of healthy competition among the ship-owners?

Gentlemen, if the grant of monopoly will indirectly interfere with the performance of the pilgrimage by the poor Muhammadans a system of compulsory return tickets will directly interfere with their liberty in the matter. It will make it impossible for a large number of pilgrims who by their own manual or skilled labour expect to earn their passage money at Hedjaz. It will interfere with the plans of those who prefer to do a little business on their own account at Hedjaz with any extra money that they can afford to take with them instead of keeping their money in unprofitable deposit until their return. There can be no reason for compelling such of the pilgrims to purchase return tickets as go with the intention of passing the remainder of their lives at the Holy place or those who desire to pass a longer period in visiting many sacred places and cannot return to Jedda within the period allowed in the return ticket.

We are made to understand that the proposal has been necessitated owing to the difficulty of repatriating the stranded Indian Pilgrims who go to Hedjaz without providing themselves with a

sufficient money to insure their return journey. For the first time last year since the establishment of British Government in India 500 stranded pilgrims were brought back at the expense of the Government. What their numbers in the previous year had been and what arrangements were made for their return we do not know; but since no arrangement was made by Government they were apparently brought back by private charity. My information is that this large number of destitute pilgrims was due to a monopoly secured by the Persian Shipping Co., who succeeded in chartering the ships of all other Companies which anchored at Jedda. Even if we take 500 as number of pilgrims stranded every year it will not necessarily follow that all of them were persons who had gone there without providing themselves with the means of returning to India. It is a well known fact that many of the pilgrims although provided with sufficient money are occasionally robbed or deprived through circumstances not within their control. Even compulsory return tickets will get lost by robbery or misfortune and will not prevent their holders from getting stranded. Such persons must be left to be brought back by private charity or at the expense of the Public Revenue. The proposal, therefore, while unnecessarily interfering with the religious freedom of certain classes of pilgrims will scarcely prevent the stranding of some of the pilgrims thus failing in its professed object.

Gentlemen, it is hardly necessary to detain you by going through all the *pros and cons* relating to these proposals. They have by this time been widely discussed and representations some of them containing practical suggestions for meeting the situation have already been submitted to the Government. Our duty at this meeting is only to echo the true feeling and views of the Mussalmans in this matter.

Haji Ahmed Abdul Latif seconded and Maulvi Masibur Rahman supported the resolution which was carried.

Mr. A. Rasul moved the following resolution :

That this meeting heartily congratulates H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey and the Turkish nation on the brilliant march of Enver Bey and the recapture of Adrianople, and in view of the rumours of coercion of Turkey and the threat of Mr. Asquith this meeting trusts that Great Britain would respect not only her declaration of neutrality the Prime Minister's statement guaranteeing the fruits of victory to the victor but also the feelings and sentiments of His Majesty's Indian Moslem subjects by refraining from all transactions of an unfriendly character likely to diminish silently the capital of goodwill and loyalty which now happily exists among Indian Muhammadans.

Mr. Rasul said :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—It is very strange that I should have been entrusted with this resolution. It is well-known I am not a *persona grata* with the authorities. Some members of the Government think I am not loyal, but I can assure them that I am as loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor as any of them. It breaks one's heart to think of or talk about Turkey and yet we must do it. To-day we are congratulating His Imperial Majesty the Sultan who is our "Amir-ul-Momenin" and his army under Enver Bey on their recapturing Adrianople and other recent victories, but we would have congratulated them on many more victories in their war with the Allies, had there not been treachery and betrayal among some of the most trusted officers and commanders of their own. I am in possession of facts regarding this unfortunate affairs which I am not in a position now to disclose, but before long they will be placed before the public by men who are more competent to deal with them. Now about Mr. Asquith's threat. It is very painful to us Mussalmans to find that the Prime Minister of the greatest Mussalman Powers in the world should have threatened Turkey in the way he did. Evidently he is not aware how deeply he has hurt the feelings of the Mussalman subjects of His Majesty. But this was not the first occasion on which he offended his Mussalman fellow-subjects. It was his Government which assured the whole world at the commencement of the war that whatever might be the result, the *status quo* would be maintained and yet after the victories of the allies, the Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary declared that it would be impossible to maintain the *status quo* now and to deprive the victors of the fruits of their victories. At the Guildhall banquet last November, Mr. Asquith made a speech in the presence of the Turkish and Persian Ambassadors the representatives of two Mussalman Powers, gloating over the fall of Salonica with a special emphasis on the fact that Salonica was the gate through which Christianity entered Europe. No doubt it was a matter of great joy to the European Christians, but have we Mussalmans no feelings? should he not as the Prime Minister of the greatest Mussalman Power, have respected the feelings and sentiments of his Mussalman fellow-subjects, specially of the two Mussalman representatives present at the banquet. Our grievance is why should the Prime Minister and his Government go out of their way to wound our feelings and sentiments. In the Balkan war, it was his Government which declared its neutrality before any other Power did. It was his Government which sent

recognised the Italian sovereignty over Tripoli, and it was he who first threatened Turkey with penalties for recapturing Adrianople and other places. The last part of the resolution which I have placed before you has been taken from the speech recently made by Lord Morley in the House of Lords on the Persian question. Now if the feelings and sentiments of the Mussalmans are to be respected we appeal to the British sense of justice, we appeal to Britain, we appeal to the Prime Minister himself to persuade the other Powers not to force Turkey to evacuate Adrianople and the other places they have recently recaptured. It is strange indeed that Roumania has taken possession of large territories over which Bulgaria has exercised right of sovereignty for the last forty or fifty years and there has been protest from any European Power, but Turkey is to be compelled to abandon territories which she has recaptured and over which she exercised sovereignty only three or four months ago. We therefore repeat our appeal and humbly pray that England should see that Turkey is not forced to evacuate Adrianople and the other places which are again in her possession.

Mr. Mahomed Ali seconded the above resolution.

The following resolution was put from the chair and carried—

That in a view of recent events, this meeting is strongly of opinion that a deputation of the representatives of the Mahomedans of all parts of India do wait on His Excellency the Viceroy at an early date to give expression to the feelings and views of the community on the present situation and that the deputation do consist of the Hon. Mr. A. G. H. C. Ariff, the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haq, Mr. Fakraddin Ahmed and the mover with power to add to their number.

With a vote of thanks to the chair proposed by Manvi Abul Kasem the meeting closed.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Speech.

(FROM THE "BENGALRE.")

The following is a summary of the speech delivered by Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade*, Delhi, at the public meeting held in the Town Hall on Sunday, the 3rd instant, to protest against the action of the United Provinces Government authorities in demolishing a portion of the mosque at Cawnpore and to consider Turkish question. It may be incidentally said here that Mr. Ali's speech was so eloquent, spirited and full of pathos that the whole house was moved to tears. The speech was delivered in Urdu and the following is a translation of some of the important portions of the speech—

Mr. Ali began with a reference to the Cawnpore mosque affair. He was afraid that it would be reported to the Government that another agitator came all the way from Delhi to excite peaceful Calcutta. The Government said that there was no agitation in Cawnpore, but the agitation was excited by outside agitators. For his own part, he came to Calcutta on his own private business and as a matter of fact did not even know that there was a meeting to be held till the day before. He thought of not taking any active part in the meeting as it would be viewed by the Government that an outsider had come to excite Calcutta Muslims. But it seemed to him afterwards that whether he did anything or not, whether he took part or not, it was sure that it would be reported that he came here to excite the Muhammadans of Calcutta. A Persian Poet says addressing the Calcutta Muslims—

"If thou knowest without any uttering it, why not I utter it." So he ventured to take part in the proceedings but he would confine himself to the question of Turkey. If outside agitators had been very zealous of the Cawnpore affair, it was not because it was a Cawnpore affair but it was a Moslem affair. A mosque was the same whether it was in Delhi or Calcutta or Cawnpore. Regarding the excitement at Cawnpore, the speaker said that he had not been to Cawnpore himself except that he met one or two influential Muhammadans at the Cawnpore station on his way to Calcutta. He was assured by them that it was only the other day there was a crowd of eleven thousand Mussalmans, despite inclement weather, who assembled at Cawnpore to protest against the sacrilege. Whosoever said that there was no excitement in Cawnpore said what was not true. The speaker himself was repeatedly told by Cawnpore Muhammadans that the *Comrade* should have taken a stronger attitude than it had hitherto done. As a matter of fact he was told by the Cawnpore people that had it not been for his very strong advice that nothing unconstitutional should be attempted, there would have been bloodshed on the 1st July when the portion of the mosque was demolished.

The speaker then said that the interests of Mussalmans were identical all the world over. Therefore if anything happened in Turkey, the Moslem world could not remain unaffected. Many millions of people believed the Sultan of Turkey to be the spiritual head in India. But whether the spiritual head of the Mussalmans was the Sultan or not, the fate of Turkey, the largest Moslem state and the only Moslem power in Europe, was a matter of the deepest concern for them all. The speaker said that that was not a novel doctrine but a

part and parcel of their religion which said that all Moslems were brothers. Not long ago, Mr. Montagu referred to the extra-territorial patriotism of the Moslems, which laughs at distance and scorns all barriers of race, language and colour. So there was no doubt that the Mussalmans were sorely afflicted when they heard of the reverses of Turkey.

The speaker then referred to some of the circumstances under which Turks were beaten. One instance was this: It was believed in Turkey that Sir Gerald Lowther, the British Ambassador, assured Kiamil's Cabinet that England would not allow the Balkan States to war on Turkey. Whether that was true or not, it was certain that Turkey was unprepared for the war. If Kiamil declared war, why did not those who were against the young Turks resuming the war, condemn them and denounce the action of Kiamil. So there was every likelihood of some treachery somewhere which had been amply confirmed. It was a telegram from Kiamil's Government that compelled the Turkish Commander at Salonika to surrender that magnificent port to the Greeks without firing a shot which no one expected at all when he had twenty-five thousand troops in the town. Another instance of treachery was the serving out at the most critical moment in the battles of Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas, when the Turks had begun to take the offensive, of cartridges which contained bullets and caps which looked in every way perfect but from which powder had been taken out by means of small holes bored in them. The whereabouts of Nazim Pasha—the speaker was sorry to say—was for three days unknown in the battle of Kirk Kilisse but when he was found, he was in a condition neither fit for a General nor a Mussalman. Throughout the war—as long as Kiamil's Government was in power—everything was mismanaged and probably mismanaged with a purpose. But since Shevket Pasha came into power, he reorganised the defences of Tchataldja, put telephones through the fortifications and had a light railway and motor service. But before that, even Constantinople was in imminent danger. One hundred and twenty thousand of the best troops which had been trained for European warfare by Shevket Pasha had been sent away by Kiamil's government to Anatolia, on the pretext of awaiting the landing of Italian troops at Smyrna. And the best officers turned out by the Staff college were sent away to Yemen, Anatolia, and Tripoli. When the war in the Balkans broke out, inefficient recruits were forced to give battle absolutely on empty stomach and without having had the chance of firing a shot with new fire-arms. Even the maps so carefully prepared by Shevket Pasha were not to be found. How could any army fight under these conditions? And yet Kiamil and Nazim had been praised by Europe as great patriots and wisest statesmen. But before such treachery as this could be counted upon to defeat the Turks, Europe declared itself neutral and announced that no alteration of the territorial *status quo* would be tolerated. This was in conformity with the precedent of the Greco-Turkish war when the Turks were deprived of the fruits of victory. Because Mr. Gladstone said that "not an inch of Christian soil shall pass under Turkish Rule." But when it was not the Turks that began to conquer the Christian territory as before, the *status quo* was buried ten fathoms deep and it was unfortunately left for the British Prime Minister of all the Ministers of the European Powers, to guarantee to the victors the fruits of their victory. In no war was the victor bene allowed to retain possession of every bit of territory occupied by him in course of the war and we should see whether Serbia, Greece and Rumania are allowed by Europe to despoil Bulgaria of every bit of territory occupied by the new allies. In the case of Turkey everything was fair and even fortresses which had kept the besiegers shivering outside their walls for many months were required by Europe to be surrendered by Turkey to her enemies. "Well," said the speaker, "we did all we could to protest against such an injustice and unfairness and for our pains we were accused by the Bombay correspondent of the London *Times* of the ignorance of History and by the *Times* of trying to dominate the whole of British foreign policy. But it was only because we knew history too well that we mourned the inequitable treatment of Turkey. If we had not been taught in our schools that from the eighth to the fifteenth century, Islam ruled over a vast portion of western Europe and that 40 years before, Islam's rule over Western Europe closed, the Crescent flags rose on the east on the dome of St. Sophia, we would not have shed a tear over the fall of Turkey. If we have not learnt in History how territory occupied by the victor's enemy in time of war was restored for the most part to the vanquished, we would not have accused Europe of injustice and unfairness. But it was not so much history as the files of the *Times* itself which taught us that before Turkish reverses occurred, the territorial *status quo* was to be maintained and that after that reverses, it was the policy of the fruits of the victory to the victor. We may be accused of the ignorance of History, but we were not so indifferent to the files of the *Times*. Now for the third time the *Times* comes out with the important rage at the attitude of the Moslems and sneers at us for the show of 'pan-courage.' May I ask the *Times* what else could it

expect from us in India in the way of valour. Had we any other weapon in our armoury, any other arrow in our quiver, perhaps the worst inditement of British Rule in India would not be that within 60 years of the Mutiny, when finally Moslem rule passed out into the hands of the English it had succeeded in emasculating the Moslem community which had ruled for centuries in India not because of its numbers but because of its valour and unity. But even as we are, we had offered to show the stuff we were made of in ways other than journalistic and oratorical." The speaker said that he had not published the following fact so far because he feared it might have had the result of exciting the Moslems at a critical time though he did not believe that he would receive any credit for this from the *London Times*. His brother was about to organize a volunteer corps of Indian Moslems to take to Turkey, but was informed by the Government that the formation of such a corps in India would be against His Majesty's declaration of neutrality. As if the Czar's declaration of Neutrality kept back a single soldier, officer or private citizen from going to Bulgaria to fight against Turkey. "Our blood," continued the speaker, "had not been mixed with that of the Turks, but if it had not been so mixed in life, we desired that it should be commingled on the field of battle and should soak the mother earth together. But this we were prevented from doing and now the valiant knights of the pen in Printing House Square taunt us with showing nothing but pen-courage. Well, in India, honest journalism requires more than pen-courage in these days and if the proofs we have given for sincere regard for Turkey by contributing so largely for the relief of the war sufferers and by sending out medical missions are not sufficient, we are ready to offer any proof that the *Times* may require of our courage. As a poet says 'the obstinacy that she may not come to-day and come she must one day. Oh! what a grievance we have against death.' Suicide happily is rare among Mussalmans because no religion insists more on the sacredness of life including one's own than Islam. And I hold it that wantonly to break the peace of the land and to jauntily go to the gallows is to court the death of a dog. But I also hold that no death is better than one wherein life is laid down in obedience to the Commandments of the Giver of All Life." Speaking for himself the speaker said that he had already dedicated himself to His Maker and it was for him to demand his life at whatsoever time he chose. The readiness was all and he was ready.

Referring to the Balkan situation he said, that Europe considered them wanting in manliness—because they used the weapons of women namely tears; but Europe had yet to learn what power there was in prayer. As Iqbal had said "that with which thou can't conquer the seven empires, without sword or arrow, if thou only knowest thou hast that weapon also in thine armoury." In the words of their poet they were told that there was no potency in the lamentations and tears of dark nights and the power of the morning prayers had been overrated. Yet who could have prophesied that so soon after its surrender Adrianople would once more be Turkish? The Moslems certainly rejoiced in the brilliant and intrepid march of Enver Bey which resulted in the capture of Adrianople but this time honours were not easy but divided. The speaker maintained that their prayers had as much to do with the recapture of Adrianople as the powers of Enver Bey and on that day they must take out that weapon once more from their armoury and pray to Almighty to guide the footsteps of their own Government—a Government to whom it was no convention to say, they were loyal and would continue to be loyal. They (Moslems) had killed their own co-religionists in the frontier at the bidding of England. They all prayed to God to make English ministers true, wise and sagacious statesmen and make them realize their duty that they owed to the vast empire which could only subsist by mutual regard for the feelings and susceptibilities of all its component parts. The speaker did not ask England to go to war for Turkey, but he had every right to ask England not to be the friend of Turkey's enemies. The speaker then said that when last January there was a fear of a Naval demonstration against Turkey he had appealed by cable to Lord Morley as one who had borne and must not tarnish the name of Honest John. He could not pretend to believe that such an appeal alone could have moved Lord Morley nor could he believe that Lord Morley alone could have moved the Cabinet. But it was certain that the Naval demonstration never took place. Even at the present moment, like drowning men catching at straws, he had appealed amongst others to Lord Morley in the name of the Empire and of something higher than that, namely, Truth and Honesty. Could he flatter himself with the fancy that on speaking on the subject of Persia, he had included a respect for our feelings among the different aspects of British foreign policy towards Persia—in response to the speaker's appeal? All that he wanted to remind Lord Morley was that the retention of Adrianople was of no less moment to Indian Moslems than the integrity of Persia and that the British participation in the corrosion of Turkey was sure to be regarded as an unfriendly transaction which in Lord Morley's own words, would greatly diminish the capital of goodwill and loyalty which happily existed among the Muhammadans in India, the *Times* and

his proteges notwithstanding. The speaker concluded by saying that Indian Muhammadans had no desire to subvert British rule in India; but had every desire to make it popular and that could not be done unless the Government respected the feelings and sentiments of hundred millions of Moslem subjects.



Cawnpore Riots.

THE development of the agitation over the Cawnpore mosque until the shedding of blood became necessary to quell the disturbance is very regrettable. It seems that the Provincial Government's manifesto has only added fuel to the flames, and the argument that the portion of the building sacrificed was not sacred—as proved by the entrance of the Moslems who accompanied the Chairman of the Municipality wearing their shoes—has not been accepted by the community. Objection has been taken to the Lieutenant-Governor believing the "story," although why the Chairman should go out of his way to volunteer information of this kind when he knew the denial it would speedily encounter if it were incorrect is not explained by its opponents. Although the Cawnpore Moslems have continued their agitation, they have not denied this point and affairs have the appearance of being gratuitously worked up into an agitation, and chiefly at the instance of other portions of India. As in the matter of the proposed gift of the Aligarh University funds to Turkey for war purposes the steady influence of the Aga Khan is much needed at the moment.—*The Empire*.



Letter from Mr. Mohamed Ali.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "EMPIRE."

SIR,—As an admirer of the independent and liberal-minded *Empire* I regret to note that in your comments on the "Cawnpore Riots" you have fallen into more than one error. At times such as this it is easy enough to fall into an error of judgment when on the one side we see the custodians of law and order and on the other an excited mob even if it is at first guilty of nothing more than a "public nuisance" in piling loose bricks without mortar upon one another on a site upon which but a month ago stood part of a mosque but which is now part and parcel of a new "Sanitary Road." But for a newspaper charged with the duty of stating the facts correctly to fall into errors of fact is to be guilty of still further clouding a situation which is already a good deal befogged.

You are right in saying that "the Provincial Government's manifesto has only added fuel to the flames." The flames were already there in Cawnpore and had been growing in intensity for some months; but the almost inevitable conflagration was prevented by the so-called "outside agitators," of whom presumably I am one, who had counselled moderation, the use of none but constitutional means and preferably the suppression of newspaper agitation. Were it not for this, the flame would have lit up the big fire a month ago when a portion of the mosque was demolished. The Provincial Government's manifesto has indeed "added fuel to the flames" inasmuch as it accused the Mussalmans of Cawnpore of religious apathy by stating that there was no excitement in Cawnpore itself. It is reckless statement such as this that lead to bloodshed, because the more ardent spirits consider that excitement can be proved only by breaking the law. To say that the riots are due to the taunts of outside agitators or the attacks of newspapers is to explain away one falsehood by means of another. You are, therefore, fully justified in seeking an explanation of the mob's action at Cawnpore on Sunday in the press *communiqué* issued by the U. P. Government about a week previously.

But to say that the Chairman of Municipality had no interest in retelling the story of Cawnpore Mussalmans crowding into the mosque with their shoes on in company with him is to ignore the obvious; and to state that "although the Cawnpore Mussalmans have continued the agitation, they have not denied the point," is to say that which is entirely at variance with the facts. Was it not the Chairman who had set his heart on demolishing a portion of this mosque and had opposed the resolution for saving it which was adopted by the Municipal Board with the help of all the Indian votes both Hindu and Muhammadan? Was it not the Chairman who requested Government that this recommendation of Board should not be accepted? Was it not the Chairman who was voting when the Board decided that after the Government's rejection of the Board's recommendation at his own suggestion of the Moslems and through the Hon. Sheikh Shahid Hussain, no further recommendation be made to Government to save the mosque? Was it not the Chairman who, after Sir James Montagu's announcement in the *Cawnpore Herald* and never contented with the fact that the temple nor the mosque would be touched, insisted on the touching of the mosque as the condition for the return of the portion of mosque only? Was it not the Chairman who carried

things so manifestly as to give to the Trustees only twenty-four hours' notice about the acceptance of the compensation when I believe at least a fortnight's notice is usual? And was it not the Chairman who had the Eastern *dalan* demolished on the 1st July even before Sir James Meeson had replied to my letter of the 9th June and to the Memorial forwarded to him by the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad? If human beings, including bureaucrats, are occasionally obstinate and headstrong, why should we believe Mr. Sim, the Chairman, to have been nothing but reasonable and accommodating?

Sir James Meeson unreservedly accepts the truth of his statement; but why the Empire or the world? So much for possibilities and probabilities. Now a word about certainties. You say that "the Cawnpore Mussalmans have not denied the point," namely, "the entrance of the Moslems who accompanied the Chairman of the Municipality wearing their shoes." I say they have denied the point and that more than once. I am grateful to Sir James Meeson—and so are all of us—for permitting me to publish the correspondence that I carried on for a month and a half with His Honour instead of agitating in the Press. Besides showing that the eastern *dalan* where hands and face and feet, etc., were washed preparatory to prayers, or where overflow congregations offered prayers had been misrepresented to Sir James to be a mere "bathing enclosure," that correspondence shows that the sole evidence of the want of sanctity of the eastern *dalan* is the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Sim. Now for months past the Mussalmans of Cawnpore had been complaining of Mr. Tyler's having walked into the mosque with his boots on without asking anyone, and then turning round to the horrified—and we must add, terrified, even if it be the taunt of an outside agitator—spectators with the remark that as they did not prevent his entering it with boots on, the place could not have been a sacred portion of the mosque. Mr. Tyler is the District Magistrate of Cawnpore and the officer who ordered the police to fire on the mob last Sunday and for purposes of the Census at least is a totally different individual from Mr. Sim, the Chairman. Nobody in Cawnpore knew that Mr. Sim had ever walked into the mosque with his boots on, and when through the *Comrade* of the 5th July the Cawnpore Mussalmans learnt for the first time of his statement, they asked all present in a crowded meeting to state if they had entered the mosque with shoes on in his company or seen him do it. Everyone denied it, and this denial has been published by the Trustees of the Mosque. They wanted to serve a notice on him to state who among the Mussalmans had committed the sacrilege and whom he had done it himself or else withdrawn. But in view of Sir James Meeson's desire to prevent further excitement and his promise of receiving a deputation led by the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, the Cawnpore Mussalmans were refused not to serve a lawyer's notice on the Chairman but merely ask him in a private letter. I am informed—and I believe this has been published in the newspapers—that Mr. Sim has very discreetly replied that he cannot make any statement on the subject at present. At the Conference next Saturday is not so essential, I have no doubt that Mr. Sim would be served with a lawyer's notice to withdraw or take the consequences. I trust this explanation will convince you that the Mussalmans of Cawnpore denied the story of Mr. Sim which is the sole evidence in possession of Government that the demolished portion was not sacred.

Although not relevant in this connection I must say you have fallen into another error of fact about the Moslem University Fund. I was the first I believe to propose a loan—not a gift as you say of the University Fund to Turkey for war purposes and my earnest, but somewhat delayed supporter was no other than His Highness the Aga Khan to whom you attribute a "stealthy influence." As a matter of fact I have in my possession two letters in which I am authorised to request the authorities in charge of the University Fund to lend His Highness's own munificent contribution to the University Fund to the Ottoman Government.

Let me assure you, Sir, that matters of this character have a seriousness of their own which unfortunately Englishmen even in India have not fully realised, and it is the duty of all independent and liberal-minded journalists such as you to publish no statement unless they are sure of their facts. The Cawnpore Mosque question will either be finally settled, as I hope and trust, by the sagacious statesmanship of Sir James Meeson, undoubtedly the ablest Civilian in India, or it would remain an open sore for years and years. I would therefore suggest a careful perusal of all the literature published on the subject and would commend the files of the *Comrade* to you. One in your position can save Government from an error which may have even greater consequences than the Partition of Bengal conceived in chagrin, carried out in revenge, and continued for some time at least in obsequy.

MUHAMMAD ALI.

Calcutta, August 6, 1913

The Indian Budget.

Mr. Montagu's Statement.

INTRODUCING the Indian Budget in the House of Commons on August 7, Mr. Montagu referred to his visit to India.

He said: "I am convinced that I did right in going to see something of the country and the people with whose welfare I am concerned. I am here to express only the views of the Government from day to day. I have the opportunity of bringing to bear upon my daily work the information given me in India, and it was not for the purpose of making speeches, but for the purpose of helping me in my administrative work at home that I went out. I can only say that it is impossible to forget the cordial assistance given me by British and Indian officials and non-officials in my eager desire to find out what we could do to help them. I do not propose to relax my efforts to prove my gratitude by helping to bring about many schemes advocated to me abroad."

(INDIA OFFICE REORGANISATION.)

Mr. Montagu referred to the proposals for the reorganization of the India Office. "No intention existed," he said, "to abolish the Council of India nor to curtail any of its statutory power whatever in its exact final shape. One unalterable factor in it was the presence of two Indian members on the Council. The whole scheme was one of domestic reform such as any other Minister could introduce with a stroke of the pen, but in the case of the India Office, where the organization was in the minutest details statutorily prescribed, it could only be effected by an Act of Parliament. We have the dual aim to speed up and to simplify the slow and complicated procedure of office, and to make the expert advice, which the Secretary of State derives from the Council, more up to date. Under the existing statutes, a member of Council may, at the end of his time, have been twelve years from India. We propose to reduce it to seven."

STATE BANK PROPOSAL.

Considering that this debate is ordinarily the only opportunity in a year for the full discussion of Indian affairs, Mr. Montagu proposed to introduce an innovation and say little about finance but devote the time to the discussion of matters of general public interest.

Mr. Montagu referred to the extraordinary resources of India. He emphasised the increase in educational expenditure and sanitation. "The appointment of the Financial Commission, presided over by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, to explore our system of finance postpones the necessity for the further defence of our financial organization," Mr. Montagu said. "One thing, however, I might mention. From time to time, proposals have been put forward, and I think in theory at least they have found acceptance both here and in India, for the institution of a State Bank. Such a bank would relieve the India Office of an extremely large amount of financial work and I would perhaps find a solution of many difficulties. Lord Curzon is of opinion that the time is now come for the re-consideration of the proposals for the establishment of a bank which could act as custodian for the large part of the Government balance, manage the paper currency and participate in the sale of drafts on India."

The subject was discussed in a memorandum prepared by Mr. Lionel Abraham, Assistant Under Secretary, India Office, and Lord Curzon, without committing himself in any way on the subject directed Mr. Abraham to present the memorandum for the consideration of the Royal Commission within whose terms of reference the matter clearly comes.

POSITION OF THE ARMY.

"With regard to the general administration," Mr. Montagu said, "I would first like to say a word about the army. The Nicholson Committee's report is confidential and has not been published. I believe, however, that it will lead to improvements in the army in India, but in order to dispose of all hopes on the one hand and all fears on the other, I state this. The general conclusion of the committee proved undeniably that although we may get a better army for the money we now spend, and although we may possibly be able to improve our existing defences without further expense, there is no chance of any reduction of expenditure either on the British army in India or on the Indian army."

ARMY EXPENDITURE.

"A most interesting feature of the army expenditure for the current year is the formation of a Central Flying School. Although it is superficially a fact that the weather in India is comparatively predictable and seems to remove the difficulties inherent in our changeable climate, still experts say that the extremes of heat and cold and differences of relation over cultivated and desert areas create new difficulties. Therefore, we propose to start the school on the most modest basis, and to confine our work firstly to experiment and not to include tuition for beginners. We shall commence with four officers and six aeroplanes."

The school will be located at Sitapur, where there are a large number of unused Government buildings. The expenditure for the current year is estimated at £20,000 sterling.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mr. Montagu said he had very little to say on foreign affairs. He referred to the Khost and Tochi disturbances in which he received once more the evidence of the success of Sir George Roos-Keppl and his officers. Sir George Roos-Keppl had been not only successful in keeping the borderland tranquil, but had made great educational progress in his province.

Mr. Montagu then dealt with Tibet repeating Lord Morley's recent statement.

He also alluded to the sojourn of the Central India Horse at Shiraz, and Sir Edward Grey's congratulations upon the behaviour of Captain Douglas and his regiment in trying circumstances.

PLACE OF NATIVE STATES.

Referring to the Native States, Mr. Montagu said they and their rulers loom large in Indian affairs and will loom larger in future. They are not merely places to be visited by tourists to see fine buildings, study ancient customs, and indulge in sport. Those visiting them can gain many an opportunity for political speculation and instruction by observing the widely divergent political, social, racial and geographical conditions. However marked is the influence of western education and travel in India generally, nowhere is it more marked than in the Native States where the rulers more and more watch international and imperial politics and vie with one another in improving the condition of their administration and their reputation for efficient government. Consequently the last twenty years have witnessed a striking progress and developments in the Native States. This advance entails more advanced methods in our treatment of those of their affairs with which we are concerned.

CHANGES IN FOREIGN OFFICE.

"The Foreign Secretary is already overburdened with the ever-widening and increasingly difficult, complicated and delicate sphere of operations in foreign affairs on all the borders of India, and it is quite impossible for any one man simultaneously to cope satisfactorily with all the problems of the Native States administration. The Government of India, therefore, had now proposed, and Lord Crewe was considering the proposal, that separate Secretaries should be appointed for the affairs of Native States with the title of Political Secretary to the Government, and having for his department that branch of the Foreign Office which deals with internal affairs.

"The change," Mr. Montagu declared, "can be effected at little cost and will, I am sure, be acceptable to the chiefs as tending to a quicker discharge of business and more thorough and more personal representation of their problems to the Viceroy. It will also help to lighten the burdens of the Residents and Political Officers, which have become in arrears with the advance of the States in getting from them a readier response to their reference to headquarters. Moreover, the conferences to be held from time to time in Delhi and Simla to which the ruling princes will be invited will give them opportunities for meeting one another and discussing the alterations in custom, practice and rule. And the success which attended the conference at Delhi on education in the States shows what can be accomplished in this direction with regard to the rest of the administration.

THREE PROBLEMS.

"I think," Mr. Montagu said, "we have at present three problems, the first concerning the relations between the religious races in India, the second concerned with the maintenance of law and order, and the third with the Service questions with which the Public Services Commission is dealing."

With regard to the first question, Mr. Montagu alluded to the relations between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. He said, "I am confident in the future, I believe that all the races in India will realise that the Government of India desires harmony. *Divide et impera*, one of the most dangerous of all maxims, is not written on our text books of statesmanship. I believe most firmly that if the Muhammadan and the Hindu leaders could meet and settle the divergent questions, they would find the ready co-operation of the Government of India.

PAST GLORY OF ISLAM.

"I found in India that one of the outstanding causes of trouble was the problem of special representation of Muhammadans, another was the securing for the relatively backward Muhammadan youths of a substantial share of Government offices. On the first question, I believe it is recognised that the Government must await an agreement between the two parties. We are committed to the principle of special representation. The leaders of the Hindu community understand this, and if the Muhammadans acceded to the request of

the Hindus for special representation, too, an agreement is feasible which would satisfy all the parties and lead to the reversion of the electoral rule.

"While Hinduism is self-contained, Indian Mussalmans feel a peculiar concern in the fortunes of Islam generally," declared Mr. Montagu. "I feel confident that notwithstanding the neutrality of Britain, those interested in India sympathise with the fact that the Mussalmans of India are deeply moved by the fortunes of their co-religionists in Persia, the Balkans and North Africa, but meanwhile educated Mussalmans realize the contrast between the present state of Islam and the times of the Moors in Spain and of Akbar in India. They realize that they have too long neglected the educational opportunity the Government has offered them. The fact that some most eminent Mussalmans occupy high places in India must convince them that there is no discrimination against Islam.

"All educated Indians," Mr. Montagu went on to say, "must recognise that it would be disastrous if divisions of population, due to religious and historical causes, were to coincide permanently with a difference of intellectual level, and if the important Mussalman community were allowed to remain outside the influence of the forces moulding the India of the future. We may say then that the arrangements which the Local Governments can make for the encouragement of Mussulman pupils in scholarships and special courses will be welcomed by the best elements in the other communities."

EDUCATIONAL PROSPECT

Mr. Montagu referred to the proposed new University at Dacca and the opening of a most important chapter in the higher education of India with a residential system which the Government contemplated as a model for new Universities in India. He paid a tribute to private enterprise in teaching in India, specially to the splendid work of the missionaries. He referred to the Rev Mr. Biscoe's school at Srinagar, the Anglo-Vedic Arya Samaj College at Lahore, the Christian College at Madras, the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel at Allahabad the St. Xavier's College in Bombay, and the Salvation Army work among the criminal tribes. He emphasised the need for personal influence in teaching and the inadequacy of text-book cramming.

Mr. Montagu alluded to the Education Revolution and said, "When we have completed great Central Research Institute in India for equipping Indian students for original work in Oriental philology and have a great Oriental School in London, then we may hope that we have done something to remove the reproach that we lag far behind France and Germany in interest for Asiatic culture.

THE PROBLEM IN BENGAL.

"In Bengal," Mr. Montagu said, "the permanent land settlement and the absence of continuous land records resulted incidentally in the tremendous disadvantage that the opportunities for close relationship between the people and the administration have been limited, resulting in an estrangement and reliance not on the Revenue Officer but on the police for a link between the people and those who govern.

"The problem in Bengal," according to Mr. Montagu, "is to devise a remedy for this state of affairs by the perfection of the machinery of local government and improving the police. The Government is giving its attention to this."

Mr. Montagu reviewed at some length, the criminal conditions in Bengal and preventive scheme which the Government of Bengal is considering, but he said "the real problem is to cure the conditions which make these crimes possible by the development of industry and the improvement of education on lines enabling young Bengalis to earn a living by practical pursuits instead of turning out educational failures.

"Meanwhile it is plainly the duty of the State to protect the law-abiding, to give confidence to the timid, and to deal so energetically with crime and violence that public confidence may be restored. The inability of the Government to give protection to the population which has no natural sympathy with crime but which too often has found that the dacoit can strike with more certainty and greater vigour than the Government would have disastrous consequences. The next step is to improve the police."

PARRAWALA'S POWERS.

Alluding to the abuses of power by Indian constables, Mr. Montagu said: "I only want to say a few things about this well known theme and to regret that no members of the force except its few bad characters are ever heard of by the public in Britain."

Mr. Montagu dwelt on the splendid work of the English officers and the overwhelming majority of the constables. He paid a tribute to cases of police heroism in the latest award to the King's Police Medal. He hoped that their record would raise a desire on the part of some members of the House of Commons who were laudably anxious to prevent torture and such practices to seek information regarding the other side of the shield.

"However, we cannot see our way to abolish the record of confessions before trial," Mr. Montagu said. "We have a duty to prevent torture, but are not justified in hampering ourselves in the punishment of crime by an action, which as the House will see when the papers are published, is opposed by all Local Governments and practically all courts of law."

REFORM OF LAW OF CONFESSIONS.

"Lord Crewe is considering the measures proposed by the Government of India. We shall be glad if any member of the House of Commons can suggest further precautions. I will enumerate some measures. The police are to be forbidden to interrogate the accused, if the latter are remanded without the permission of a Magistrate. Instructions are to be given that the remand of a confessing prisoner to police custody should only be granted if the police show good ground and only by Magistrates having first class or second class powers under the Criminal Procedure Code. Where the object of remand is the verification of a prisoner's statement, he will be remanded to the charge of the Magistrate and the remand should be as short as possible. When a prisoner has been produced to make a confession and has declined to do so, he is in no circumstances to be remanded to police custody. The recording of confessions is to be limited to special Divisional Magistrates of the first class or specially empowered second class Magistrates. Effort will be made not to record confessions without orders from the District Superintendent, or until the accused has had some hours out of police custody. The police are not to be present when confessions are recorded, and ordinary confessions shall be recorded in open Court during Court hours, and the Magistrate recording the confession shall endeavour to ascertain the exact circumstances in which the confession has been made. He shall record on the statement the ground on which he believes that the confession is genuine, and the precautions taken to remove the accused from the custody of the police."

DELHI OUTRAGE.

Regarding the Delhi outrage, Mr. Montagu said:—"I want to say something about how it was possible that such a plot matured without an inkling reaching the authorities, why the actual attempt was not frustrated and why the criminals were not detected. If there is an active organisation, however small in numbers and however abhorrent to the general sense of the people, an organisation including men competent to manufacture effective bombs and willing to take the risk of throwing them, and if the organisation is in the hands of men who can keep secrets and confine the knowledge of particular plots to a very narrow circle, then carefully thought out plans can be prepared and no Government in the world can guard against them, except by such a network of surveillance and espionage as would be absolutely intolerable."

Mr. Montagu detailed the possible precautions which it was the duty of the authorities to take, and declared that the judgment of the Government of India, after the most careful enquiry, was that there was no failure on the part of the local authorities or the police to carry out their duty. There was no reason whatever to expect that the arrangements for guarding against this mad crime were not thoroughly adequate. He quoted Lord Hardinge, at the opening of the first session of the Legislative Council, "one of the most moving public occasions at which I was ever privileged to assist." Mr. Montagu declared "Lord Hardinge said: 'In my desire for kindly intercourse with the people and for accessibility, I always discouraged excessive precautions and trusted myself and Lady Hardinge more to the care of the people than to the police.'"

"I think," Mr. Montagu continued, "we owe to this and to the splendid courage with which the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge acted throughout, the magnificent display of sympathy and abhorrence with which the crime was regarded from one end of India to the other."

"A crime of this kind," Mr. Montagu said, "is not the outcome of a wide national movement. The fact that a knot of irreconcilables can effect a political murder is not confined to India. When the deliberate opinion of people is hostile to the Government, the detection of a particular crime is generally possible, because the existence of conspiracies is no secret to the people at large, but a particular crime can be committed without changing the situation. Spontaneous expressions of horror came from Indians of all creeds, classes and races. The splendid thanksgiving at the recovery of the Viceroy constituted one of the most striking events in the history of the British Empire. The closer association of leading Indians in the Government has precluded all possibility that the attempt on the life of the Viceroy can be an act of political Nationalism. India abhors the crime, Indians have reflected sadly that the occurrence inflicts an unmerited stain on the reputation of India."

EFFORT OF THE DELHI BOYS.

"There is no question of reaction," declared Mr. Montagu, "of withdrawing from the innocent millions the measures we thought

right to take, merely because in India as in dozen other countries at this moment, Terrorists committed a crime that could by no possibility have brought a single national aspiration nearer to fulfilment, but the good name of India has suffered very unfairly and the position of our Indian fellow-subjects in other parts of the Empire, difficult enough already in many ways, has not been made easier by the Delhi bomb."

"Such incidents evoke an outburst of indignation even from the severe critics of our Government." Mr. Montagu quoted an Indian member of Council, who asked during a recent debate: "Though these outrages are committed against my own country, what have I done?"

Mr. Montagu continued: "This question shows the feeling of personal responsibility which is new in India. Besides the feeling of loyalty is not new. This feeling of responsibility is one of the greatest needs as its appearance is one of the most hopeful signs to-day."

PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION.

Coming to the third subject, Mr. Montagu discussed the Public Services Commission which, he said, had been conducting its enquiries in conditions of great difficulty, and had been subjected to misunderstanding based on imperfect reports of proceedings and often slandered. The Government was appreciative of the assiduity and determination with which they were conducting their responsible work, and was confident that when the report was issued, we should have a basis for many desirable alterations.

"I do not desire for one moment to utter a single opinion likely to prejudice the Commission's findings," Mr. Montagu said, "but you cannot continue successfully in governing India with dissatisfied public services, and I fear that presently recruiting will be hampered by the evil reports of those returning dissatisfied from India. Unless we can get the best men selected by the highest British traditions proceeding to India, confident of their own choice of a permanent career and of goodwill and fair treatment by the British people, you will lose, and you will deserve to lose, the hold of the British people on the affection of the Indian fellow-subjects."

"I am not referring," Mr. Montagu continued, "to a few, decreasingly few, Civil Servants who regret the good old days when they were sent out to govern a people, content to be governed, and lament that they have now to co-operate with the people in the Government of the people's own country. We do not want those men in India. After all what did we go to India for? If the people of India have not made any progress as the result of a century of British rule, if the problems of government and the relations between the British and the Indians are the same as they were in the days of Clive, then the British Government has failed in its only justification."

"THE EDUCATED INDIAN."

"Nor need we listen to those telling us that they do not like the educated Indian, and that the educated Indian does not like us. If the educated Indian has faults different from, and more marked than the faults of the educated Englishman, these faults are the faults of the education which we have given him. If it can be said that among the educated Indians, there are those who do not like us and do not believe in our purpose, I do not see why we need be dismayed. Our task is difficult and worthy. It is to bring the educated Indian to our side so that we may continue helping him and he us."

"The problem in India is not the problem of material advancement, of increasing the prosperity or of new public buildings. It is not even the problem of efficiency. It is the problem of government by co-operation, of giving the Indian increasing opportunity in his own country, and increasing assistance in the development of his capital for local government and administration."

"The Civil Service," Mr. Montagu stated, "is suffering from three grievances demanding redress. Firstly, pay which is a question of the utmost importance and the Commission has got a worthy task in the thorough investigation of this question and the determination to recommend, if it consider it necessary, a pay adequate to the altered conditions, and pensions adequate to the services rendered."

SIR JOHN REES ASKS A QUESTION.

Sir John Rees here asked whether the complaint was general or only from the Punjab and the United and the Central Provinces.

Mr. Montagu replied that he was making a general statement, though there was a particular grievance from the Punjab and the United Provinces, and the Government had taken some steps, not wholly satisfactory perhaps that would not if he might?

and the phrase "queer the pitch" of the Commission, for temporarily dealing with the question.

DEVOLUTION NECESSARY.

"Secondly," Mr. Montagu continued, "the next grievance is the growing complexity of the system. Half the faults found with the Civil Service are mainly attributable to overwork and increase in the inflexible rules for the guidance of all grades of officers. One of the cures for that is devolution. We must find indigenous voluntary agencies to conduct a large amount of our detailed work."

WOES OF THE DISTRICT OFFICER.

"We are always inclined to thrust on India law regulations comparable with those that have proved successful in Britain. In Britain, we hand them over mainly to voluntary agencies, the County Councils and the Rural District Council to carry out, in India every such enactment must presently mean more work for the official. Even if there is some loss of efficiency, even if the District Board is worse run than the Municipal body and less capable, we ought to find an indigenous agency in India which will alone ensure our progress being real and complete. How can this be done? How can the District Officer entrust the details of his work to voluntary assistants, if his Local Government is always asking him detailed questions on matters for which he ought to be responsible? How can the Local Government forbear to worry the District Officer, if the Government at Delhi is always interfering with the discretion of local officers? How can the Imperial Government of Delhi refuse to interfere with the Local Government and the local officers, if it is always being worried for reports of details by the Secretary of State? How can the Secretary of State forbear to worry the Government at Delhi, if the Commons and Lords are always asking information? The tightness and control of each step in the machine," declared Mr. Montagu, "is the excuse for the step below."

"This is the last grievance and this applies to all the services in India, British and Indian. They are sensitive of your good opinion and dependent upon your support, and believe they are in every way worthy of it. The isolation, courage and indefatigable work of exiled men and women in lonely station in the Civil Service, the Forest, the Salt and the Police departments, to name only a few, ought to inspire anyone with admiration, and what I ask in their name, is appreciation of their difficulties and belief in their undoubted singleness of purpose."

WATCHWORD OF THE FUTURE.

"But there is another side," said Mr. Montagu. "The public Services Inquiry is opening up the whole of the vastly important question of associations of the Indians with the British in government. The old era of hard and fast division between the Government and the governed on racial lines has disappeared forever. The watchword of the future is co-operation. We are pledged to advance, but it must be steadily and prudently. The appointment of the Commission is an earnest proof of our sincerity, and as their share, we ask patience from the progressive section of the Indian community."

LIP-SERVICE WORTHLESS.

"It is not only the question of new regulations, of a carefully balanced proportion between the races, of words and of figures, it is above all, and beyond all, a question of real determination on both sides to act up to the spirit underlying the principles. Lip-service to the formula is worthless. I appeal to the British and the Indians alike to make this co-operation a real thing by inspiring it with the vital element of tact, sympathy, and sincerity."

CASE OF TENS OF MILLIONS.

"But there exists another problem as important," Mr. Montagu said. He described the tens of millions "never aspiring to a share in the Government of the country and living a purely Oriental life." "We must do our best," he said, "for their settlement. We must do it by rule and code, but a note of explanation and gentleness of application must be added to the official note. Understanding is wanted and understanding is impossible, unless the officer who meets the people has time to talk to the people and the liberty to enlighten their difficulties by personal aid and sympathy. My last word is the plea for devolution, not necessarily by redistribution of duties and powers, but the liberty and the exercise of wise discretion in the use of the duties and powers as they now are."

"If anything I have said to-night," Mr. Montagu concluded, "tends to secure for one section of the Indian community a further instalment in the realization of its just and proper ambitions and for others a more personal and elastic understanding of the rules and for the public servants some due recognition of the loyal and uninspiring services by the removal of any existing potential causes of discontent, then I shall feel that I have not wasted the time of the House."

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محمد حبیب الرحمن شاپوری ۲۲ اگست ۱۹۱۳ء

منیجر یونانی دواخانہ لکھنؤ

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The Week.

The Balkan Crisis.

London, August 9

RUSSIAN and Austrian Notes, reserving the right to revise the Treaty, were read at the Bukharest Conference yesterday. A declaration by Bulgaria was also read that the Austrian and Russian claim to revision decided her to sign the Treaty in the hope that the Powers would secure an improvement in her position. Bulgaria's unexpected decision to demobilise is ascribed to her reliance on the Powers to compel the Turks to retire behind the Enos-Midia line. The conflicting views of the Powers regarding the peace treaty, and especially the ownership of Kavalla, are revealed in a polemic which has broken out in the French and Russian press.

The *Temps* is astonished at Russia's attitude regarding Kavalla, and warns Russia of the consequences of following Austria's lead.

The *Novos Vremya* says that France is pursuing chimeras and is sacrificing the Franco-Russian Alliance, the basis of which must be revised.

The Russian journal *Retch* says that "France has deserted us owing to phantom considerations regarding Mediterranean policy."

It is announced in Bukharest that Bulgaria has waived her claim to Kavalla, and that the peace treaty will be signed on Monday. It is further stated that Rumania will begin to demobilise to-morrow.

News wires from Bukharest that the conference has concluded. It is now stated that the treaty will be signed at nine o'clock to-morrow morning. Greece and Serbia have reserved the right to submit the question of indemnity to the Hague Court of Arbitration.

King Constantine has conferred on M. Venizelos the Cross of the Saviour, and has ordered salutes of 101 guns to be fired in all parts of Greece to celebrate the conclusion of peace. The wildest enthusiasm prevails in Athens. The Greek press is filled with ecstasies of loyalty, and refers to King Constantine as "the glorious conqueror King." The papers promise the King a most fervent welcome when he returns to the capital.

London, August 10.

The Kaiser has appointed King Constantine of Greece to be a German Field Marshal, and has conferred the Grand Cross of the Red Eagle on M. Majorescu, President of the Bukharest Peace Conference. The King of Rumania telegraphed to the Kaiser thanking him for his loyal friendship, and saying that the fact that the peace will be final is due to him. The Kaiser replied warmly congratulating the King of Rumania on the splendid success of the wise and statesmanlike policy of Rumania, and expressing the great satisfaction to himself that he was able to contribute to the result. The Kaiser rejoices at their mutual cooperation in the cause of peace. King Charles again replied thanking the Kaiser for his effective share in events so significant to Rumania.

Bukharest. The King has conferred his decorations on the Greek, the Montenegrin and the Serbian delegates. The Bulgarians have asked whether any distinctions are to be conferred on them after the resumption of diplomatic relations. The Rumanian losses in the campaign were five killed.

There were 389 cases of cholera in the Rumanian army, 189 deaths, and 125 suspected cases up to the 8th instant.

London, August 11

Rumania's triumph in the settlement of the Balkan question is shown by the exchange of telegrams between the Kaiser and King Charles, the speech of M. Pasitch at the banquet in Bukharest, and the tributes of the German-inspired press to the clever and energetic statescraft of King Charles.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and the inspired *Lokal Anzeiger* take for granted that the peace will be definitive. The *Lokal Anzeiger* describes the Austrian and Russian claim for the revision of the treaty as superfluous, declaring that the ownership of Kavalla is not a question of European importance. The French press hopes that the peace will be definitive and is confident that Russia will not press her sentimental preference for Bulgaria, as Kavalla is rather a Mediterranean than a Balkan problem, thus specially affecting France. It is noteworthy that the Vienna press now hopes that the Bukharest settlement will be allowed to stand without interference by the Powers. It says that Rumania suggested the revision of the declaration with the object of facilitating Bulgaria's renunciation of Kavalla.

The conclusion of peace is welcomed enthusiastically in Belgrade and Cetinje.

The Kaiser has also conferred the Grand Cross of the Red Eagle on the Crown Prince of Greece.

Replying to the Powers' representations, Turkey declares that she has endeavoured to comply with the Protocol drawn up in London,

but that the Bulgarian atrocities forced her to take action with a view to saving Mussulman survivors elsewhere. She says she has washed herself to reoccupying territory strictly necessary to ensure the safety of the capital. The reply makes no mention of Adrianople.

Since it appears tolerably clear that there will be no revision of the Bucharest Treaty, the tone of newspapers in Sofia indicates the extreme of depression and bitterness. The Treaty is described as "the iniquity perpetrated at Bucharest." The papers say that the present peace can only perpetuate disorders, and that Macedonia will be soaked in blood in the possibly not distant future. Information from various sources indicates Turkey's determination to retain Adrianople. Turkey retains a large force there while Bulgaria has agreed to demobilize.

Salonica: Greek and Mussulman inhabitants of the territory allotted to Bulgaria are burning churches, mosques and dwellings, and fleeing into Greek territory.

Rumania, with the loss of scarcely a single man, has gained an extension of territory exceeding her fondest hopes. She has secured complete predominance in the Balkans. It is inferred from the exchange of telegrams between the Kaiser and the King of Rumania that Rumania acted first and last under his guidance and concurrence.

London, Aug. 12.

Vienna: Despatches exchanged by the Kaiser and King Charles have given great offence in Vienna. They are regarded as revealing long suspected differences of opinion between Austria and Germany regarding the Orient, and as showing that Rumania no longer considers Vienna but Berlin as the central connecting link in the Triple Alliance. Count von Berchtold's Balkan policy is described as a fiasco.

The inspired *Kaisersche Zeitung* declares that action by European diplomacy against the Treaty of Bucharest is out of the question.

Sofia: A *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral yesterday in celebration of peace. King Ferdinand and suite walked from the Cathedral to the Palace followed by cheering crowds. King Ferdinand has issued an Army Order in which he says: "The struggle which was provoked by the treachery of our late Allies would have been successful for us, if our strength had not been paralysed by unforeseen political circumstances. We are exhausted, but not conquered." The order concludes by exhorting the Army to return to peaceful occupations and to prepare their children and grandchildren to complete one day the glorious work which they have begun.

Bucharest: The Tsar has telegraphed to King Charles congratulating him on the conclusion of peace. The Tsar says the result is an indubitable success for Rumania. King Charles has replied thanking the Tsar for this fresh and infinitely precious evidence of friendship.

In the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey, in a speech, reviewed the position regarding the Balkans. He announced that the Ambassadors Conference had adjourned, but would reassemble whenever necessary. The fact of a l'jourament did not afford ground for any ill-founded inference regarding the relations between the Powers. Sir Edward Grey emphasized that the Conference had reached an agreement concerning Albania and the Aegean Islands which was the object of their meetings. An International Commission of Control would be established to create an autonomous Albanian State under a Prince selected by the Powers. He pointed out that Britain was particularly interested in the Aegean Islands from a naval standpoint. Our position, he said, was that none of the Islands should be retained by any Great Power, and he did not doubt that Italy would give up her occupation when Turkey fulfilled her part of the Treaty. It would be entirely wrong to suggest that there was doubt of Italy's good faith. The outstanding questions were the eventual settlement of Thrace and the settlement of Macedonia under the Treaty of Bucharest. He dwelt on the fact of Turkey re-occupying Thrace disregarding the Treaty of London, but the agreement between Rumania and Bulgaria, which had likewise been concluded under the auspices of the Powers, had also been disregarded. It seemed to him that every State in the Balkans had disregarded treaties, agreements and alliances. There was one satisfaction, namely, that with the cessation of hostilities, peace was apparently assured.

Sir Edward Grey declared that Turkey might not have got as favourable terms at the Enos-Midia line, if the Allies had not known that the raising of the question of Constantinople or of the Straits would have meant intervention by one or more Powers. The British policy towards Turkey was to consolidate and secure Turkish authority and integrity of the dominions in Asiatic Turkey and territory behind the Enos-Midia Line. The success of that policy depended upon the goodwill of the other Powers.

Asiatic Turkey interested so many Powers that whatever was done must have the consent of all. If Turkey did not accept the advice of the Powers, she would eventually meet disaster either by financial distress or by the armed intervention of one or more Powers. Turning to the Treaty of Bucharest, Sir Edward Grey strongly advocated the minimum of interference. He affirmed that if a Power requested modification of one point, then it was possible that the other Powers would suggest the revision of other points. It was futile for the Powers to suggest revision, unless they were prepared to assert their will by force. Britain did not propose to suggest any modification. The Powers would require some time to examine the whole situation in Thrace and Macedonia, before deciding formally what steps should be taken. Britain would continue to work as closely as possible in the interests of common peace. Both Turkey and the Allies should understand that the abstinence of the Powers hitherto from forcible intervention did not mean that under all circumstances, any one of the Powers would not intervene, if sufficient provocation were given.

Referring to Turkey, Sir Edward Grey said he would like to speak of our relations with Muhammadan Powers generally and to declare that no Minister could speak of these matters without remembering that the King had many millions of Muhammadan subjects. But we had absolute and entire responsibility only so far as seeing that inside the British dominions, the racial sentiments and feelings of the Mahomedan subjects were respected and had full scope. "We have fulfilled and will fulfil that duty," declared Sir Edward Grey. "Moreover, I hold that our policy should never be one of intolerance or of wanton and unprovoked aggression against a Mussulman Power, but we cannot undertake to protect a Mussulman Power outside the British dominions from the consequences of their own action."

The Conference in London has agreed on a compromise regarding the southern Albanian frontier between the claims of Greece and the demands of Italy and Austria. The district of Koritsa, which is strongly claimed by Greece, is assigned to Albania. The Conference was also agreed concerning the Aegean Islands. The Conference at Bucharest closed amidst banquets and gatherings at which highly pacific speeches were made by Greeks, Servians and Rumanians all eulogising the equity and reasonableness of the settlement.

The Bulgarian delegate, M. Tontchell, confined himself to saying that he foresaw a future rapprochement between Rumania and Bulgaria.

King Ferdinand's Army Order is regarded as expressing the actual sentiments of the country. It is remarked that while referring explicitly to the treachery of others, he says nothing uncomplimentary about Rumania.

The exodus of Greeks from the country falling to Bulgaria, is becoming formidable. The Greek Government has been obliged to organise special measures of relief, and hopes to be able to settle the bulk of the refugees in the plain of Demirhisar. The Bulgarians will succeed to a devastated desert.

Bucharest: King Charles has telegraphed to the Kings of Greece, Servia and Montenegro congratulating them on the signing of the peace. Their Majesties have replied thanking King Charles in amiable terms. King Charles has telegraphed to King Ferdinand acknowledging the conciliatoriness of Bulgaria, and hoping that peace will bring prosperity to Bulgaria. King Ferdinand has replied admitting that the end of the sanguinary war was due to Rumania's efforts, and hoping that the relations between Rumania and Bulgaria will become more intimate.

London, Aug. 12.

Vienna: Reports have been received here of sanguinary fighting between the Albanians, commanded by Isambolitinaz and the Servians, who crossed the frontier in the Kroja district. It is also reported that the Hoti and Gruda tribes are preparing to fight the Montenegrins resenting their incorporation in Montenegro.

The Emperor Francis Joseph has telegraphed to the King of Rumania congratulating him on the success of Rumania in securing peace and assuring him of his continued interest in the welfare of Rumania. King Charles has replied thanking the Emperor for this fresh proof of his faithful friendship and paying a tribute to the great part the Emperor Francis Joseph took in the conclusion of peace.

London, Aug. 14.

Vienna: Although no official notification of the abandonment of Russia's intention to revise the Treaty of Bucharest has yet been received, official circles reckon on the possibility of Austria standing alone in this matter. They declare that whatever may be Rumania's ultimate attitude Austria will consistently continue the policy of working for a prominent place in the Balkans, and will seek to prevent the excessive humiliation of Bulgaria.

The Anniversary of the Ottoman Constitution.

Among other public functions His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, had an occasion to perform at Rawalpindi, the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Maynard Islamia Hostel, Agnew Hall, and Benson Library. The function deserves a special mention from the standpoint of the Mussalmans.

Hindu-Muslim Relations. IN REPLY to a combined address of welcome by the District Board of Rawalpindi and the Municipal Committees of Murree and Rawalpindi, Sir Michael O'Dwyer made an important speech in the

Further held at Newswhipham on Monday, the 4th instant His Honour referred to the subject of primary education, and said he intended to extend its bounds. Besides, he turned to the subject of inter-communal strife and regretted the deplorable tension between the various sections of the population in the Province. In the words of His Honour, the strifes of a recent growth and an unnatural one, which is certainly a blot—and a serious blot—on the fair fame of the Province. His Honour maintained that “the traditional position in the Panjab is that of communities of different religions, but often of common origin, living amicably side by side, each worshipping God according to its own beliefs, and all conforming to the same or similar communal institutions. If I may venture to state my opinion, it is this close juxtaposition of different creeds that has helped to give the Panjab many of his best qualities—the practical common-sense, the spirit of give and take, the readiness to adopt new ideas, and the enterprises which make him—whether a Hindu, a Muhamadan or a Sikh—pre-eminent among the races of India. Any movement towards grouping the various communities in separate camps is, therefore, to be deplored, and I take this opportunity of making an earnest appeal to influential men in each community and in particular to the Press, which in this matter has much influence for good or evil, to use every endeavour to allay sectional excitement and restore traditional good feeling.” His Honour’s advice is singularly timely, and we hope it will lead to good results. It may, however, be stated that, though both the Hindus and the Mussulmans are at this moment equally to blame, the latter were not guilty of aggression at the outset. The provocation to Moslem feeling through the militant politico-religious movements of the Hindus was intense towards the close of the last century. Retaliation made matters worse and brought into existence wide and deep lines of cleavage, which have ever since seemed to many to be almost unbridgable. To blame the separate electorates for a state of things which dates back to the early nineties is to obscure the real issues with cant and humbug. The Lieutenant-Governor’s exhortation is sincere, and we only hope

the *Panjab Press* will realise its duty. The past cannot be undone, but it can at any rate be forgotten and deprived of its malign influence on the present. Greater tolerance and a real spirit of compromise will succeed in smoothing matters, but these virtues can hardly flourish in an atmosphere of strife which some of the Hindu organs unfortunately still persist in maintaining in the Province. The comments of the Hindu papers on the Cawnpore Mosque affair give some measure of the Hindu attitude at the present time.

THE PEACE of Bucharest has been signed, and it is being hailed as final, like the defunct Treaty of London. It may be final as long as Bulgaria remains unfit to strike again in order to take back what she has been forced to disgorge. To secure the Balkan hegemony has been the fondest dream of King Ferdinand, and that astute and wily monarch is sure to make another bid for it as soon as the occasion is ripe and Bulgaria recovers from the terrible exhaustion that has completely paralysed her to-day. For the time being the stage is held by triumphant Serbia and intoxicated Greece, with Roumania dominating the entire scene. The Tsar, the Kaiser and the Emperor Francis Joseph have vied with one another in acclaiming King Carol as the peace-maker of the Balkans. There is no doubt that the Roumanian diplomacy and action have been wonderfully well-timed. Without the loss of a single soldier, Roumania has gained a considerable accession of territory and the leadership of the Balkan States. She has broken her plighted word and profited by a sordid game, but Europe has condoned her, because she has played the game with such consummate skill and because she has powerful supporters at her back. Bulgaria is smarting under her fresh wounds, but she is for the moment impotent. Those, however, who think the Balkan question has been finally disposed of by the Peace of Bucharest have a rude awakening in store in the near future. The Balkan question remains where it ever was before. The domination of Turkey has rendered the situation all the more complex, and the conflict of interests has become direct and insistent. The Greek, the Bulgar and the Serb have yet some scores to settle and they will be settled soon, and in their own good way.

THE *Pioneer* has just discovered a "Loyal Moslem Association" in Bombay and with the help of its "resolutions" it seems to have finally disposed of the grievance of the entire Moslem community. The method is ideally simple and the *Pioneer* and other journals of that ilk are not above the temptation of using it when it comes to the question of averting a moral bankruptcy. The farce, however, becomes glaringly mischievous when we remember that issues of grave moment involving the happiness and contentment of an entire community are thus made the sport of questionable journalistic tactics. A "Loyal Moslem Association," of whose existence no Mussulman had ever heard before, is trumpeted forth to show that the Moslem feeling over the Cawnpore affair is neither right nor sincere and that the one gleam of sanity and sound sense comes from a number of obscure individuals who are perhaps engaged in a mild quest after notoriety and gain. If the "Association" is not really a myth, many will be disposed to doubt its Islam as well as its loyalty. The *Pioneer's* joyous acclamation is a trifle too gushing and loud, and the sermon to which it treats the Mussalmans will be assessed at its proper value. Our righteous and solemn contemporary has always had a dignified contempt for those who have the misfortune to go against its wishes. And if the Indian Moslems have foolishly routed the ire of the Allahabad Thunderer, they must accept the risks—even the risk of being punished with "associations" that are both "loyal" and "Mussalman."

MR. ABDUL ABUL Wires to us from Cawnpore: "Reached Cawnpore. Saw Mazhar-ul-Haq M. very badly wanted. Least expenses estimated three lakhs. Collect subscriptions. Send money to Mazhar-ul-Haq direct. Hope, Delhi Mithamun dans would keep their good name." We need only add that the Indian Mussalmans, who realise what the Cawnpore mosque question really means, will spare no efforts to raise the necessary funds and speedily relieve the anxiety of those who are defending Moslem interests. We trust they realise the urgent nature of the appeal and will respond without delay.

A Resolution of the Bengal Government, issued on 21st July 1919, sets forth tentative proposals in connection with an amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act and, in particular, an alteration in the constitution of the Corporation. These proposals are stated to be based on various suggestions that have been

put forward from time to time, and the Bengal Government has published them with a view to ascertain the opinions of the citizens of Calcutta. The main features of the changes now proposed in respect of the Calcutta Corporation are the adoption of the Bombay system of a nominated official Commissioner with an elected Chairman, and an increase in the number of Commissioners with special provisions to secure adequate representation of the Moslem community and various important interests. The appointment of an official Commissioner with an elected Chairman would no doubt lead to greater efficiency, for the executive head would be relieved of his dual functions. The growth of population has necessitated an increase in the number of Commissioners, and it is proposed that the total number should be raised from 50 to 75. But the redistribution of the wards and the revision of the existing election rules should be so effected as not to cause an undue majority in the representation of a certain community to the partial or total exclusion of other communities. The representation of the Moslem community in the Corporation has been altogether inadequate, and we are glad the Bengal Government realises the fact. The Mussalmans form 25.6 per cent of the total population of Calcutta, but the number of Mussalman votes in each ward is very small and the percentage of Muhammadan votes to the total voting power is as low as 8.1. These figures support the view that the chance of a Muhammadan seeking election as a ward representative are meagre and cannot but justify the claim that the principle of separate representation, by which Muhammadan representation is secured on the Legislative Councils, should be followed in the case of the Calcutta Corporation. It means that the representatives of the Muhammadan community must be elected by the votes of their co-religionists only. Again the separate Muhammadan representation should not be a mere nominal representation, intended only to secure that the community should not be altogether unrepresented. On the contrary, the community should be given that degree of representation which may be commensurate not only with its voting power but also with its numbers, wealth, and degree of advancement. It is also necessary to allow the Muhammadans a vote in the general ward elections which would afford that opportunity for Hindu Moslem co-operation which the Bengal Press regards as the one supreme need. It has also the Muhammadan community of Calcutta can safeguard its interests in a Corporation, in which a strong preponderance of Hindu Commissioners representing various interests will always be assured. A strong agitation against the tentative proposals of the Bengal Government to give separate and adequate representation to Mussalmans has already been set up by the Bengal Press, but we trust it will not deter the authorities from carrying out a necessary measure of reform.

WE ARE greatly indebted to Nawab Nizam-ul-Jang of Hyderabad for his occasional poetic contributions to the *Comrade*. His gift is remarkable, and all his efforts bear the stamp of genuine poetry. The sonnet on "Truth," which appears elsewhere, is a fine specimen of his work which is uniformly distinguished by singular beauty and power and a fine felicity of touch. Talent like his is rare in this country, especially when we take into account the difficulties of the language he has chosen as his vehicle of expression. His grasp of English and the wonderful alchemy with which he transmutates words into golden images—their charm, their dignity and their rhythm—have some time an echo of the great masters whose songs thrill the hearts of those that speak the English tongue.

WE HAVE great pleasure in recommending to the particular attention of the Muhammadan public a new kind of *Burqa* fashioned by Sa'ida Ahmad Begum Sahiba, of Delhi, which, besides being quite different from the ill-cut, cumbersome and antiquated type at present in vogue, is unquestionably beautiful, comfortable and satisfies all the requirements of *pardah*. The idea first struck the designer in 1904, when the Secretary in charge of the Female Section of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference invited the attention of Moslem ladies to devise an up-to-date *Burqa*. It was awarded the first prize in the Ladies' Arts Exhibitions held at Lucknow in 1904 and 1912, and the designer has also received a handsome reward from Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal who herself is pleased to wear the new *Burqa*. The *Burqa* can be had from the Khatoun Stores, Delhi. The prices vary according to the materials used.

The Comrade.

The Cawnpore Case.

THE world that is watching the affairs at Cawnpore on the tiptoe of expectation will consider itself cheated if strange things do not topple over each other in their hurry to occur in the case that is pending there. But it appears that those responsible for the fate of Cawnpore Muslims have no desire to cheat the world of its expectations of the unexpected. H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor, on the analogy of a character in a certain poetic tale, who, "saying I shall ne'er consent, consented," delivered a speech at Agra in which, while saying "I cannot here or now anticipate the findings of the Court of Justice which will try the case in due course," and "consequently it will be improper at present to apportion the blame", anticipated every finding and apportioned both praise and blame. Even a tyrant in the knowledge of Law could at once say after this that the accused had good grounds for apprehending that the ends of justice would not be promoted by holding the trial of such a case in any court of law of which the presiding officer is an official subordinate to Sir James Meeson. But it appears that Mr. Boys, appearing for the Crown, had to pinch himself and rub his eyes to make sure if he was dreaming or awake when Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque presented his application for postponement with a view to apply for a transfer to the Governor-General Council, under section 527 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Mr. Boys had neither asked for nor received any instructions with reference to such an unforeseen contingency. He asked at first for an adjournment for five minutes then opposed the application on his own responsibility and finally asked for a day's interval for obtaining instructions and preparing himself to deal with the application.

But the presiding Magistrate was still more original. He desired to know why the accused had not raised the question of transfer before the Court commenced its sittings, and even before those under arrest knew which of them would be indicted and which let off out of nearly two hundred persons arrested after the *enroute*. If it be conceded that section 526 of the Criminal Procedure Code applies to the application which Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque made to the Court in the Cawnpore Case, then it was entirely beside the point for the presiding Magistrate to complain that the question had not been raised earlier. The law does not require that an application for postponement under section 526, sub-section 8, should be made within any particular period before the date fixed for the hearing. It requires only that the party should notify to the Court before which the case is pending, before the commencement of the hearing, his intention to make an application for the transfer of the case. If such an intention is notified, however short a time before the commencement of the hearing, the Court before which the case is pending is bound to exercise its powers of postponement or adjournment without reference to any opportunity that the party might have had of making an application at some earlier time. The refusal to grant such an application is illegal and none of the proceedings that follow can be supported. This has been laid down with such clearness and emphasis in the case of *Surat Lall* (I. L. R. 29, Cal. 211) that we are astonished at the reference by the presiding Magistrate to the lack of the Counsel for the accused in not raising the question earlier. In any case, it was not before the 5th instant that the *Pioneer* published a full report of His Honour's speech at Agra, and steps were taken within a few days of this to draw up a memorial to be submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council praying for the exercise of the powers conferred on him by section 527 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Within a week of the publication of the Agra speech and on the very first day of the sitting of the Court the application for postponement was made. If this is not all the due diligence that the law requires, we fail to say what else it can be. But it appears that in Cawnpore all the laches are on the side of the people and none whatever on the side of the authorities.

However, Mr. Boys' desire to have a day's interval for thinking over the matter and preparing himself was wholly unnecessary, as His Worship Mr. S. M. Smith had had enough time wherein to arrive at definite conclusions. And it is these conclusions that we now propose to examine. In the first place, we contend that section 527 has to be read along with section 526, sub-section 8. Section 526 is imperative, and when a party notifies to the Court before which the case is pending his intention to make an application for the transfer of the case, "the Court shall exercise the powers of postponement or adjournment given by section 544 in such a manner as will afford a reasonable time for the application being made and an order being obtained thereon, before the accused is called on for his defence." As a matter of fact, it would seem from a very extensive number of precedents that when

it appears that a *bona fide* application for a transfer is to be made it would be well for the Magistrate to stay proceedings at once on an application being made to him, although sub-section 8 of section 526 does make it obligatory for him to stay proceedings before calling on the accused to enter upon his defence. The main object of section 526 is that the parties must start without reasonable apprehensions that justice will not be done to them, and in almost every case such apprehensions can be set at rest by the High Court transferring the case from one court subordinate to it to another or to itself. It is only when a far graver apprehension exists that the apprehended bias does not merely affect a single officer or officers in a restricted area, but is likely to affect a whole Province and judicial and magisterial officers within the jurisdiction of the provincial High Court that an application is made under section 527 and it is not conceivable that the legislators who were so anxious for the susceptibilities of the parties in the case of a bias merely local should have given no thought to their susceptibilities in the case of a bias likely to extend over a whole Province. That would have been penny-wisdom and pound-foolishness and, as we have said, we cannot conceive that the legislators could have contemplated this.

In any case, there is no obligation on the Magistrate to reject all applications for postponement on the ground that the application for transfer will not be made to the High Court but to the Supreme Government, as there is an obligation on him to grant all applications for postponement on the ground that the application will be made to the High Court. Granting, therefore, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Smith had full discretion, we still maintain that it should have been exercised more judiciously than it appears to have been done.

The presiding Magistrate endorses the plea of Mr. Boys that "His Honour has only expressed his personal opinion, that he was not a witness in the case and that therefore his views and opinion could create no impression on the Court, and that His Honour's opinion with regard to the arrests can not prejudice anyone because the guilt or innocence of each would depend on the record of the case and the evidence and not on the personal opinion of any individual." We are glad that Mr. Boys does not venture to deny the obvious, namely that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor did express opinions, however personal, which had a direct bearing on a matter which was *sub judice*. Now, if such an exalted officer of the Crown cannot keep his personal opinions to himself at such a stage of the proceedings, are we to consider that others are also absolved from the necessity of that useful and healthy self-restraint which respects the administration of justice sufficiently to keep the administrators of justice rigidly beyond the pale of the audience of their personal opinions on matters *sub judice*? Journalists, for instance, are paid by their readers mainly for the expression of their opinions on all public affairs, and if anyone has an excuse for ventilating his views it is the much-maligned newspaper man. His need of expressing himself is surely even greater than that of the head of a Local Government. And yet he has to face the legal consequences of every expression of opinion in such cases, and it will indeed be a bad day if journalists are offered examples fraught with evil consequences by the highest officers of the Crown themselves.

We submit that a Lieutenant-Governor is no more immune from the code that prescribes the virtue of silence in such cases than a journalist, and we should have accepted some clear comments of this nature from the Court as a sign of magisterial independence which would have gone far to reassure the accused. But instead of that we are treated to a plea that the expression of such personal opinions as His Honour indulged in, in utter defiance of law and custom, cannot bias the Court. Such a claim amounts to an assertion of great independence and would have come with a better grace from someone else rather than the presiding Magistrate himself. It is true that the decision of a case should depend upon the record of the case, but is there nothing in the world that should be but only too often, alas, is not? Is it not also true that the promotion of Magistrates should depend on their seniority and on their ability, and yet is our poor human nature so strong that it can always resist successfully the temptation to permit outside considerations to creep in occasionally? We do not say it for ourselves only but on the authority of writers like Rudyard Kipling and Aberigh Mackay who have more than once dwelt upon the theme of promotions with characteristic humour and incisiveness.

In case after case (and particularly in *Dupeyron v. Driver*, I. L. R. 29, Cal. 495; *Farquand Ali*, I. L. R. 14, All. 69, and *Anant Ram Murari*, 2 C. W. N. 639) it is laid down clearly enough that in dealing with applications for transfer what the Court has to consider is not merely the question whether there has been any real bias in the mind of the presiding judge or magistrate against the accused, but also the further question whether incidents may not have happened which, though they may be susceptible of explanation, and may have happened without there being any real bias in the mind of the judge, are nevertheless such as are calculated to create in the mind of the accused a reasonable apprehension that he may not have a fair and impartial trial. In several cases it has been further laid down that notwithstanding that there may be no real bias in the matter, the fact of incidents having taken place calculated to raise reasonable

apprehension ought to be a ground for allowing a transfer. (*In re Wilson*, L. R., 19, Cal. 247; *Duggan v. Driver*, L. R., 23, Cal. 486, *Battu Singh*, L. R., 38, Cal. 897.) In other words, the bias need not be objective and it is quite sufficient if it is subjective. In the case of *Sargeant v. Daly* (L. R. 2, Q. B. D., 558) Mr. Justice Lush said: "The law has regard not so much perhaps to the motives which might be supposed to bias the judge as to the susceptibilities of the litigant parties. One important object at all events is to clear away everything which might engender suspicion and distrust of the tribunal and so to promote the feeling of confidence in the administration of justice which is so essential to social order and security." Lost it be said that in the present case the apprehensions are not reasonable we would like to make it clear that what is "reasonable apprehension" must be decided in each case with reference to the incidents of the case and surrounding circumstances, and in determining whether an apprehension is reasonable, it is the duty of the Court by placing itself in the position of the accused to consider the fact and circumstances attending his position. *Abstract reasonableness ought not to be insisted on.* As Mr. Justice Batty. (*In re Pop v. Pop*, L. R. 456) said: "It is probable of an accused person in a way by one of great anxiety and step by step. And it is not right that the painfulness of such a position should be enhanced by anything that could suggest to him that his guilt is a foregone conclusion in the mind of the Magistrate who has tried him. Any violent, morose, gloomy, giving rise to such a suggestion, especially in this country, liable to be set upon witnesses appearing in the case." We draw the attention of all concerned to this opinion of a Judge of an Indian High Court whose experience of India cannot be questioned even by members of the Indian Civil Service.

Now applying all these well-known principles of law to the case in question, can anyone who places himself in the position of the accused say that he has no apprehension whatever that justice may not be done to him when the case is one of rioting and obstructing and causing grievous hurt to a public servant while discharging his duty, and the whole of the case arises out of the obnoxious — or if you prefer, flimsiness — of the local authority, and the support previously and subsequently given to them by the head of the local Government, and specially when the Magistrate and the judges of the Court the Province all look up to the head of that Government for preferment and titles, and he makes not one but three statements as to the genesis of the trouble, and the conduct of those who are in a way parties in the case, and declares it as his own deliberate opinion that "the utmost care was taken to distinguish between the active participants in the trouble and the innocent on-lookers"?

But these acquiescences which would be embodied in the memorial to be submitted to the Governor-General in Council and are to be decided by the Supreme Government. All that was before Mr. Smith was an application for postponement, and he should have confined himself to a consideration of the reasonableness or otherwise of granting an adjournment of the case with a view to enable the accused to apply for a transfer under section 527 to His Excellency and his Executive Council. Can it be maintained for a moment that even if an adjournment for this purpose is not an *adjournment* on the Court as it is under section 526(8), as we contend it is, it is not even reasonable for the Court to grant such an adjournment? Let us assume for argument's sake that the application for transfer is submitted to the Governor-General in Council and the Supreme Government grants it. All who know the dilatory procedure in such matters can readily understand that it would take several weeks to make such an application and obtain thereon the Supreme Government's decision. By the time the transfer is ordered it is more than probable that the guilt or innocence of the accused would be adjudged and the object of the transfer defeated; while it is certain that if the Court took a view of the case adverse to the accused, their case would be simply prejudiced even if sentence is not pronounced on them. Can such a course be called reasonable? Granting for a moment that section 527 is not to be read along with section 526, sub-section 8, and that adjournment is merely discretionary in such cases, would it be a judicious discretion that the Court would have exercised in such a case?

But instead of leaving the question of transfer to the Governor-General in Council to consider in all its bearings, and confining himself merely to the question of adjournment, Mr. Smith has pronounced a judgment on the memorial that will be submitted to His Excellency and his Council. When will this forcing of the hands of the superior authority end in Cawnpore? Already it has made sufficient havoc and official discipline—a doctrine far more important than the doctrine of official prestige—requires that a salutary lesson should be administered to the officials at Cawnpore in this respect. The only excuse that Mr. Smith can plead is to say that as His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor had left little for him to adjudge, he thought he might similarly push on the preserves of the Supreme Government.

But this is not a matter for better and sarcasm. The greatest assets of Great Britain in India is the British sense of justice, and no department of State has been so highly developed in India as the judicial, its many shortcomings notwithstanding. To destroy

the sense of security and the confidence in the administration of justice that happily exists to-day is to hurt the Empire in its most vital part. This would not be a mere error of judgment. It would be a crime. We can readily understand that a certain school of administrators would hold up for the ten thousandth time the doctrine of prestige. But it has been laid down by more than one High Court that it cannot, when making an order, take into consideration the effect its order would have on the reputation and authority of the Magistrate concerned. The reputation and authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province are outside the province of a High Court. But they are within the jurisdiction of the Government of India, and we trust that Government is at least as strong as the High Courts of India, and can prove unflinchingly that in passing an order under section 527, it will not take into consideration the effect its order will have on the reputation and authority of the Lieutenant-Governor concerned. After all, the reputation and the authority of the Supreme Government must be the supreme consideration with His Excellency and his Executive Council. Lord Minto never paralysed his strength, but he believed that the really strong man was he who would not be afraid of being called weak. The proof he was strong enough even to accept the resignation of a Lieutenant-Governor no less loved by his Service than Sir James Munro.

Sir Edward Grey's Statement.

We pointed elsewhere the fullness of Mr. Asquith's speech in which a vague but unmistakable threat was conveyed to the Turks in consequence of their attacks on Adrianople. It was not, as we inferred, that the Prime Minister of Great Britain was not indulging in wild and hasty talk, but he really meant what he said, and his words carried the full weight and responsibility of his position. There was one circumstance, however, which filled people with amazement and surprise. No other European statesman had made a public pronouncement of the kind except the Premier of England. And yet the British stake in the Balkan settlement has never been as heavy as that of some of the more directly interested Powers of Europe. Russia has constituted herself as the overlord of Slavdom, and her traditional enmity against the Turk and her avowed ambition to take Constantinople would give her sufficient pretensions to publicly warn and intimidate the Turks. But no open threat came from Russia and Russian Ministers possessed their souls in patience. Austria-Hungary is another Power with immediate interests in the Balkan arrangements. Any readjustment of the balance of power in that region would directly affect her policy and prospects. Yet there came no protest against Turkish action from the Austrian Government. Other members of the Triple Alliance remained silent and unconcerned. Even France, the satellite of Russia, did not regard the Turkish action of such gravity as to justify a public remonstrance. It was reserved only for the Premier of England to stand up and utter words of fearful menace in the hearing of the world. We do not know to what we should attribute Mr. Asquith's change, which led to an unreasoning and hasty outburst, unless it is due to an irrepressible hatred against the Turk with which conventional Liberalism inspires even its highest votaries in England.

And now comes Sir Edward Grey's statement in the House of Commons. It argues the case in fuller detail and defines the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the latest Balkan settlement, the recent Turkish action and the Mussalman peoples and States in general. The outstanding feature of his pronouncement regarding the Balkans is his ready acceptance of the Treaty of Bucharest. He strongly advocates the minimum of interference from the great Powers. "It is futile for the Powers to suggest revision," argues Sir Edward Grey, "unless they are prepared to assert their will by force. Britain does not propose to suggest any modification." These are significant words and have a special bearing on his subsequent references to the situation created by the reappearance of the Turks in Adrianople. The Treaty of Bucharest accords well with the wishes of Russia and runs counter to some of the most carefully considered designs of Austria-Hungary. Sir Edward Grey, like a faithful friend of the Muscovite, has hastened to declare that the settlement of the Macedonian question should be accepted as final. The settlement has been reached after many alliances, treaties and agreements had been cast to the winds and Bulgaria brought to her knees by force of arms. The outraged sanctity of the plighted word, the treachery and faithlessness of the parties concerned, the open floating of the Concert, the farcical character of the whole transaction—all this has ceased to count. The Muscovite is satisfied, and therefore Sir Edward Grey has nothing but to survey with satisfaction the latest handiwork of the peace-makers and call it good.

But when he turns to Turkey, his whole attitude undergoes a change. Treachery moves into life and becomes sacred again; things become partitioned gravity; and Turkey's action is held back in the

which might disturb the peace of the world. Sir Edward Grey is frankly against the re-establishment of the Turkish power in Thrace. We will consider his reasons hereafter. We are glad he does not repeat the usual cant about the Treaty of London and its binding quality. "The agreement between Rumania and Bulgaria," observed Sir Edward Grey with admirable frankness, "which had likewise been concluded under the auspices of the Powers, had also been disregarded. It seemed to him that every State in the Balkans had disregarded treaties, agreements and alliances." Turkey's conduct under the circumstances was natural. And if those who lose through treachery and aggression have a right to make good their loss, however partially, Turkey's conduct is absolutely right and justifiable. May we inquire, then, what it is that moved Mr. Asquith's ire and has now induced Sir Edward Grey to spin out a long-drawn argument to demonstrate the folly of the Turkish move? Let us quote Sir Edward Grey himself. In the first place, he declares that Turkey might not have got as favourable terms as the Enos-Midia line, if the Allies had not known that the raising of the question of Constantinople or of the Straits would have meant intervention by one or more Powers. It is, however, well to remember that the question of Constantinople did not actually arise because the Allies had not, and most certainly could not, have forced the Tchataldja lines. The Bulgarian hold on Rodosto could not be maintained indefinitely and Bulgaria knew the fact. The Allies' attacks in the direction of Gallipoli had utterly failed. The Straits question did not, therefore, exist as far as the Allies were concerned. The menace, if it was real, could come from Russia alone. We are, however, told that the Powers had agreed not to open the questions relating to Constantinople and the Dardanelles and had warned the Allies to the same effect, because they were afraid of grave European complications and probably of the Armageddon. Then why should Turkey be asked to be grateful if Europe succeeded in saving its own skin? It united the European diplomacy to leave the Turk in possession of Constantinople and the Marmora coast, but Sir Edward Grey has made a virtue of this necessity. Even the British Foreign Secretary will not, we trust, have the world believe that the fate of Constantinople and the Dardanelles depends on European benevolence. The exigencies of the European situation guide the policies of European statesmen. The motive in any case has been stark self-interest, which even organised hypocrisy has ever failed to disguise, though it has admirably helped Europe to offer a gratuitous insult to the Turk that his continued presence on European soil is due to suzerainty.

Sir Edward Grey says that "the British policy towards Turkey is to consolidate and secure Turkish authority and integrity of the dominions in Asiatic Turkey and the territory behind the Enos-Midia line. The success of that policy depends upon the goodwill of the other Powers. Asiatic Turkey interests so many Powers that whatever is done must have the consent of all. If Turkey does not accept the advice of the Powers, she would eventually meet disaster either by financial distress or by the armed intervention of one or more Powers." This passage lays down some staggering propositions. First of all it denies liberty of action to Turkey because she is weak. Those who have designs on Turkey would not let Turkey exercise her independent sovereign will. Great Britain desires the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire, but she cannot act independently of those whose interest it is to reduce Turkey to impotence. And this amazing series of reasoning is crowned with an evil prophecy of disaster for Turkey if she tries to act and think with freedom and in patriotic pursuit of her own interests. Such is the whole framework of arguments on which the solemn protest of His Majesty's Government has been based. We need not set about in earnest to examine them. Their intrinsic worth becomes apparent when we apply them to the case of the Balkan States that have succeeded to the European heritage of the Turk. None of these "young States" has a clean record in word, deed or diplomacy. All of them are just now weak and exhausted. They will have to beg Europe for financial help in order to rehabilitate themselves. Yet their freedom of action has never been threatened, and even their worst sins have been quietly condoned and forgiven. Is the latter's threat of withholding financial assistance reserved only for Turkey? And should "one or more Powers" be allowed to threaten with armed intervention because the Turk has recovered one of his most sacred cities from the grasp of the aggressor, and because England can be successfully dragged into a course of action that is, from the British standpoint at any rate, neither just, nor right nor reasonable?

Sir Edward Grey has assured the Mussalmans of his sympathy and said that no Minister can speak of British relations with the Muhammadan Powers "without remembering that the King has many millions of Muhammadan subjects." But, according to him, British Government "has absolute and entire responsibility only so far as seeing that inside the British dominions the racial sentiments and feelings of the Muhammadan subjects are respected and have full scope." A Muhammadan Power outside the British dominions cannot, however, be protected by the British Government from

the consequences of its own action. Lord Crewe has also made a similar pronouncement in reply to a communication from the Vice-President of the London Moslem League and said that the Government, while fully sympathising with the religious sensibility and apprehensions of Mussalmans in India, cannot regulate its policy in Europe by such considerations alone. In spite of every effort made to make it clear, we are afraid, much misapprehension still exists in the minds of British Ministers regarding the Moslem standpoint. It has never been claimed by any responsible Mussalman that the foreign policy of the British Empire should be dominated by Moslem sentiments. The only point that has been pressed is that the Moslem opinions and views should be accorded their legitimate weight in the counsels of the Empire. If the Colonies can have a share in moulding the Empire's foreign policy, why not the Indians and the Mussalmans, who bear greater burdens and have made heavier sacrifices for the Empire than all the Colonies put together? In the Balkan crisis purely British interests have not been involved at all. The British policy could well be more friendly to Turkey without any fear of complications. Moslem feeling could have been more respected, representing as it does a large volume of opinion within the Empire. The only justification for recent threats to Turkey could be an apprehension of some menace to Imperial interests. Sir Edward Grey has failed to show that any such menace exists, and yet he insists on Turkey's acceptance of the Powers' advice! Need we say what conclusion the Mussalmans are left to draw for themselves?

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Verse.

Truth.

Truth needs no armour! Her unshielded breast
May be exposed to calumny and wrong
By the mean malice of the ignoble throng—
Bondmen of Vice, who Virtue's power detest—
But, pierced and bleeding, it will yet attest
Her pow'r to triumph though she suffer long.
For 'tis the wounded heart that grows more strong
Through pain, to accomplish Virtue's high behest!

Midst Slander's venom'd darts that fill the air,
And all unmoved by Falsehood's hideous cries,
And scorning dastard blows from hands unseen—
Unarmed, unaided and with bosom bare
She stands defiant, and her faith-lit eyes
She turns to Heaven—unconquered and serene!

NIRAHAT JANG.



The Battle of Nauknagar.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL MILITARY CORRESPONDENT,
MAJOR NEARLY-BROWNE, V. C.)

READERS of *Gup* would, perhaps, be led to think that its Special Military Correspondent who is to describe the decisive struggle that was fought out on the battle-plain of Nauknagar, was an eye-witness of the sanguinary events of "the fateful third" and saw them as they occurred from the near neighbourhood of the scene of action. This, however, is an ancient tradition of military journalism, wholly obsolete in these days of the rapid progress of science and the mighty strides which imagination is taking. Following the lead of that master of our craft, Lieutenant Wagner of the *Rieschpost*, your Special Military Correspondent was as safe and distant as any political agitator, and yet obtained a first-hand knowledge of all the facts like the most far-seeing administrator. The belligerents have told their stories, or to be more accurate, one of the belligerents has told his story—and I can assure the readers of *Gup* that he is a story-teller—and, like a good judge or journalist, I have put a story into the mouth of some dummies that for the purposes of my story I choose to call the representatives of the other belligerent. This I intend to set out in bold relief in order to clear the situation of any lurking, sneaking bit of truth which may or may not point a moral, but certainly never adorns a tale. The readers of *Gup* must excuse me if I am guilty of repetition. But they can readily believe that it will be an error in the right direction, the direction reserved by Letters Patent for official and journalistic errors.

Your readers are no doubt aware of the genesis of the war, that culminated in this historic battle. Interpreting ancient treaties like all modern Great Powers Little Simian had procured enough evidence to warrant the forcible acquisition of a small bit of territory known in these regions, where ignorance and fanaticism grow in the soil, by a grotesque name which means "the House of God". This land was needed to round off a strategic frontier, and as the whole world knows, military exigencies take precedence over all others. Little Simian supported by Tileria acquired it and faced the Hague Tribunal with an "accomplished fact" and the eternal doctrine of "Prestige." Now this should not have created enough noise to wake a shepherd's dog in the good, old days of "settled facts", but since the Permanent Unsettling of 12th December 1911, everything seems to go the wrong way. Unprincipled newspapers like the *Confere* and the *Talagdar* undoubtedly made a great deal of the matter, but the vast body of moderate opinion, like "the dumb millions" of Jo-Humar-Rule-Britannia, had been untouched. But like the Turkey of H. H. the Aga Khan, the people of Nauknagar, taunted by outside agitators, and wholly unaffected by a belated award of the Hague Tribunal, which regularised the acquisition of a portion of the so-called "House of God" on the ground of the well-known dictum: "What has been, must be", and the equally well-known dictum: "Absence of rioting is consent",

sedulously worked themselves into excitement, and made strenuous efforts to disprove consent.

Finding the forces of Little Simian and Tileria represented merely by the single Division of General Courtwall, a column of 400 or 500 composed for the most part of old veterans of the Heavy Brigade and the recently recruited Light Brigade, marched from the scene of the morning's manoeuvres to the "House of God", and like the Turks who crossing the Enos-Midia line drawn by the sacrosanct Treaty of London recaptured Adrianople, the veterans and the raw recruits occupied what the *fait accompli* of the 1st of July, tamely followed by the award of the Hague, had made part of the strategic frontier of Little Simian. What is still more reprehensible, flushed by their easy victory and fired by the shouts of their fanatical war-cry, "God is Great"—as if anything can be greater than Little Simian and Prestige—they commenced rebuilding the fortifications that had been razed to the ground. In this they showed masterly resourcefulness, for although they did not attempt to make bricks without straw, they succeeded in building up in no time a second Wall of China with bricks without mortar. This was a direct challenge to Little Simian and Tileria, and an insult offered to the Hague come to judgment, and could not be allowed to pass. In fact, although it was desired that this should come to pass, there was no desire that it should be *allowed* to pass. At first the flying column of General Courtwall rode up to the scene of action, not so much to give battle as to take it, and the artillery opened a brisk fire of abuse varied with an occasional brickbat. Poor General Courtwall's pedigree came hurtling in their, which was thick at the same time with zoology. Terribly wounded in such a vital part as the midriff General Courtwall retired—not, as he had expected one day to do, on a pension, but on his great charger, the renowned sire of Flying Fox.

The forces in the neighbouring districts, kept on a war footing in view of the morning's manoeuvres and what they were desired to lead to, were formally mobilised. But such was the magical resourcefulness of the levies of Nauknagar that although they had gone to the manoeuvres bare-headed and bare-footed, they appeared now armed *cap-a-pis* like Minerva as she rose out of the head of Jupiter. The two Army Corps sent against them received such a rough handling that your Correspondent, used no doubt to the horrors of war, is compelled to make a passing reference to the total absence of that quality which is, as Pertin pleaded, twice blessed. Instead of mercy raining like the gentle rain from heaven, there was a Western Ghats monsoon downpour of these large, dangerous missiles called brickbats, and of another weapon with which the levies were miraculously armed during the battle. Your readers have no doubt heard of the Mango Tree Trick, which jugglers and Mr. Gokhale perform in India. The late Finance Member bore testimony to that marvellous feat of jugglery, but even he did not know that his evidence would become a departmental tradition and later generations would be assured on first hand knowledge of all the facts of a Bamboo Forest Trick which could provide in a jiffy the levies of Nauknagar with

assumed Zohia, therewith to belabour the armies of Little Simian and Tileria.

When the two Army Corps under General Courtwell were thoroughly beaten, the recruits and redifs of the enemy pursued them to Fort Gillis and did considerable damage to the fortifications and war stores and summation. But their triumph was destined to be short-lived. This was the declaration of war for which the already mobilised forces of Little Simian and Tileria under Field-Marshal D'Odd were spoiling. Infantry and cavalry were moved with incredible swiftness to the field of battle, and the *clan* of the attackers was in form and essence worthy of the soldiery of Tsar Ferdinand. At the head of this force was not only a Napoleon who knew how to win a battle, but also a Moltke who knew when to give one. All great conquerors despise the technicalities of diplomacy and its conventions, for they unsheath their broad swords and leave the lazy sons of peace to settle the justice of it. So, too, with the master mind that had forcibly acquired the new strategic frontier but a short month ago, and had now arranged once more to face the Hague Tribunal with an accomplished and bloody fact. But the Yellow Press is a factor of *waitpolinit*, which Alexander and Caesar and even Napoleon had not had to face, and with a rare adaptability the new Moltke decided to gag the Press by a show of parley with the enemy's levies. Keeping his force a little distance behind, the new Moltke, reminded by some queer association of ideas of King Richard II riding up alone to meet the rebels of Wat Tyler, himself rode up to a safe distance of the enemy's vanguard. The world had never before seen such coolness as this. With a temperature several hundred degrees below zero, and contrasting the snow-capped official heights of Kinchinjunga, Nanga Devi and Everest with the popular stream of lava rushing from a Vesuvius in full flood of fire, he addressed the enemy's van and exhibited his mastery over the barbarism and mystery of an Oriental tongue known as Urdu by shouting several times the encyclopaedic word "Roko." "Roko." Alas and slack, that the Public Services Commission was not sitting at Nanknagar to take evidence about Civilian competence in the vernaculars or that one word "Roko" would have been the saving of a whole Service. An octogenarian veteran heard this tooth-like warbling in the din of the *naggarikhana*, but his only response was an order to the artillery to train their biggest guns in the direction of this living Thermos flask.

His objective attained, he slowly rode back. Perish the thought of a precipitate flight, for being always safe and distant himself, like a political agitator, he had no temptation to degenerate his orderly retreat into a rout. Knowing that every moment was too "previous"—and truth *will* out even through a misprint—the order to fire was thunderpealed by the War Lord. Stragg action was needed, and strong men, that would do the heart of old Little Crosswise good to see, were there to take it. It was indeed a glorious sight to see the infantry, regardless of the hailstorm of brickbats, falling a good safe distance in front of it, taking deliberate aim and firing at a range of thirty yards. It is not certain whether a round of blank cartridges was not fired, for it is only the chroniclers on the spot that say so, and, as is always the case, they are wholly untrustworthy. Moreover, the Army Regulations are also opposed to such procedure, and even if it did take place, all that is necessary is to publish an *erratum* over the signature of your Special Correspondent. Blank or ball or buck-shot it is just the same and they all kill just as well.

With the retirement of the great War Lord the advance of the main Army began. When the range proved too long to be decisive the great Army of Tileria closed in with the enemy. But volley firing was now out of the question and the bit of white metal attached to the rifles of the soldiers began to do its work. Thrust after thrust found the heart of the octogenarian veteran and the eight-year-old recruit, and the "Hence of God" and the new frontier map were both painted red at one stroke of the brush. The struggle would have continued much longer if it had been left to the sharpshooters of Tileria and their rifles and bayonets. But with the genius of Napoleon the cavalry regiment of the Imperial Guards was ordered to advance. Field Marshall D'Odd led the charge himself, and sword and spear flashed in the noonday sun before they sought and found the heart of the enemy, and made such a splendid picture of—scarlet and gold.

At last the field was cleared except for a band of stupid fanatics in front of "the House of God" and in it. They had still an inexhaustible quantity of ammunition in their arsenal, sufficient in fact to arm half Ulster for the forthcoming demonstration of loyalty to King and Constitution, that is to say, if General Carson should arm his forces with the latest deadly weapon, those large and dangerous missiles called brickbats. Those that were left were gashed in, and then either cut down or made prisoners. Pursuit of the retreating enemy was also undertaken and many were brought down in full flight.

Thus was the most decisive battle of the twentieth century lost and won. Had the result been different, or had the enemy not been opposed so early, one shudders to think of the consequences. The neighbouring country would have been looted—at least. In fact the enemy's forces, although composed for the most part of raw 80 or ripe 8, looked as if they would repeat on their opponents all the horrors with which it had been made familiar by the Crusaders of the Balkans.

Too high praise cannot be given to the Moltke and the Napoleon of this great battle. And yet they made of war something even more tender than peace. When under their orders and their very eyes the vital thread of old men was severed, it was done with all the unctuous tenderness of a Moslem performing the *qurbani*. When young lads were shot at, they were potted with the utmost care and at the shortest possible range so that the struggle for nirvana may be of the mildest. When boys of ten and twelve had to be passed on from this life to the life eternal, the journey was made as swift and easy for them as that of the Scotland Express from Euston. From life's glad history to death's dark mystery they were hurried without an interval of painful suspense or superfluous ceremony. The young were handled so lovingly and the old so kid-glovingly that it won frank admiration from the bazar—men and women.

What astonished everybody was the proportion of the belligerents' casualties. While the enemy lost according to its own version a paltry score or so, it left on the field of battle more than a hundred slain that, shrouded in the darkness of night and the sacks procured from the bazar, found a watery grave. Against these the casualties on our side were—just guess! Well, even Romania did not acquire her strategic frontier with such exceedingly low losses. Only a solitary death occurred, and this too was due to a certain class of elephants employed that are notorious for slaying their own forces. And do you think there was any cry of *Rancho* after this heartrending tragedy against the enemy that did not kill, but only knew how to die? Not a bit! From the distance of several hundred miles I could see and was struck by the humanity shown by our Army. Indeed it could be nothing else but striking. It had already struck down hundreds. And when the remnants of the enemy's levies were taken prisoners, I could safely judge even without any needless ocular evidence that none but actual belligerents were arrested. The innocent on-lookers were spared—on condition that they turned themselves into War Correspondents, as Milton says, to justify the ways of gods to men.

Delivering a judgment from my position of absolute detachment—almost Wagnerian, as you know—I ascribe the guilt of the blood to all who refuse to endorse my judgment and whom our Army could neither wound nor kill nor even capture as prisoners of war. Immune from our soldiers' bullets and bayonets, swords and spears, and safe and distant from the jurisdiction of our Military Tribunals, what else could they be but criminal conspirators? In the eyes of God whose "House" we have left desolate as well as in the eyes of Man whose life we have valued no more than that of a gnat or a fly, they are murderers of the score or so whom they acknowledge to have been killed, and of the hundred odd that we consigned to the sea in heavy-shotted shrouds. Perish the thought that I stand here to apportion blame. None of us, no matter how high their position or pretensions, can here or now anticipate the findings of a Court of Justice in which *perhaps* the Judge will appear in the dock of the accused and the prosecutor will bear witness to his own guilt, a Court that will subpoena the river to give back its dead and the hearts and the brains of the blood-guilty to give inspection of their fiendish records of an inhuman conspiracy, the tongue to repeat like a faithful disk of the Gramophone all that it had uttered, the hand that had wielded the gun or the revolver, the sword or the spear to count on its finger's ends all it had slaughtered and the loot to give evidence concerning all it had deliberately trodden over or brutally kicked in their death agony. On the records in the custody of that Exalted Tribunal is registered every wail of a widow or orphan, every complaint of the wounded and dying, whether against Mullah or Magistrate, and not a jot thereof can the finger of man alter or wipe away. On that day of Wrath when this Court of Justice will call forth the ghosts of the old, still blue and black with marks of Man's justice, and the wraiths of the young, red with the gore of the swiftly piercing spear, on that awful day when the Great Judge will read out His unappealable findings and apportion blame between accuser and accused, I fear me I should not like to be the victor of the battle of Nanknagar, nay, nor even be that placed on the victor's brow—the wreath of a fast fading laurel.



Phantom Figures.

THE JOINT MAGISTRATE.

WHAT the tadpole—all head and wriggling its way to further development—is to the staid frog with an assured position in Batrachian society; what the humble grub is to an Emperor butterfly of gorgeous colour; what the infant, crocodile, almost playful in its harmless condition, is to the parent *muggur*, grim of aspect and silently awaiting victims beside the ford beneath the Kacheri compound; such is the Joint, or Assistant, Magistrate to a Collector with full powers and "substantive pay of his post." Most young Civilians take their cue from, and are unconsciously influenced by, the senior men under whom the first years of their Indian service are spent, and if one knows the official in charge of the district where an embryo I. C. learnt his duties, it is usually easy enough to predict the type of officer the latter will eventually become. First impressions seem to exercise a great effect on Europeans coming to India, for we have met with elderly Civilians who would dilate on the beauties of the station and district where they started their official career. And when one hears an aged Commissioner prattling of the delights of places like Ballia or Etah, it is surely necessary to learn the cause for mental aberration of that sort. Since in the origin of official species the Joint Magistrate is merely a "Stunt," or Assistant, in progress of evolution to higher stages of Civilian life, it will be our best plan to treat of the latter genus, of which the former is the logical outcome. "Stunts" vary, and the arrival from Home of a member of this class always breaks the monotony of a small station. Mothers of marriageable daughters, while affecting little interest in the coming stranger, may be seen poring over Sale Catalogues—for economy in matters of the wardrobe is imperative for persons with moderate salaries and little money, save what is earned by the master of the house in his capacity of a Government servant. Fêtes, dinners, Club tournaments, and other devices whereby to amuse and find favour in the eyes of the latest pillar of the Administration, are severally subjects for thought and careful elaboration, though an active campaign cannot be commenced until the "Stunt" makes his debut on the stage of station life and gives suddenly a chance of learning the direction in which his tastes lie. To invite an ardent *shikari* to a musical evening, or the youth reared in a town to rough it in the *dhur*, are errors of generalship prudent matrons rarely commit. Thanks to the spread of education in the British Isles and the facilities afforded to a clever lad of passing a stiff examination, the ranks of the Civil Service often receive—if they do not exactly welcome—recruits whose ideas, habits, and manners—or rather the lack of them—may shock people brought up amid different social surroundings. These little *glaucheries* disappear after brief contact with ladies and gentlemen, and are frequently due to the young Civilian not having passed through the ordeal of a public school or polishing academy like Eton or Woolwich. It is pleasing, however, in this irreverent age to note the extreme veneration shown by a juvenile Assistant Magistrate to the sayings and doings of his immediate superior, the Collector. If a Collector is against any scheme proposed on the Club *chabutra*, his vet. condemns such suggestion in the opinion of his trusty *uades*. He looks on the Police Superintendent, who criticises the action taken in dealing with crime as a sacrilegious monster, daring to find fault with the proceedings of a District Officer. In some instances this hero worship develops into an exaggerated belief in the omniscience and omnipotence of the Civil Service at large. Its recently joined Member fancying himself one of a class of individuals for whom India was made, and talking as if other Europeans, non-officials or those in Departmental employ, as quite outside the pale of a divient officialdom. Children of Ishmael who cannot add the magic letters "O. S." to otherwise respectable names—often more likely to be respected at Home than those of some Judges and Commissioners. We have heard a "Stunt," suffering from "swelled head" of this sort, describe Planters and leading Masters of Industry as "Box-wallahs," while he spoke of Engineers, Policemen, Forest and Opium officers, with a condescending pity; which would be annoying were it not due to youthful ignorance and the result of a man, not perhaps accustomed to much honour in his native land, finding himself gazetted a gentleman and one of the "heaven-born." Needless to remark, these mistakes wear off as experience is acquired and our "Stunt" discovers that he and his kind are, after all, not the only respected body of public servants in the Empire.

Occasionally one encounters an Assistant of the opposite nature—one so filled with his own importance, and the fact of having secured a good place on the Examination list, that he imagines he knows more about the country and possesses sounder ideas on how it ought to be administered than

other workers grown gray in Indian service. It is perhaps more illating to meet the "Stunt" who poses as an authority on all matters connected with sport, horses, men who have more or less lived in the saddle for the last twenty or fifteen years as to the management of horses, imparts "tips" to the Forest officer on game-shooting, and decides vexed points arising on the tennis court or golf or hockey ground by reference to some decision he had read about ere leaving the United Kingdom. Probably he may be right in the last mentioned instance, but his way of imparting knowledge to his seniors is apt to provoke wrath in the minds of those not so absolutely up-to-date as a lad fresh from Home. To the Indian *amla*, the Mohurrirs, Readers, Police Sub-Inspectors, and other subordinates, the newly joined "Stunt" is a tract of virgin soil, to be tilled with satisfactory results to those cultivating it, and before a month elapses, his idiosyncrasies, his special "fads", his likes and dislikes, will be mastered and thoroughly grasped by the observant Orientals working under him. Yet in this respect he only suffers a treatment common for all newcomers from Europe, and has to pass through a temporary period of practical training to learn to think and act on his own, nor place undue reliance on the advice of clever subordinates anxious to lighten his labours and to derive a certain amount of personal profit by so doing. Of course there are many old hands in office and Kacheri who strive honestly to assist the Saint envired by novel tasks, and the advice of these Nestors is not to be despised or distrusted. With Indian gentlemen—unless previously coached by his Collector or somebody acquainted with the District,—the "Stunt" may be pardoned if he sometimes errs in judgment and, so to speak, "runs off the rails". Imperfectly versed in the vernacular, what wonder is it should he feel inclined to hearken with more attention to an interviewer clad in garments of English fashion and who converses fluently in most grammatical Anglo-Saxon, than to some Muhammadan gentleman of the old school whose speech is interlarded with Persian phrases, the beauty and neatness of which fall on deaf ears? A burly Thakur zamindar, discussing local politics in rustic Patna, excites the anger of a "Stunt", not with the speaker, but with himself for his inability to comprehend, or in turn, to make his replies intelligible to the man of many acres.

As time passes, the "Stunt" grows acclimatised and leaves his probationary period behind him: a disagreeable dream of wanderings through a tangled wood full of confusing undergrowth and lacking a clear path and friendly sign-posts. Reaching the Joint stage, he—we refer to the average young Civilian—has learnt to love his work the better he masters its details, and now begins to pore over the pages of the Civil List—that *libro d'oro* of Indian officialdom—and calculate when that "old buffer" will have to retire, this light of the Secretariat be deputed to illumine other seats of Government.

One of the strangest and most disturbing features noticeable of recent years is the avowed intention of retiring, as soon as Regulations permit, which is so frequently uttered by men just starting their Indian career. There must be something radically wrong, either with the Civil Service itself or those entering it, to account for this remarkable change from the way an appointment in this country used to be regarded by the C. S. of former days. It may be—as stated by one of the headmasters examined before the Services Commission—that young Britons of what he called the "lower middle class," have not the adventurous spirit that led that nation in search of new lands, *per ardua et terram*. If such is the case, it is a poor outlook for the national prosperity and—it must be admitted in fairness—men from that class are still the exception, not the rule, among those electing for service in the East. Scotchmen and crows are said to be found in all parts of the globe, and it will be long before the Civil Service ceases to attract the young Caledonian to exchange the *hambies* earned in his native land to the rupees won by labour in India. This altered state of opinion is not one to be regarded with complacency. In the case of a boy retired in some large city, we can understand how the ordinary existence of a mofussil station must weary and sadden him; but for lads brought up in the country, and with some liking for manly sports, and some hobby to beguile a dull hour, it is difficult to picture a happier—or more useful—career than that of the Civilian in India.

In conclusion, our Joins and "Stunts" may make mistakes in judgment; may affect distressing airs of fancied superiority to *non aures*; yet taken all round, they perform what may seem ungenial tasks with unflagging industry, and labour—each according to the best of his ability—to act for the benefit of the country and the people in which and among whom they have to spend so large a portion of their sojourn on earth.

DEMOCRITUS.



The Cawnpore Case.

Cawnpore, 13th August.

The Cawnpore riot case was called on to-day in the court of Mr. R. H. Williamson, Joint Magistrate, at 2 p.m. Mr. G.P. Boys, Barrister-at-Law, instructed by Asghar Abbas, Deputy Superintendent of Police, C. I. D., appeared on behalf of the Crown, while on behalf of accused among others appeared Messrs. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Dr. Mahmood (Bankipore); Dr. Nazir-ud-din Hasan and Syed Shonket Ali (Lucknow); Dr. Sulaiman, Zahoor Ahmed and Khawaja Ahmad Jafri, Allahabad; A. M. Khuwaja (Aligarh); A. M. Davis and Syed Fawaz Rahman (Cawnpore).

Counsel for the Crown applied for a day's adjournment in the case of 124 accused who are charged under sections 147 and 333, I. P. O., with rioting and causing grievous hurt to a public servant in the discharge of his duty. In case of three accused, Moulana Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani, Hafiz Ahmed Ullah and Nazir Mahomed Khan a remand of five days was applied for on the ground that these men will be charged under section 124 (a) (sedition) and 153 (a) (promoting enmity between classes) for which the sanction of the Local Government which had not yet been obtained was necessary. The defence did not raise any objection to the remand, which was granted.

Bail applications on behalf of fifty-six accused were put in but were rejected. The trial will commence to-morrow at the headquarters of the Cawnpore Volunteer rifles, a large building in Cantonments which has been set apart for this case. A large crowd gathered in the court to-day to watch the proceedings.

Cawnpore, 14th August

The case of the 120 persons accused of rioting and causing grievous hurt to a public servant in the discharge of his duty under sections 147 and 333, I. P. O., was taken up to-day, before Mr. H. M. Smith, the Special Magistrate, who has been appointed to hear the case. The Court was closely guarded by a strong force of armed police.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque who led on behalf of the defence put in an application under section 529, Criminal Procedure Code, on the ground that accused wanted a fortnight's time to move the Governor or General in Council for transfer of the case to some court subordinate to any High Court other than Allahabad High Court. The petition submitted that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, who visited the scene of the occurrence in Cawnpore and made certain inquiries, delivered a speech at Agra on the 6th August and made a pronouncement on some of the most vital and material points in the issue which had yet to be decided in a court of law and had thereby most materially prejudiced and prejudged the case against the accused. Further that at the instance of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor the physical features of the scene of the occurrence, which would have most materially helped the Court in arriving at a correct decision, had been completely changed, and thus a great deal of most important evidence had been destroyed and lost, and accused apprehended that full justice would not be done to them by courts in the province subordinate to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Haque intimated that the memorial to the Governor-General in Council praying the transfer of the case which had been prepared in Calcutta was ready.

Mr. Guy P. Boys opposed the application on behalf of the Crown.

Mr. Haque, in arguing, read an extract from the Agra speech of His Honour relating to the Cawnpore riot. Mr. Haque alleged that the police and not Mahomedans were the aggressors in the case, and referring to alleged, as repeating fanaticism said that he repudiated that statement on behalf of the Mahomedans of Cawnpore. It was an insult to their religion. There were other statements made by His Honour which would be contested word for word.

The Court in passing orders said that the first ground urged in support of the application was that some of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's pronouncements in his Agra speech had prejudged the case against accused. It was urged that the pronouncement—"A breach of public tranquillity had taken place of such sharp and violent a nature that the local authorities were compelled to use for its repression the whole force at their command"—prejudged the question as to who were the aggressors in the riot. The Court however was unable to agree with that view. Another reference was to the "humanity of the police officers." It was denied that the police were humane, but the point was not in issue. It was argued that the pronouncement that "utmost care was taken to distinguish between active participants in the trouble and innocent onlookers" was prejudging the case against the accused who were arrested as they were judged to be active participants, but the Magistrate did not agree with that view; as every individual case was to be judged on its merits and it could not be conceived how any court could be influenced by remarks in a speech made by one who was not an eye-witness. The application was therefore refused.

The names of 118 accused were then called out one by one and nearly two dozen of the accused gave their ages between 12 and 18.

After a complete list of the accused had been prepared Mr. Boys on behalf of the Crown asked permission to withdraw the case against 11 boys who did not appear to be more than 18 years of age. The Magistrate granted the permission and the 11 boys were discharged.

An adjournment was asked for in the case of six accused who were seriously injured and could not conveniently attend the court. This adjournment was granted.

The case against 107 accused will be taken up to-morrow at 11 a. m. the Court adjourning at 4 p. m. to-day.

Cawnpore, August 14

Proceedings in the Mosque Riot Case started to-day on the 14th by Mr. Boys briefly opening the case on behalf of the Crown. He said a portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque was demolished on the 1st July. Meetings in this connection were held at Idgah on the 1st and the 23rd July. On 3rd August there was a mass meeting at Idgah after which a very large number of men proceeded to the mosque. Sub-Inspector Tasadduk Hussain, in plain clothes, was close to the mosque to see what was going on. He was recognised by some men in the mosque, and bricks were thrown at him. He returned to Gillis Bazar Chowki, 400 paces from the mosque. He informed the City Inspector about men re-building a portion pulled down, whereupon the Kotwal advanced with two or three policemen. On his approaching the mosque he was stoned and driven back to the chowki. He again went with his force of 15 men, who had a spear or two, and advanced towards the mosque, but was again driven back to the chowki, and was pursued by men who carried away one or two spears and throw away some other things. Shortly afterwards the Collector and the Superintendent of Police arrived on the scene with armed police. The Collector left the policemen behind and rode towards the mosque alone, but he was treated in the same way as the Kotwal and his men. He thereupon brought up the armed police, and they were also assaulted, and there was every prospect of their being badly handled, and they were in fact badly handled. Seventy men were arrested in the mosque; three or four were found dead there. Thirty men were arrested close to the mosque. No list of the wounded was prepared. They were removed at once to the hospital for treatment. Forty boys who were also arrested were released. Those who were arrested inside the mosque (seventy) and those arrested outside the mosque (thirty) were put in the lock up (*hawalat*), and subsequently sent to the Jail. The Crown will not very much rely on identification or oral testimony, which is not always reliable, but on the fact that men were arrested on the spot. They did not move away, though they had ample time to do so and were repeatedly asked to go away. Charges as framed by the police were under sections 147 and 333, I. P. O. The Crown were at present ignorant as to what line would be adopted by defence. If no justification was pleaded a more serious charge under section 333, which was exclusively triable by the Court of Sessions, may be withdrawn with the sanction of the Court. On the other hand, if defence was to be that the accused were perfectly justified in what they did, the Crown might have to take the more serious view both in relation to punishment and procedure.

The first witness examined on behalf of the Crown was Lala Krishna Sahai, Pleader, who deposed that on the morning of 3rd August between 6 and 7 a. m., he saw three distinct crowds of Muhammadans going past his house in Halsey Road towards the tram-car shed. The first crowd consisted of some 500 persons, while two other crowds consisted of two or three hundred each. All these men were bare-headed and were reciting Kalama. At 10 a. m., witness saw a crowd which he estimated at ten thousand, though he was not certain of his estimate. While this crowd was passing close to his house, some people came out of the crowd and facing it stretched their hands with a view to form a barrier. At this the crowd stopped, and some consultation took place between men who appeared to be the leaders. One of these exhorted the Mussalman to close shops and follow them, otherwise they would be guilty of eating pork. At this stage witness noticed six or seven Kabulis armed with *lathis* suddenly approach the crowd. These Kabulis began to beat the ground with their *lathis* and to jump about and make horrid noises. The crowd then hastened, i.e., went at a quicker pace than it had come towards Moulgaon. This closed the examination-in-chief of the witness.

A discussion now took place regarding cross-examination of the witness, which defence intimated they reserved. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque commented upon the stiff and curious attitude of the prosecution and said that he was willing to give every help and assistance to the Court, but declined to give any help to the Crown by indicating the line of defence that he would adopt.

The second witness examined was Munir Ahmed, City Inspector of Police, Cawnpore, who deposed that he had gone to the Colonelganj Thana on 3rd August, when there was a meeting at Idgah. He went to the Colonelganj Thana which was a furlong and a half from the

Eight after 3 a. m. Idgah was nearly a mile from the Machhli Bazar Mosque. No men in uniform were sent to the Idgah, but some men of detective force were there. Two previous meetings on the 1st and the 23rd July, respectively, were held at the Idgah and they had passed off quietly. On the conclusion of the meeting of 3rd August men came out of the Idgah as one body. Witnesses went ahead of them and separated from the crowd at the parade crossing, the crowd going towards Moulanj and witness passing by the parade towards Gillis Bazar Chowki, which was some two or three hundred paces from the Machhli Bazar Mosque, which was visible from the chowki. After a few minutes of reaching the chowki witness saw a crowd of six and seven hundred come up to the mosque. This crowd set up a black flag and began to make noise. Witness asked Sub-Inspector Tasudduk Husain, who was in plain clothes, to go and see what men were doing. Tasudduk Husain went straight by kachcha new road towards the mosque. When he was some 20 or 25 paces from the mosque the crowd began to throw stones at him. Seeing this witness went with Sub-Inspector Abdul Wahab and 15 or 16 men towards the mosque and met Tasudduk Husain half way between the chowki and the mosque and sent him to the Police Superintendent to inform him of the occurrence, and witness went forward towards the mosque. During this interval the crowd had increased to seven or eight thousand and men were still coming. When witness reached a distance of about twenty or thirty paces from the mosque stones began to be thrown at him. Those that were not throwing stones were re-building wall of the mosque. (At this stage Mr. Boys produced before the court a map of the locality.) Witness could not make himself heard owing to the noise which was very great. He was forced to go back to the chowki, but again proceeded towards the mosque accompanied by his men, some of whom had taken out their spears before leaving the chowki. He saw the Deputy Superintendent of Police who had arrived there, but left the place soon. As he approached the mosque the crowd on the top of the mosque cried *maro, maro*. The men in the mosque as well as others began to throw stones, and witness was again forced to retreat to the chowki. Some of the crowd followed him and did injury to some property belonging to the chowki. After some time the Collector and the Superintendent of Police with an armed police guard and sowars came up on the scene. Leaving his men behind him the Collector alone rode towards the crowd. As the Collector advanced towards the men they began to throw stones at him, the Collector kept waving his hands towards the crowd with a view to inducing them to stop, but as the crowd kept throwing stones the Collector called up the Superintendent of Police and the armed guard. As these advanced, a large number of men started running towards them and continued throwing stones. Several policemen including witness received injury. The mob was then fired upon by the police under the orders of the Collector. Mounted police attacked crowd and charged them. Though stones continued to be thrown policemen and sowars pushed back the crowd up to the mosque which was surrounded. There were 136 men of the armed police force and 15 or 16 mounted sowars. Inside the mosque 70 men and 40 boys were arrested. Two or three injured, seven dead bodies, 2 flags, a constable's lance and two puggies were found inside the mosque besides bamboo lathis and three spears. Thirty men who came within the police cordon round the mosque were arrested outside the mosque. The rest except the wounded and the dead had fled away. Arrangements were at once made to send the injured to the Hospital. Witness then described how the list of the various persons arrested inside and outside the mosque and some of those arrested in different places was prepared. About forty policemen received injuries, four of these receiving grievous hurt. This concluded examination-in-chief of the witness. Cross-examination was reserved. The Court adjourned for the lunch at this stage.

After lunch G. H. Macdonald, Municipal Engineer in charge of construction of A. B. road, was produced to prove the correctness of the map of the road which has been prepared under his supervision. Witness pointed out on the map the Machhli Bazar Mosque and the portion of it which was demolished as well as the Gillis Bazar Chowki.

Next witness was Tasudduk Husain, Sub-Inspector attached to the Kotwall, who gave corroborative evidence regarding his visit towards the mosque under the direction of the City Inspector, his being stoned by men and his returning to the chowki, his visit to the Superintendent of Police, and his return to the chowki with the armed guard. Witness wrote out the list of seventy persons who were arrested inside the mosque in presence of four persons who were called in by some constables. Seventy men arrested were made over to Abdul Ghani, Sub-Inspector, who took them along with other men to the lock-up and afterwards to the Jail. Witness was deputed the same day to visit the hospital to see to the condition of the injured and prepare papers about the dead persons. Cross-examination of this witness was also reserved.

Last witness for the day was Abdul Ghani, Sub-Inspector, who on being in the Kotwall that a riot had taken place in Machhli

Bazar went straight to the scene of occurrence. Reaching there where the guns were being fired men were running away and witness noticed that outside the mosque within the police cordon several men were under arrest. Witness prepared the list of these men and took them along with the remaining arrested persons to the lock-up and later on to the Jail under the orders of the Joint Magistrate. The case will now be taken up on Monday as Saturday is a Hindu holiday. The fact that the prisoners were brought to the Court handcuffed and were kept in the same condition was commented upon to-day.



The Cawnpore Mosque.

Deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor

A DEPUTATION headed by the Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad waited upon his Honour the Lieutenant Governor at Government House, Lucknow, at 11 A. M. on the 16th instant and presented the following address :

"May it please Your Honour,—

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to approach your Honour on behalf of the Muslim community of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in connexion with the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore.

"Before entering into the merits of the question which we propose to discuss very briefly, we beg to state that we approach your Honour in this behalf with a full sense of our responsibility to our own community as well as to the Government. This responsibility we have undertaken in view of the great importance of the question which we are to lay before your Honour for your consideration. We feel that we shall be wanting in our duty to our community and loyalty to our Government if we fail at this juncture, which we regard as critical, to give expression to the feelings of our community. Considerations of such weighty character led us to pray your Honour to receive a Deputation, and we are highly grateful for the permission so kindly given, which has enabled us to approach your Honour to-day.

"We would first assure your Honour that our community is not moved by any feeling of jealousy towards the good fortune that has attended the Hindu temple close to the mosque in question. Our community has deeply resented the suggestion that the outburst of feeling was due to the saving of the said Temple. We think that it should have, and rightly, been spared.

"We would now beg to say a few words with reference to the charge of laches and delay which has been brought against the Mussalmans of Cawnpore directly interested in the mosque. Without entering into the question as to whether it is accurate to say that the portion of the mosque demolished on the 1st of July, 1918, was actually and legally acquired in 1909, we would venture to submit that reasons are not wanting to show that the Mussalman public of Cawnpore had been ignorant of the fact of acquisition. No demarcation of the land to be acquired had been made on the spot nor any plan of the land published otherwise than by filing an English copy of it for public inspection in the Collector's Office. If the plan so filed be examined by itself, it will not show that any portion of the mosque was intended to be acquired. Moreover, no notice required by section 9 of the Land Acquisition Act was ever served on the Trustees of the mosque as it was on the occupiers of all neighbouring places. At any rate, there can be no doubt that any apprehensions on this score were removed when in November 1918 the Mussalman public of Cawnpore took what your Honour was pleased to say to some of the members of our community of that place as an assurance that the mosque as a whole be saved from demolition. It would further appear that the acquisition was not understood even by some of the members of the Municipal Board of Cawnpore to have been finally decided upon until the meeting of the Board held on the 8th of March, 1918, as is indicated by the following resolution which was moved at the meeting of the Board held on the 1st of April, 1918.

"From the proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee that came before the Board at its meeting held on the 4th of March, 1918, and were confirmed by the Board at the meeting on the 8th of March, 1918, to which a protest by a Member of the Board was ruled out of order, the Board has come to know that a portion of the building of the Mosque in Machhli Bazar is being acquired for the purpose of the A. B. Road. Resolved that contemplated acquisition being objectionable on religious grounds and being contrary to the spirit of the declaration by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the 15th November, 1918, the Board is of opinion that the said portion of the mosque should not be acquired and that any resolution of the Board directly or indirectly approving of such acquisition be cancelled."

After discussion this resolution was amended and passed in the following terms:—

"That a recommendation may be sent to the Government requesting that no portion of the mosque on the A. B. Road be acquired in deference to feelings of the Muhammadan community."

"The Chairman of the Board forwarded the said Resolution to the Government through the Collector with a note of his own disapproving of the resolution. The Government, thereupon, declined to accept the recommendations of the Board.

"Another attempt was made in the Board to save the mosque *dalan* by moving a resolution in a meeting held on the 20th May, 1913, to the effect that "The Board recommends that the Government be pleased to reconsider its decision." To this the Chairman moved an amendment to the effect that "No further representation be made by the Board and that the Government order be accepted as final," which was carried and the original motion lost only by the casting vote of the chairman, and thus so far as the Board was concerned the matter concluded on that day.

"In the meanwhile, in the month of March, 1913, a representative Deputation of the Muhammadans of Cawnpore had waited on the Collector of the district in connexion with the mosque but to no effect. This step was followed by a memorial submitted by them to your Honour through the Hon'ble Shaikh Shahid Hussain, which was rejected on the 6th of May, 1913. Lastly another memorial on behalf of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore was submitted to your Honour through the Hon'ble Raja of Mahaudabad, the reply to which was sent to him after the demolition of the mosque *dalan*. Besides submitting memorials, further efforts were made to impress your Honour with the justice of their claim supported as it was by the *Fatwas* of our Ulemas.

"Your Honour, the question of the comparative sanctity of the portion demolished is, we beg to submit, purely one of Muhammadan Ecclesiastical Law. Backed by our inherited convictions, as old as our Faith itself and by the *Fatwas* of our Ulemas delivered recently, we beg to affirm with all the power of earnestness that we can command, that the portion demolished was sacred and was an integral part of the mosque.

"We have no doubt that your Honour will pardon us if we speak on this part of the question somewhat frankly and feelingly. It has pained us greatly to find arguments publicly addressed in derogation to our religious views on this subject. We, under the sense of expediency, do not desire to enter into the task of refuting those arguments in this address. Your Honour, if it is permissible for us to compare the intensity of our feelings on one part of the question with another, we would have no hesitation in saying that this part has wounded our feelings the most.

"We beg to assure your Honour that the feelings of our community on this question as a whole are neither individual, local nor manufactured. The demolition of the *dalan* on the 1st of July, 1913, previous to which we were quietly making efforts with the authorities for saving it, has caused a tremendous outburst of feeling amongst the entire Muslim population of India. These feelings are genuine, real and founded upon the bed-rock of Religious Faith. We need hardly say that the question is one of neither logic nor reasoning, and we fervently hope that it will appeal to your Honour, if you will be pleased to consider in the same spirit in which it is placed before you.

"Our proposal to approach your Honour had originated some time before the lamentable events of the 3rd of August 1913. We all bewail those unfortunate events, but we refrain from dwelling on those events any more than to deplore them since they are about to be the subject of a judicial enquiry. We, however, fully trust that those events will not affect your Honour's decision in the matter.

"We pray your Honour, and pray you most respectfully and earnestly, that the demolished portion of the mosque may be restored for which we and our entire community, as in duty bound, shall ever pray. We need hardly assure your Honour that the order prayed for, if passed, will have the effect of allaying the growing excitement and healing the wounded feelings of the entire Muslim community."

(Signed) Maulana Abdul Bari; the Hon'ble Raja Sir Mahomed Ali Mahomed Khan, Khan Bahadur, K. O. I. E., of Mahmudabad; the Hon'ble Raja Sir Tasadduk Rasul Khan, K. O. S. I. of Jhangirabad; the Hon'ble Raja Mir Abu Jafar of Pirpur; Nawab Mahomed Isahak Khan Sahib; Nawab Mahomed Musamil-ullah Khan, Khan Bahadur; the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Abdur Raof; the Hon'ble Mr. Shafiq Shahid Hussain; the Hon'ble Khawaja Ghulam-us-Salam; the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Raza Ali; Mr. Syed Nabi-ullah, Barrister-at-Law; Maulvi Mahomed Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sahib; Maulvi Mahomed Naim Sahib, Advocate; Musahi Ehtesham Ali Sahib.

At the conclusion of the address Mr. Syed Nabi Ullah said that he thought they had a good case in the Civil Courts.

Mr. Abdur Raof who followed him said that they were not there to discuss rights under civil or criminal law. The object of the deputation was to approach His Honour with the address, and that the Lieutenant-Governor irrespective of recent events would take into account the feelings of Mahomedans and consider their supplications.

Mr. Raza Ali agreed with the previous speaker and said that he wished to bring forward the point as to whether the *dalan* was an integral part of the mosque. In Muhammadan law the words "integral part" did not occur and the whole of a mosque was equally sacred whether it be bathroom, pathway or pulpit. Therefore no part of a mosque could be acquired.

The Raja of Jhangirabad and Mr. Shahid Hussain both said that all they asked for was the royal prerogative of mercy.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor before rising to reply drew the attention of the deputation to certain maps about which he said discrepancies had crept into the Press. The maps were shown to the individual members.

The Lieutenant-Governor's Reply.

Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly for the manner in which you have placed before me your views on certain questions connected with the Machhli Bazar Mosque, Cawnpore. The course which you have adopted is in marked contrast to the intemperate language and distortion of facts with which the matter has been treated in some sections of the Press. It has been a source of much unhappiness to me that any considerable body of Muhammadans should think so ill of Government and its officers as to believe we were actuated by the motives they ascribed, and that we proceeded in ignorance of your sentiments and practices. That they assume I am indebted to you therefore for the opportunity that you have given me to-day of putting our proceedings and our motives in the true light. As you have addressed me with moderation and in frankness, I will treat you with equal candour and give you a brief narrative of the reasons for demolition of the washing place. As far back as 1909 it has been common knowledge in Cawnpore that a new road running through the Machhli Bazar quarter would mean the demolition of a large number of buildings on the route, and there is no doubt that the scheme was being carefully watched by persons interested in those buildings. I find that in March of that year, 1909, a memorial was submitted suggesting an alternative route and mentioning incidentally that A. B. road as then aligned would destroy three mosques and two temples. I mention this to show that no reasonable man can pretend that the people of Cawnpore had no knowledge of or were not interested in what was proposed. After the alignment of the road had been finally settled the plans were offered for public examination in the ordinary manner. I place a copy of the road plan before you. From it you will see that a portion of the courtyard of the mosque as well as the place was proposed for acquisition. The mosque occupied the whole of plot No. 90 and a portion of plot No. 89 as has been tested by measurement on the spot and the remarks in your memorial on this point as well as certain erroneous statements which have been published regarding the alignment of the road must have been based on a mistaken reading of the map. In further confirmation of our conviction that the acquisition of part of the mosque was neither unknown nor the subject of protest we have the fact that in November 1911 the Mutawalis of the mosque petitioned the Municipal Board regarding the sale of the adjoining house which occupied the remaining portion of plot No. 89. From this petition it appears that the western wall of that house had been used by the mosque as an enclosure wall of its courtyard on the east. The sale of the house and the removal of its materials in the words of the Mutawalis themselves "would mean dismantling the mosque." They therefore asked the wall to be allowed to stand. The special land acquisition officer, Mr. Avadh Behari Lal, examined the matter on the spot and reported in writing that the wall should be left for the meantime as the "portion will probably be available when the bathroom is taken." The papers were placed before the sub-Committee which was dealing with these city improvements and the proceedings of that Committee were placed before the Municipal Board. There were Muhammadan gentlemen on both those bodies and consequently it is impossible to say that the Muhammadans are not aware of two facts namely that the eastern boundary of the mosque did not belong to the mosque at all, and that that part of the building was to be taken for the road. I am not however so much concerned with what was the knowledge of the Muhammadan public on the subject. It is perfectly clear that the Mutawalis of the mosque with whom in the first instance we had to deal were thoroughly aware of the position, and there is no record whatever of any objection having been offered to the proposed acquisition.

I come now to my visit to Cawnpore in November 1912. On that occasion I went personally to the scene in order to inspect

This temple against the removal of which I had a number of protests. I must have been standing within a few yards of the mosque although I do not remember seeing it and no body brought it to my notice. The members of the Board and other citizens of Cawnpore were with me and the conversation as far as I recollect was free and general. Yet no one made any grievance whatsoever of the mosque or of any grievance connected with it. At my subsequent meeting with the Board at the Circuit House a Muhammadan member just at the close of the proceedings put a question to me of which I cannot pretend to remember the exact terms. My impression, however, is that he enquired whether the alteration in route which would be necessitated by sparing the temple would do damage to any of the mosques. There were apparently two mosques on the road, one on either side. I had never heard of the matter before and had to consult the Chairman before answering this gentleman. The Chairman informed me that though the bathroom of one of the mosques was being acquired in any case, the alteration of the road on which we had just decided would not involve any further encroachment upon the mosques, I accordingly answered my questioner in the negative. A subsequent examination of the maps has shown conclusively that the decision to spare the temple did not prejudice the mosque. On the contrary by dividing one original broad road into two narrower sections it was found possible to diminish the area of the mosque premises which originally had been marked for acquisition, to take only the washing place and preserve the strip of courtyard which it had previously been decided to acquire. The suggestion which I have seen that the sparing of the temple was reserved by sacrificing a larger portion of the mosque is untrue.

There then, gentlemen, are facts which were before myself and the local authorities when the present agitation first arose. They indicated that there was no real grievance, no feeling of outraged religion, no desire to interfere with the execution of very necessary improvement. On the contrary we have every reason to believe that the people directly interested in the mosque were aware of the proposals and consented to what has all along been the intention of the local authorities, namely the removal of a small part of the building from the eastern to the northern wall without expense to the mosque or inconvenience to worshippers. When therefore protests began to reach me at the end of March and the beginning of April last I found some difficulty in understanding why the position had changed. I am delighted to have your assurance that the reason of the change is not any jealousy of the good fortune of the Hindus in having their temple preserved. It is a matter of sincere regret to me if the feelings of my Muhammadan friends have been hurt by such an assumption. But if this was not the reason for the unexpected outburst of protests, some reason had to be looked for. It was fresh in my mind that a similar arrangement for a slight alteration in the structure of a mosque at Lucknow had been cordially accepted by the Muhammadans of that city and many other instances of the same kind occurred to me they have no doubt occurred to you. What therefore had happened to make the proposals of the city improvement trust in Cawnpore so objectionable. Was the washing place more sacred than the appendages of the mosque which had been moved amicably in Lucknow and elsewhere? Did any special religious sentiment attach to this *wazukhana* or *wazukhanas* in general. On this point I assure you, gentlemen, that I did not rush to a conclusion. I did not, it is true, consult doctors of law as I have since done with somewhat varying results. But I did consult a number of Malouedan gentlemen whom I know to be orthodox and representative of their class and thoroughly reliable. My information was that the *wazukhana* and the *Zahrajkhana* have not the same sanctity as the place of worship proper. Local enquiry seemed to afford confirmation of this in the evidence which was given me regarding the wearing of shoes in this part of the building. That evidence of I believe in spite of attacks which have been made upon it in the Press and I think you will agree me, gentlemen, on a dispassionate consideration of the facts as distinct from technicalities that there is a part of the mosque premises in which worshippers wear shoes and that there is a part in which the ordinary practice in India is to put shoes off. To the average mind it would seem that the same sanctity can hardly attach to the former as the latter, and that is the meaning—of what has been said regarding the comparative sanctity of the washing place.

I notice from your memorial again with sincere regret that a suggestion of Government that the washing place has not the same sanctity as the inner portion of the mosque has wounded your feelings more than any other phase in this unfortunate affair. I can only say that the statement was made in all good faith, that it had the support of a strong body of orthodox Muhammadan opinion, and that there is no way meant to wound your feelings or hurt your susceptibilities. Knowing me as most of you do, I trust that you will accept this assurance.

I come now to the request with which your memorial concludes, a request that I should order the demolished washing place to be restored. As I have told you I am ready and always have been ready to give to the mosque with all necessary dedication or other formality an area on the north side which will be more than sufficient for a washing place as well as to reconstruct the washing place on that area, or present to the mosque a sum of money which will allow the Mutawalis to construct it for themselves. That offer, made in all good faith, has long been open and remains open. If however your request extends to the reconstruction of the washing place on the site which has been acquired, the position is different. Had we met some weeks ago and discussed the matter as we have done to-day, I cannot say what the result might have been. But the whole state of affairs has been altered by the events of the 3rd August and I regret it is impossible for me now to pass any such order. By expressing regret I am using no mere formal words, for I see here to-day some of my best friends, Indian gentlemen whose opinions I highly value and whose advice I would implicitly accept in nine cases out of ten. But in this case I have to think of the broad administrative considerations which underlie the maintenance of Law and Order, and the neglect of which would mean misgovernment and chaos. Like you I cannot discuss the calamity of the 3rd August while still *sub judice*, though I may join with you as I sincerely do in deploring the loss of life and suffering which have occurred. But without in any way anticipating the results of the judicial enquiry it is my clear duty to proceed on the principle that Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force.

And now, gentlemen, I venture to ask your help. You know that the British Government is no wanton destroyer of your sacred buildings. You know on the contrary how it has preserved, restored and beautified many Muhammadan monuments of which you are now most proud. You also know that in this matter of city improvements minor structural alterations such as was proposed in Cawnpore case have often been carried out with the consent and goodwill of the Muhammadan public without any invocation of ecclesiastical law and with a sole eye to the public good. There are many instances of this which I might mention in different parts of the province, but it is unnecessary do more than remind you of certain recent examples of what I mean with which you and I are thoroughly familiar within two miles of where we are sitting to-day. Why has the spirit of the people changed so entirely and why has the arrangement which was acceptable in Lucknow a few months ago become impossible in Cawnpore. Now surely in view of the facts as I have endeavoured to put them before you this morning you will agree that the present case has suffered from exaggeration and misunderstanding. I am told that scores of Muhammadan hearts have been wounded. But what is it that has wounded them, is it anything that Government has done, or is it not rather the travesty of the Government's acts and motives which has been provided for their consumption. You ask me to allay the growing excitement and heal the wounded feeling of the Moslem community. I will gladly do all that is reasonable and possible in this direction, but it is in your power to do infinitely more. It is in your power to contradict the untruths which are being spread abroad, to inform the Moslem community of the true facts and to ask them to place confidence in the goodwill of Government, which has not thought except for their advancement and welfare.



Moslem Feeling.

THE Provincial Moslem League of the N.-W. F. Province held a mass meeting of the Mussalmans on the 15th instant in Ganjlikhans Mosque, Peshawar. There was enormous attendance. The following resolutions were passed:—

- (1) This meeting expresses deep sorrow at the Cawnpore bloodshed and holds the United Provinces Government *communiqué* responsible for it, and deems Mr. Tyler's orders unwarranted and rash.
- (2) This meeting respectfully recommends His Excellency the Viceroy to an appointment of Commission with half non-European members to publicly investigate this regrettable incident and exonerate of Mr. Tyler. It also recommends that the demolished mosque be rebuilt and officers concerned suspended till the Commission's report.
- (3) Cawnpore relief fund be opened forthwith.
- (4) This meeting declares that the *Comrade* and *Zamindar* are wrongly erring the Government in exposing the excess of local officers and that unsympathetic and haughty tone of certain Anglo-Indian papers is responsible for Moslem dissatisfaction.
- (5) Copies of first and second resolutions be sent to the Viceroy and proceedings to the Press.

The following resolution was passed by the Bareilly Moslems:—
“The Muhammadans of Bareilly assembled in a mass meeting in the Nannabla Jama Mosque, whose hearts are deeply moved by the Cawnpore tragedy, urge respectfully but strongly that a mixed com-

16th August.

mission of Hindus, Muhammedans and Europeans be appointed to investigate the whole affair thoroughly and impartially and that the Magistrate, the police and other officials concerned be posted elsewhere away from Cawnpore so that real justice be done. They also pray that the mosque be restored."



The Judge.

KHIRODA, at the lag end of her youth, woke up one morning to find that her lover had departed in the night, leaving her destitute. She found that, in all the thirty-eight years of her life, she had not even made one person her own, nor earned the right even to the corner of a home in which to live and die. She realised that life had no pity upon her, and would relax none of its claims, which must be attended to down to the smallest detail, and she rolled on the floor, smiting its hardness with her forehead in an agony of despair.

Evening came, and it grew dark. Khiroda had not the heart to tidy the room, or to light the lamp. Her hungry child cried till it could cry no longer, and fell asleep, tired, under the bedstead. A knock came to the door, and a man's voice called out, "Khro, Khro." Khiroda flung open the door, and rushed out at him who stood there, with her broom putting the amorous youth to precipitate flight. Then, convulsively clutching the child to her bosom, she went out of the house and jumped into the well.

The splash brought the neighbours hurrying to the spot, and the bodies were fished out. The mother was unconscious, but the child was dead. Khiroda was brought round in the hospital, and was committed to the sessions by the magistrate.

II

Mohit Datta was the Sessions Judge. He sentenced Khiroda to death. Her advocates tried their utmost to get some mitigation of the sentence, but with no success.

There was some reason for the severity of his attitude towards feminine frailty, as a glimpse into his earlier history will disclose.

Mohit in his undergraduate days lived near the house of an elderly couple with a young widowed daughter, Sasi. What little of the world Sasi used to see from behind the barrier of her lonely widowhood seemed to her like some golden land of mystery, where happiness stalked abroad. Unsatisfied longing seemed to belong only to the interior of her bosom, which cribbed and cramped the beatings of her heart.

In the intervals of her domestic duties, Sasi sat at the window, watching the crowd on the public road. She thought to herself how happy were the passers by, how free the tramps, what gay characters were the hawkers in the comedy of life! And morning and evening she saw the well-groomed Mohit strutting past in the fulness of his self-conceit. To her he was a demi-god, far above the mortals she saw around her.

Perhaps Sasi could have cheerfully spent all her life playing with her demi-god in the heaven of her fancy had not her evil star made the demi-god smile upon her and materialise the heaven within her reach. It is needless to relate at length when Mohit's covetous glance first fell upon Sasi, how he began to write to her under the false name of Binode, when the first trembling, ill-spelt reply reached him; how, at last, the whole of the poor little widow's world was turned topsy-turvy in the whirlwind of ecstatic surrender.

Late one night Sasi left her father and mother, and got into a carriage brought by Mohit, *ah! Binode*. When her demi-god, with all his tinsel showing, got inside and sat close beside her, a sudden rush of remorse bowed her to the dust. And when the carriage actually began to move, she fell at his feet, crying, "For pity's sake let me go back home." But the carriage rapidly drove away.

To narrate all the episodes of Mohit's early career would grow monotonous. This will serve as a sample.

III.

To-day there was no one to remember the escapades of young "Binode." Mohit Datta was quite a reformed character. His reading of the sacred books was incessant. He even practised austerities.

A few days after passing sentence on Khiroda, Mohit happened to be in the gaol garden, with a view to securing some nice, fresh vegetables for his own table. He heard from inside the gaol the sound of high words, and entering, found Khiroda in the midst of a vigorous bickering with the warder. Mohit smiled a superior smile. This is what woman is! Death at her door, and yet she must quarrel. She would dispute, thought he, amused at his conceit, even with the doorkeepers of Hades!

As he drew nearer, Khiroda, with clasped hands, addressed him, saying, "O, Mr. Judge, for mercy's sake, tell him to give me back my ring!"

On inquiry, he found that a ring had been hidden in the loops of Khiroda's hair, which the warder, discovering, had appropriated. Mohit was again amused. This desire for a bauble on the steps of the gallows! Oh, woman, woman!

"Let me see the ring," said he to the warder, who handed it over to him.

Mohit started as if it had been a piece of live coal. In the ring was set a miniature portrait on ivory of a young, beardless youth. In its gold rim was engraved the name "Binode." He raised his eyes from the ring, and for the first time looked Khiroda keenly in the face. He seemed to see there the fresh, fond, tear-bedewed countenance of twenty-four years ago. But, ah! what a difference!

(Translated from the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore.)—The Nahan



The Fate of Adrianople.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENTS.)

Paris, July 23.

It is understood here that Turkish ambitions do not seriously contemplate the permanent occupation of Adrianople as a fortified place and as a strategical bulwark against Bulgaria. The aspirations of the Turkish Government are confined to the demarcation of the frontier by the line of the River Maritza, which intersects Adrianople, and would leave in the hands of the Turks that part of the city which contains the Imperial tombs, and which they most value. Their proposals, I have reason to believe, will include the dismantling of the fortifications on both sides of the Maritza.

There is very little probability, however, that the European Concert will give favourable consideration to these proposals, and it is believed that means will be found of enforcing the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from a region the occupation of which would compromise the security and stability of the Ottoman Empire. The present tendency of French opinion, under the influence of the Press, to revert to an attitude favourable to Turkey by no means implies approval of the Turkish occupation of Adrianople or of Turkey's alleged intention to re-establish herself in Thrace.

Cologne, July 23.

Commenting on the Balkan situation and its probable settlement, the Berlin correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* says:—

"The Great Powers desire a territorial settlement in the Balkans which, as far as human foresight can dispose, would exclude an outbreak of further wars. From this point of view—namely, that of the most effective guarantee for the maintenance of peace in the Balkans—it is not to be assumed that the Great Powers could wish the reincorporation of Adrianople in the Turkish Empire, an arrangement which would not be lasting. On the other hand, the efforts of Turkey to secure an improvement in her western frontier line might well meet with consideration."



Mr. Asquith on the Outlook.

MR. ASQUITH, responding on the 21st July to the toast of "His Majesty's Minister" at the centenary banquet of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, said:—

The chairman has referred to, and he could hardly fail at this moment to refer to, the anxieties which have oppressed the minds and exercised the judgment of those responsible for the government of this country now for the best part of a year in relation to the great issues of peace and war. At this moment all our eyes are turned to the East of Europe, and the spectacle which confronts them is disheartening and even repellent. On the one hand we see the Balkan States, as the sequel to a war in which they fought side by side, drenching territory which their united efforts set free from Turkish rule with one another's blood. On the other hand we see Turkey, with the ink not yet dry upon the Treaty of London, to which a few weeks ago she put her hand—we see Turkey advancing beyond the line to which she agreed, and endeavouring to take advantage of the differences between her late enemies to recover some part, at least, of what she has lost. It is not unnatural that the opinion of Europe should be profoundly moved, and should demand of those with whom in the last resort reside power and the responsibility which accompanies power that they should show their readiness and their ability to bring to an end this sombre chapter in European history.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, having, as we have had from first to last, no special interest of our own to serve, we have laboured unceasingly, and I think I may say not without success, to promote and preserve the united action of the Great Powers. The concert among them has been loyally maintained, and I say this with full assurance—that I honestly believe it was never

less in jeopardy than it is to-day. (Cheers.) When a fair calculation is made of the interest—historic, economic, racial, religious—that have hung in the balance, the continued preservation not only of peace but of mutual confidence and of a corporate policy has been and is of the first moment. In the pursuit of that common object the Powers, while limiting as far as possible direct intervention, have achieved two notable and practical results. In the first place, they have kept, and they will continue to keep, in their own hands the delimitation of frontiers of Albania and the destination of the Aegean Islands. In the next place it was under their auspices that the terms of peace between the belligerents which are embodied in the Treaty of London were concluded, when the Enos-Midia line which is to bound the European territory of Turkey was laid down, and they have already appointed their expert representatives to trace its actual course.

Subject to these reservations, they did not in the first instance concern themselves with the partition and distribution between the Balkan States of the conquered territory outside that line. They trusted, as all Europe and as all the world trusted, that this would be found to be a matter for mutual and friendly agreement between the parties directly concerned. That hope has been frustrated. There has been during these last weeks a deplorable and a wanton effusion of blood. A State not before directly interested, Rumania, has intervened. The Powers have done, and they are doing, everything that they can to bring the disputants into peaceful conference. To-day it seems likely that such a conference may take place. We hope—I think I may go further and say we believe—that it may result in an immediate suspension of arms and in speedy terms of settlement (cheers), upon which, however, let me add, in view of what has happened, the Great Powers must and will reserve their own judgment. (Cheers.) As regards Turkey, we ourselves, we here in Great Britain, and I believe all the Powers, were disposed on the basis of the recently concluded Treaty to regard as accepted facts her retention of her European territory within the lines laid down, and, subject to reasonable safeguards for good government, the integrity of her Asiatic Empire, and we were ready and anxious to give her such assistance as we could in the prosecution of the heavy tasks which still lay upon her. If—and I wish to be perfectly explicit upon this point—if Turkey is ill-advised enough to set the provisions of that Treaty at naught, she must be prepared—and I will say no more at present—she must be prepared for an opening up of questions that it is by no means in her interests to bring into debate. (Cheers.) I have said so much, and I think you will agree with me that it was impossible for me at such a moment as this not to make it perfectly plain, not only here but to Europe, what is the position of his Majesty's Government and, I believe, of the United Kingdom. (Cheers.)

Unionist Foreign Policy.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who followed the Prime Minister, said:—

The Prime Minister has made a declaration of the first importance as to the views of his Majesty's Government on the lamentable spectacle which all the world has watched with regret, and something more than regret, passing before its eyes in the Balkans in the last few weeks. Let me say—and I think I can say for the party with which I act, for my friends in the House of Commons, no less than for myself—that we recognize the great services which the Foreign Secretary has rendered to his country and to Europe. (Cheers.) My friends, when they read it to-morrow, will welcome us we have welcomed to-night, the declaration which the Prime Minister has made, and all the world may know that, whatever the sharpness of our domestic controversies, however profound the issues which divide us, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary speak in the name of a united Kingdom when they take part in the councils of Europe. (Cheers.) And may I go further and say, Mr. Asquith, that, being by heredity an optimist, I cherish the hope that not many years will elapse before all questions of Imperial concern will be treated with the same absence of party spirit (hear, hear) and the same desire to strengthen the hands of the Imperial Government which now prevails in all matters of foreign policy. (Cheers.)

Opinion in Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 23.

BY MESSAGE to the Army the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, who recently assured the Ambassadors that Turkey would not violate the Enos-Midia frontier, have endorsed the occupation of what by the Treaty of London was defined as Bulgarian territory. The general public are enthusiastic. The local European Press joins with the Turkish newspapers in the chorus of acclamation. A demonstration in which 2,000 persons took part was held before the Sütlüce Porte this afternoon, and patriotic speeches, proclaiming the intention of Ottomans to defend Adrianople to the last drop

of their blood, were delivered in many places during the day which were organized to mark Constitution Day.

Meanwhile official circles urge that the Treaty of London has been rendered null and void by the disappearance of the Balkan League, and that Turkey is therefore entitled to act in accordance with the new situation. They hint that Greece and Serbia take a similar view, but the statements made by M. Dragoumis and M. Pavlovitch do not yet warrant the suggestion, although there is reason to believe that the Hellenic Government at least is coquetting with the idea of an autonomous Thrace. But while the public are enthusiastic, the Government and its principal supporters are somewhat troubled by the declarations of the British Prime Minister. The exact purport of these declarations is not generally known here, but there is every reason to suppose that they are in conflict with Turkish aspirations. The Russian attitude is also beginning to cause some uneasiness in high Turkish quarters.

Great indignation was recently aroused here by the publication in the local Press of a statement emanating from Greek sources to the effect that the Bulgarians massacred 1,000 Moslems at Kukush during the recent fighting. Indeed, anger at the alleged massacre of their co-religionists was one of the motives which induced the Turks to undertake the advance on Adrianople. Information has now, however, reached a foreign embassy, which cannot be described as anti-Hellenic in its sympathies, to the effect that the destruction of Kukush was the work of the Greek troops, who were informed that the town was a nest of Bulgarian *komitadjis* and the bulk of the victims were Bulgarians. It will be interesting to see what result this discovery, should it be further confirmed, will make on the public here.

The lay council refused to accept the resignation proffered by the Armenian Patriarch as a protest against recent events at Rodosto. Talaat Bey has ordered the arrest of certain Moslems at Rodosto who were implicated in the anti-Armenian excesses. *Azadnarmad*, the organ of the Dashnaks, has been suppressed.

News has reached Constantinople that the Metropolitan of Kavala, Mr. Athanasius, for whom a Requiem Mass was celebrated, is alive and well. He was reported to have been murdered by Bulgarians.

The Greek Patriarch yesterday complained to the Grand Vizier with regard to the situation of the Greek population at Rodosto, Silivri, and other places in Southern Thrace. According to the local Press, Prince Said Halim, to whom he gave full detail concerning the regrettable events, replied that it was the work of Bulgarian irregulars. Thus, the Patriarch said, was not the case.



The Bulgarian Plan of Attack.

THE *Times* have received from M. Gromitch, the Serbian Charge d'Affaires, a photograph, together with a translation, of the written order given by the commander of the Second Brigade of the 4th Bulgarian Division of Preslaw to his troops on Sunday, June 16-20, for the attack on the Serbian troops on the following day. The original of the order was found in the archives of the 31st Bulgarian Regiment of Infantry (of Varna), which was routed in the failure of the General Bulgarian attack.

M. Gromitch points out that, considering the time necessary to prepare an attack on a scale on which it was delivered by the Bulgarians, who numbered over 100 battalions with 200 guns, and to issue the necessary detailed orders to every unit, it is evident that the preparations must have taken several days and were therefore taking place at the very time when the Bulgarian Government were declaring that they were willing to settle the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute by pacific means.

The following is the text of the translation.—

Map scale 1 : 210,000.

The Commander of the 2nd Brigade, 4th Division.

To the Commanders of the various troop sections and establishments, Village Bagna.

No. 21.

1913 16/VI.—8 p.m.

1.—To-morrow commence the war operations against the Serbians and the Greeks.

Against the front of the brigade the Serbians are holding the line of the Zlatovo river.

The height Orni Vrh is defended by one Serbian infantry regiment, two mountain batteries, and four machine guns.

2.—The army advances to-morrow at 3 a.m. and attacks the enemy.

To the right from us, towards Karadly-Sultan, the Macedonia-Adrianople territorials will be acting; to the right, however, against Stubalj and further on in a southerly direction the VII. (Rilo) division is to operate.

3.—The brigade under my command has the order to attack and occupy the position 550 west from the village Dobrevu.

Therefore I command :—

- (a) **THE RIGHT COLUMN.** Shall advance against Svilanovo-Turkish Rudor-Drevena, and after capturing the height north of the village Drevena to attack from south-east the position 550.
- Colonel Kislov.
- 8th (Primorski) Regiment: 3 battalions, III. Artillery-Division: 3 batteries altogether 8 battalions, 3 batteries.
- (b) **THE LEFT COLUMN.** Shall by way Rytchani-Neokasi-Kalnichte attack from the south the position 550.
- Colonel Markoff.
- 81 (Varna) Regiment: 3 battalions, 8 mountain guns: 1 battery.

At my disposal shall remain one battalion of the 8th (Primorski) Regiment moving behind the right column.

4.—Sections of both columns shall to-morrow at 3 a.m. consciously approach the Zletovo river and annihilate the outposts of the enemy.

Thereupon they shall energetically advance upon the objects stipulated.

The enemy must be taken by surprise.

5.—The commanders of the columns shall make exhaustive use of reconnoitring detachments and keep in close touch between themselves as well as between adjacent columns.

6.—The commanders shall make adequate arrangements for the protection of the exterior flanks.

7.—Munitions, columns, and field hospitals at Svilanovo.

8.—The supply column at Dagna.

9.—Artillery emergency supply column at Zarevo Selo.

10.—The staff shall keep with the one battalion of the 8th Regiment which is standing at my disposal.

The Commander of Brigade

(Signed) COLONEL ERCHKEV.

Chief of Staff

(Signed) MAJOR KUYUNDJIEV

The foregoing order has been received by us the 16/VI. at 10-20 a.m.



Indian Moslems and the Government.

The Report of the London Moslem League.

THE fifth annual report of the London All-India Moslem League, which was presented at the general meeting, with the Aga Khan in the chair, opened with an expression of hearty satisfaction that the Supreme Legislative Council had passed an enactment restoring to Mussalmans the rights they possess under their own law to create family trusts, or benefactions, for the permanent provision of their families and descendants. Referring to the communal disappointment that the Secretary of State has negatived the policy of affiliation for the proposed Moslem University at Aligarh, the report observes that the proper course for the leaders is, while raising Aligarh to a teaching and residential university, to apply themselves energetically to the development of educational institutions, both primary and higher, throughout the country. The importance of including physical training in the education of Moslem girls is emphasized.

"The report goes on to speak of the profound sympathy of the Indian Mussalmans with Turkey in her recent tribulations. It describes as a malignant calumny the suggestion that the resolutions and representations of the League, both here and in India, had the effect of encouraging the great wave of feeling, or at any rate were intended to do so. From the first outbreak of the war the League pointed out to the people that any representation of opinion or appeals for remedy or redress should be made to their own Government. It has been a fundamental principle of the League from its inception that the best interests of the Indian Mussalmans are bound up with the maintenance of British supremacy in Asia. But it was in no sense inconsistent with this fundamental consideration to hold strongly to those cherished religious sentiments of the people which are associated with the maintenance of the Moslem Power, which has possession of Mecca and Medina. There is a further conviction, in which the committee claim to represent much more than Moslem thought, that the maintenance of Ottoman rule in Western Asia is of the greatest importance to British interests.

"After making suggestions for the promotion of the economic progress of the Indian Mussalmans, the report refers to the inquiry of the Indian Public Services Commission. The committee think that in the discussion of the principle of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service some very serious considerations have been lost sight of. The existing system is held to require improvement and readjustment. The circumstances of the examination reduce a mental and physical strain on the part of many contestants. Nor do the purely literary tests applied ensure the appointment of young men possessed of those characteristics which are so essential in the administration of a diversified country like India. The committee suggest the creation of some system of scholarships under which selected youths could receive part of their early training in the English public schools, thus securing standards of life and duty which cannot be ensured by mere literary tests. It is added that extension of facilities for service in the higher ranks of the administration will not fully meet Indian aspirations unless there is some corresponding advance in the opportunities open to the well-to-do classes for military service to the Crown in positions of real responsibility."

The Aga Khan on Moslem Policy.

THE fifth annual general meeting of the London All-India Moslem meeting, held in London on 14th July, was the occasion of a striking speech from the chair by the Aga Khan, president of the Central League.

"His Highness observed that the work of the London League in influencing and guiding the young Indian Moslems coming here for their education was of very great importance, and in this connexion he paid a warm tribute to the services of the president of the London League Mr. Ameer Ali. He doubted whether public opinion in this country had any conception of the profound significance of the presence in London and provincial educational centres of so many young Indians. Their numbers might be small in comparison with the vast population of Hindustan, but they were like so many stones separately thrown into the middle of the placid pool or river, each making concentric rings which reached to the margin on either side. Twenty years ago not only the mass of the people but substantial men of the now disappearing "old school" looked askance at new-fangled ideas brought by the "Europe-returned" young men. But now they listened with almost greedy eagerness to any message brought from the West, and were ready to accept in an uncritical spirit the views of their young countrymen fresh from England. These leaders and fathers of the future represented the hundreds of thousands of men of varying degrees of English education in India seeking to come more and more into touch with European thought and ideals, and, beyond them, the millions who were learning to read newspapers and interest the selves in the world outside their villages. Hence it was of the greatest importance to the Empire generally that Indian students here should imbibe right ideas and learn the right way of interpreting them. (Cheers.)

TURKISH ROLE IN ASIA.

"The recent Turkish war had demonstrated to the world the inherent solidarity of those who professed and called themselves Moslems. Their interest in one another's welfare was inadequately realized in Europe, where the strong religious sanctions of Islamic unity were not properly understood. In the last year or two the tribulations of Turkey and Persia had absorbed the thought of the Indian Moslem to the practical exclusion of other affairs. The currents of feeling were very strong, and by a time when we are in danger of losing sight of certain fundamental considerations which they ordinarily held with tenacity. Whatever might have been the case in the past when affairs in Mussulman countries fluctuated between England and Turkey, it was clear to Indian Moslems that British and Turkish interest were now closely identified. They felt that it was a matter of great moment to this country that Turkey should continue to hold sway as an independent Power in Asia, and also that Persia should retain whatever remained of her integrity. Obviously the break-up of Ottoman domination in Asia would expose the Western route to India to attack by other European Powers. Mutual goodwill and good understanding between England and Turkey would afford the best possible safeguard against any partition of the Asiatic dominions of the latter. He had very good reason to believe that in view of all that had happened in recent years, Turkey was not merely willing, but anxious, to come more fully within the orbit of British influence.

"Whatever weight the Indian Moslems might possess in the Islamic world should be used for bringing Turkey and other Muhammadan countries into an attitude of genuine trust in Great Britain. They would thus help to fulfil the destiny which had ordained that the welfare of England and of the Islamic world should be closely inter-related. Whatever was left of independent Mussulman States they must either more or less gravitate under British influence or lose their position. The aggregation of 190,000,000 Moslems within the British Empire gave her a great moral asset.

in the beneficent and mighty part she played in the world's affairs. At the same time it imposed great responsibilities upon the Indian Moslems, in their capacity as by far the largest and most important section. (Cheers.) The more steadfast and strong their loyalty, the more influential they would naturally be in promoting this harmony of interests, and also in moulding British policy.

"His Highness went on to urge the Indian Moslems largely to concentrate their efforts in the domestic sphere on seeking an educational equipment equal to that of other communities, and on helping to uplift and reclaim the depressed classes. The Moslems were doing absolutely nothing to promote the latter work, which was essential to the building up of Indian nationhood. The committee of the Central League, and afterwards the general session, last winter adopted the ideal of self-government 'suitable to India.' That ideal must commend itself to thoughtful opinion if it meant, as he took it to mean, an ideal involving many decades of effort towards self-improvement, social reform, educational diffusion, and complete amity between various communities. Given personal and national self-sacrifice for generations to come some form of self-government worthy of the Empire and of the people of India would be evolved, and Indians would have won a proud place for their nation in the world under the British Throne. (Cheers.) But if it meant a mere hasty impulse to jump at the apple when only the blossoming stage was over, then the day that witnessed the formulation of the ideal would be a very unfortunate one in the annals of their country. They had a long way to travel before the distant goal could be reached, and the voice of wisdom called them to proceed step by step. Development must be social, material, and moral as well as political if a goal worthy of the self-sacrifice involved and of India's place in the Empire was to be reached. And the motive force must be religious, because for nothing else would vast masses of the East toil on for generations along the path of self-denial. (Cheers.)

HINDU-MOSLEM RELATIONS.

An element of the new national self-consciousness must be the mutual goodwill and understanding of the different races of India. It was eminently desirable that where amity prevailed between Hindus and Muhammadans, missionaries should go forth to the less fortunate parts of the country in the effort to bring about good understanding. He suggested the voluntary abandonment by Moslems of the public slaughter of cows for sacrifice, committees of leading Moslems and rich Hindus organizing subscriptions to purchase other animals. There should also be local committees to bring Hindus and Mussulmans together in social intercourse, and this should largely be through the medium of games and sports. Social knowledge and goodwill were to be obtained in India largely along the lines of the physical culture of their young people—a culture eminently desirable also for the direct benefits it would confer upon coming generations. (Cheers.)

The report was adopted, on the motion of Sir H. H. Shephard, seconded by Mr C. E. Buckland, and supported by the Hon Mr Jinnah, member of the Viceroy's Legislature, and Mr Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan.—*The Times*

Indian Moslems and British Policy.

THE AGA KHAN said yesterday that the motive force in the development of India by her own peoples must be religion, "because for nothing else will the vast masses of the East toil on for generations along the path of self-denial." These words, spoken at the annual meeting of the London offshoot of the Indian Moslem League, contain a profound truth, one of those broad, fundamental, sweeping truths which underlie the politics of the world. It is a truth which Englishmen generally find it hard to grasp. They think about the advancement of India. They forget it because unhappily in England our national ideals grow more and more material, and are ceasing to be coloured and inspired by the religion of sacrifice. Englishmen display their drain pipes and their bright brick schools before India, and fondly hope that they are satisfying the cravings of the multitude. The political leader of sixty millions of Indian Moslems, who is also the spiritual head of crowds of Moslems all through the East, himself possessing the largest lineage traceable by any living Moslem, knows otherwise. He is bound to be vividly conscious that the forms of religion, and something of its spirit, touch the daily life of myriads in the Orient in ways to which the West has become half oblivious. Among Indians the political uplifting they seek is necessarily intermingled with their religious thoughts and aspirations. Such tendencies are not confined to the Muhammadans of India. The Hindu revolutionaries who try to subvert British rule found that their propaganda made little progress so long as they dwelt solely upon the material inducements which appeal so effectively to a Western electorate. When they doffed their cloths their purpose in a travesty of their religion they found a hearing at once among the ignorant and the credulous. The Aga Khan, however, is not dealing in travesties when he speaks to Moslems. He is describing the influence of a faith held in all sincerity by a hundred million people

in the British Empire alone. To them devotion to Islam is a more powerful motive than allegiance to the British Throne, because the one influence affects them every hour of their lives, and the other is only occasionally presented to their eyes. We have to consider conditions as they exist, and it is well that in the heart of London we have been reminded that when we think of Eastern political problems we must not ignore religion.

The Indian Muhammadan should, nevertheless, remember that his application of religious zeal to the consideration of international politics is a plant of very recent growth. Only a decade or two ago the masses of Indian Moslems thought little and cared less about the fate of the peoples of Islam in the world without. The doctrine of the solidarity of Islam has only of late obtained much currency in India. It received very little encouragement at Aligarh, the chief spring of Indian Muhammadan thought, until after the death of Sir Syed Ahmed. Now that it has gained a vogue, it is being pushed to unwise extremes. The Aga Khan limited himself yesterday to an expression of his hope that Great Britain would more closely identify herself with Turkish interests. With that hope we have great sympathy, although we are compelled to point out that the obstacles to its realization have been in the past at Stambul rather than in London. The more ardent Moslems of India have, however, gone a great deal further than mere efforts to promote Anglo-Turkish friendship. They have so far lost all sense of proportion that they have tried in words of foolish menace to dominate the foreign policy of the British Empire. They have abused British Ministers because they spoke their mind freely, and because they did not take up arms in defence of Turkey. They have telegraphed ludicrous incitements to the Sultan and his advisers to go on fighting. They have shown much valorous pen-courage, and done all that might be expected from inexperienced and untried politicians whose fervour exceeded their common sense. We do not wish to take these ebullitions too seriously. We are well aware that the Aga Khan strove manfully to stop them before he left India, and that he received much ungrateful criticism in consequence. Our purpose in recalling tendencies which we trust have ceased is to point out that here is imperatively laid upon Indian Moslems an aim even more urgent than the two great aims expounded by the Aga Khan. He said that they should set themselves to develop their educational system and to uplift the depressed classes. To us their more immediate necessities seem to be the cultivation of sobriety of statement and calmness in the contemplation of external affairs. If they emulate the careful moderation which distinguished the Aga Khan's speech yesterday, they will not go far wrong.

We agree that it is a matter of great moment to this country that Turkey should retain her independence in Asia. The Aga Khan touched a point of vital importance when he contended that a further dismemberment of the Ottoman dominions would expose the route to India to attack by other Powers. The Mussalmans of India may, however, rest assured that in this matter the British Government is a shrewd custodian of British interests, and will not be likely to give its countenance to any scheme which would leave the flanks of the Indian Empire more exposed than ever. The tentative agreement which has recently been reached between Great Britain and Turkey regarding the Baghdad Railway and various disputed issues in the Persian Gulf is proof more convincing than many protestations that this country desires to maintain friendly relations with the Turks. Upon the broader problems affecting the future of Islam the British position is equally clear. British policy would only with the utmost reluctance follow a course which might affront the newly-enlarged religious susceptibilities of the Indian Muhammadans. It would not, for example, aim at intervention in Persia, a proceeding from which every British statesman shrinks, except under the direct necessity; but the British Government is bound to reserve to itself the right to decide its actions, should occasion arise, upon the needs and requirements of the Empire as a whole. When these needs are insistent enough to conflict with the religious sentiments of Indian Moslems, we must base our expectation of their acquiescence upon those feelings of loyalty about the existence of which they so frequently assure us; but in any case we must go our own way. We do not think that in the time of trial the Indian Muhammadans will fail to appreciate the British position, if in the meantime they develop calmness and breadth of view. As a community they are rising to new heights of influence and prosperity, and they owe much of their progress to the toleration and encouragement of British rule. They can attain great power if they will guide their course aright. Even their new aspirations towards a share in some form of self-government may not prove impossible if they will only recognise that, as the Aga Khan says, they must first pass through "many decades of effort towards self-improvement." The trouble about most Indian advocates of self-government is that they think they are capable of exercising it to-morrow. Moslems will no longer have any excuse for such a delusion if they study and absorb the wise and cautious counsel of their leader.—*The Times*

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If a Subscriber fails to quote his Register Number, the office will not be responsible for the delay in the change of address.

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It is proposed to sell by public auction, all the standing trees (Kikar, Jand, Khair, etc.) on about 1,076 acres of land in Bir Chuchakwas, on the 25th of August 1913, and the following days at Chuchakwas, Tehsil Jhajjar, District Rohtak.

The estimated value of the wood is Rs. 30,000. It will be sold in blocks of about 25 acres each, estimated value Rs. 250 to 1,200. Twenty-five per cent. of the sale price to be paid at the time of auction, and the remainder, within one month, to be paid at Tehsil Jhajjar, or deposit will be confiscated and wood reauctioned.

Vendees will be required to clear the land within three months of the date of auction. The vendee reserves right to eject bids falling 10 per cent. below the estimated price of each Chuk.

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14-8-13

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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal

Edited by - Mohamed Ali

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The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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cases of cholera have occurred among the returned Rumanian troops, while the Montenegrin troops are being detained on the frontier owing to the prevalence of cholera.

London, Aug. 18.

Sofia The situation in Bulgaria is becoming extremely difficult. While demobilising as rapidly as possible in accordance with the Treaty, the movements of the soldiers being disbanded are being greatly hampered by the Rumanians, purchasing supplies at fixed derisory prices

At the same time, the Turks are advancing in all directions and are occupying places far beyond even the River Maritza. There are grave risks every day of collisions between Turks and Bulgarians. It is a noteworthy fact that Macedonian and Thracian volunteer corps, some 20,000 strong, are unable to return to their homes and are disbanding in Bulgaria. They are not likely to be pacific factors

London, Aug. 19.

A deputation from Adrianople has arrived in London representing the Turkish, Greek, Jewish and Armenian communities for the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the Powers with a view to the retention of Adrianople by Turkey. In an interview with Reuter, the deputation said, "When we have been to the Foreign Office, we shall lay before the English press documents and photographs proving that the Bulgarians are guilty of cruelties and atrocities not surpassed during the bloodiest periods of history. If Adrianople is restored to the Bulgarians, every man, woman, and child will flee the country before them. We have seen them once, that is enough"

Constantinople The Grand Visier emphatically denies that troops have advanced in the Bulgaria proper, but admits that the right bank of the Maritza as well as Demotica and other strategic points north of it have been occupied. He adds that this is solely to defend the railway, which follows the right bank of the Maritza.

Sofia Bulgaria has been informed that the Powers are concerting measures with a view to compelling Turkey to respect the Treaty of London.

Sofia Rumania had assured Bulgaria that evacuation will be completed by the 28th instant. She will indemnify the population for all losses sustained and will hand over the railways to-morrow.

Athens Unbounded enthusiasm was displayed on the King's entry into Athens. The streets were thronged with crowds carrying miniature Greek flags and laurel branches, the people crying "Long live Constantine, slayer of Bulgarians." The Royal procession went to the Cathedral, where the Te Deum was sung and subsequently to the Palace, the crowds running behind the cortege and shouting for joy.

London, Aug. 20.

Reuter wires from Sofia that the Turks have occupied Kuchuk kakyak in the Gumarjina district, inflicting casualties on the small Bulgarian garrison.

Pending representations by the Powers, the papers are indulging in some speculation concerning the possible action by Russia against

The Week.

London, Aug. 16.

Rumra's correspondent has arrived in Sofia from Buharest. He says that demobilisation is in full swing and every station is filled with trains crammed with disbanded soldiery. All look well and are in excellent spirits, giving no impression of a beaten army. On the contrary their bearing is soldierly and disciplined. There is great bitterness in the army against Rumania, whose intervention reduced Bulgaria to impotence. Foreign military attachés seem to think that the position of the Bulgarians, when the armistice was concluded, was decidedly favourable. They were actually in process of outflanking the Greek army, which, in a couple of days, would have been enveloped and forced to retreat. Scenes at country stations and in Sofia betoken that the spirit of the nation is rising against its misfortunes. The people are hailing the troops with great patriotic enthusiasm.

London, Aug. 17.

Sofia: Bulgaria has presented a note to the Powers stating that the Turks are marching towards Ajrjali and Gumarjina. The note declares that it is iniquitous that the Treaty of Buharest should oblige Bulgaria to demobilise while the Turks are permitted to infringe with impunity one of the fundamental dispositions of the Treaty of London. Bulgaria urges the Powers to prevent continued advances of Turks on the Bulgarian side of the Enos-Midia line.

Cholera appears to have broken out at various places in Bosnia. Six deaths and a number of suspicious cases are reported. Numerous

Turkey in which connection the withdrawal of two Russian warships from the Bosphorus to Sevastopol is quoted by the *Times* as a significant hint that they may return in less peaceful fashion, while Constantinople and Asia Minor are left unguarded with the whole army in Thrace.

The *Daily Mail* remarks that the difficulty for Europe is that the questions of the future of Constantinople and Asia Minor, and the control of the Dardanelles may well be raised again.

A curious situation has arisen between Greece and Bulgaria, the latter accusing the Greeks of informing the Turks of the date of their evacuation of the different places, so that the Turks might immediately reoccupy them. The Greeks have always acted in union with the Turks against the Bulgarians.

The Powers are holding consultations regarding further representations to Turkey on account of her advance into Thrace, but nothing is known in London confirmatory of the belief held in Sofia that the Powers are concerting measures to apply compulsion to Turkey.

The Carnegie international peace foundation has appointed a commission to investigate impartially the reported massacres in the Balkans and the economic consequences of the Balkan war.

Several Embassies have drawn the attention of the Porte to the reports of the Turkish advance beyond the line of the river Maritza, and the Russian Ambassador interviewed the Grand Vizier on the question yesterday afternoon. The Grand Vizier, while denying any intention to occupy the territory on the far side of the Maritza, issued orders in the presence of the Ambassador for the immediate recall of any troops which might have crossed the frontier.

The report that the Bulgarians intended to reoccupy Dedeağatch on Friday caused a panic in the town, many inhabitants leaving. The Consuls have applied to the Embassies for warships for the protection of foreign interests. The reoccupation is actually expected to take place on the 28th instant in the presence of foreign military attachés whom Bulgaria has invited so as to forestall any allegations of atrocities.

In spite of Turkish official assurances the Turko-Bulgarian situation is causing grave anxiety.

It is stated that the Porte is seriously considering the declaration of war and is making a rapid advance on Philippopolis in order to enforce Bulgaria's assent to the retention by Turkey of Adrianople. It is believed that a military caucus, headed by Enver Bey, is largely influencing Government's policy and overbearing more prudent counsels.

At the same time, there are renewed reports of impending intervention by Russia with the object of enforcing the Treaty of London. It is even inferred in some quarters from the recent movements of Russian warships in the Black Sea and a certain dislocation of local steamship services, that some action, possibly of the disembarkation of troops has already been taken.

Athens: The Greeks are delaying for ten days the evacuation of the territories in Thrace ceded to Bulgaria till the latter is ready to occupy them. The effect will be to prevent the apprehended Turkish occupation of Dedeağatch and other towns.

The deputation from Adrianople to urge the Powers to allow Turkey to retain Adrianople, visited the Foreign Office to-day. The deputation was received by an Under Secretary.

Two further brigades of Bulgarian troops from Macedonia and Adrianople returned to Sofia this afternoon, meeting with a rapturous welcome from the populace. The King and the Prince reviewed them, while the people showered flowers on them. The troops and crowds gave the members of the Royal family an ovation.

London, Aug. 31.

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London, Aug. 23.

The *New Free Press* states that the Powers are consulting regarding taking a collective step at Constantinople.

It is proposed that the Austrian Ambassador as the doyen of the diplomatic body, shall call on the Porte to withdraw to the Ence-Midia line under threat of financial starvation.

In an interview with the correspondent of the *Paris Math* on July 29th, Enver Bey said "You may say as definitely as you can that we will never evacuate Adrianople. Here we are and here we remain. The army has made a resolution to hold the city or die to the last man in its defence. Let Europe understand that once for all."

London, Aug. 23.

Renter learns that nothing is known in London of the Powers adopting any definite proposal regarding Adrianople, and the Vienna report that the presentation of a collective Note at Constantinople is imminent is consequently considered premature. Turkish assurances are regarded as disposing of the more acute question of territory on the right bank of the Maritza.

The semi-official *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* of Vienna thinks that the Adrianople question has lost its international character, and will become a matter purely between Turkey and Bulgaria.

The chances that Turkey will be allowed to retain Adrianople appear to be growing daily. Prospect of an agreement regarding a financial boycott are not promising. French investors, who have to bear the brunt, and have already made great sacrifices in deference to Russia's political views, are unwilling to do more.

London, Aug. 24.

Constantinople. It is officially stated that the Bulgarians attacked the Turkish advanced post at Ortaköy, but were repulsed after a sharp engagement. The Turks captured a Colonel and 123 soldiers.

Belgrade. The Serbian Crown Prince made a ceremonious entry into the city to-day at the head of ten thousand troops. The city was decorated with flags and trophies and captured Turkish and Bulgarian guns.

The Albanian town of Delvine has organised a Committee of Defence. It is resolved to resist incorporation in the State of Albania.

Athens. Seven classes of reservists have been dismissed from the colours.

London, Aug. 26.

Athens: Greece has already begun the work of rearming. The General Staff will be reconstructed, the number of divisions of the army will be increased by twelve, the war material will be renewed without delay, and the new frontiers will be carefully fortified, while the navy will be strengthened by new ships, a large arsenal and coastal fortifications.

Paris. Speaking in the Department of Jura yesterday, M. Pichon said everything led to the belief that we were reaching the end of the crisis which had so often caused the danger of war between the Great Powers. The need was not felt universally for assured peace. The concerted action of Europe had ended in an unsatisfactory sort of settlement, but it sufficed, since it restored peace and did not grant excessive advantages to one side nor crushed the other. M. Pichon eulogised the services of the Triple Entente in the work of peace.

Constantinople: Owing to the firm attitude of the Powers with regard to Adrianople the Porte is beginning to realise that a direct understanding with Bulgaria offers the best chance of exit from the present impasse. Negotiations have consequently been resumed with the Bulgarian Agent in Constantinople. It is understood that the Porte will be unwavering on the question of Adrianople, but will make other concessions. The proposal for a direct Turco-Bulgarian understanding meets with encouragement in certain diplomatic quarters, but is opposed in others.

Ortakeu, where the Bulgarians attacked the Turks, is twenty-five miles west of Adrianople.

Talaat Bey, Turkish Minister of the Interior, has gone to Adrianople. It is variously stated that his object is to open negotiations with the Bulgarians to prevent further military imprudence beyond the River Maritza or the Bulgarian frontier, to ascertain the feeling of the army on the subject of the projected compromise with reference to Adrianople, and to impress on army leaders the impossibility of longer maintaining 300,000 men in Thrace.

Salonica - The devastation of territories ceded to Bulgaria continues. Thus the inhabitants of Strumnitza district burned the town and thirty-two villages, both Greek and Turkish, prior to withdrawing to the territory assigned to Greece. Refugees from these territories already number 128,000.

London, Aug. 26

A telegram from Sofia says that Bulgaria has protested to the Powers against Turkey's occupation of Gumuljina, fifty miles from Kirjali and sixty miles west of the Maritza.

London, Aug. 27.

In view of the uncertainty of the situation neither Bulgaria nor Greece are liberating Turkish prisoners, of whom it is stated Bulgaria holds 10,000 and Greece 80,000.

Turkey denies the occupation of Gumuljina, which it is stated in Athens the Greeks have already transferred to the Bulgarians.

London, Aug. 28.

Constantinople - The Government will shortly submit to Bulgaria and the Powers definite proposals for the solution of the frontier question. The Porte will insist upon the retention of Adrianople and Kirk Kilissah, but will offer certain concessions which, it is hoped, will be acceptable.

London Aug. 29.

Hitherto no indication has been given regarding the Turkish proposals concerning Adrianople. In some quarters it is believed that the Powers do not intend actively to intervene on behalf of Bulgaria, which will, therefore, be faced with the alternative of herself declaring war on Turkey, or of reaching an agreement with her. Bulgaria apparently relies on Turkey's inability to maintain 350,000 men in the field for an extended period, and is thus disposed to play a waiting game, but the Turks are convinced of their ability to hold the left bank of the Maritza.

London, Aug. 30.

A telegram to the *Times* from Sofia says that Bulgaria has decided to negotiate direct with Turkey on the subject of Adrianople.

London, Aug. 31

Reuters wires from Constantinople that a telegram from Adrianople states that the inhabitants of Kirjali and Egridere have taken up arms to oppose the Bulgarian occupation and that severe fighting has occurred.

A Constantinople message states that the Bulgarian delegates appointed to conduct direct negotiations with Turkey concerning Adrianople and all pending questions between Turkey and Bulgaria will leave Sofia for Constantinople soon. Facilities have been granted them for the rail journey.

The Carnegie International Committee of Enquiry into the Balkan massacres has decided to abandon its task owing to objections raised by Serbia and Greece on the ground that two of its members, namely, M. Milinkoff (Russia) and Mr. Brailsford (England), are well-known pro-Bulgarians, and also because traces of atrocities have disappeared with the lapse of time.

London, Sept. 2

A message from Rome says that the Foreign Minister, receiving the deputation from Adrianople, said that Adrianople would probably remain Turkish. He would do his best to reconcile Turkish and Bulgarian interests which would assure lasting peace between the two countries.

The presence of Turks westward of Maritza is preventing Bulgarians from occupying places assigned to them in Southern Thrace, and is making the position of small forces already there untenable.

London, Sept. 3.

Sofia: The Bulgarian delegates, consisting of General Savoff ex-Commander-in-Chief and M. Tchoeff former Minister in Belgrade,

accompanied by two military advisers, have left for Constantinople to conduct negotiations pending between Turkey and Bulgaria.

It is stated in Constantinople that the right bank of the Maritza will prove the knotliest point in the negotiations. The Turks apparently intend to insist on the retention of Demotika, Ortakeu and other places, but may possibly be ready to effect a deal in return for concessions. Turkish circles are beginning to incline very strongly towards a close understanding with Bulgaria as a most effective ally against Greece. An alliance is even mooted.

Salonica - The Turks occupied Xanthi after exchanging shots with the Bulgarian garrison which retired.

The situation in Thrace is complicated owing to the fact that the period for the evacuation of the town by Greeks expired on Sunday. In spite of the pressure of the Powers the Greeks are not willing to continue occupation fearing possible collisions with the Turkish troops in the vicinity, which might involve Greece in the Turco-Bulgarian controversy.

Persia.

A CONSTANTINOPLE message, dated Aug. 15, says that an interview took place yesterday between the British Charge D'Affaires, the Russian Ambassador and the Grand Vizier with reference to the Persian frontier. It is understood that a Convention was signed definitively settling the question.

A St Petersburg telegram from Teheran says that two Belgians, M. Fuhirmann, Director of Customs, and M. Depir, Captain of the Persian Customs service vessel, have been attacked by Arabs while on an excursion near Mohammerah and wounded.

Teheran Incendiarism are believed to be responsible for a fire yesterday morning in the Ministry of the Interior which has proved to be more serious than was at first thought. The entire building was damaged and the archives destroyed. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs was saved by the timely arrival of Gendarmes.

A Stockholm message dated Aug. 21, says that Colonel Hjalmarsen's request for the despatch of more Swedish officers for Persia has been granted with the consent of the British and Russian Governments.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that a commission, probably composed of Turkish, Persian, Russian and British representatives, will shortly be appointed for the delimitation of the frontier in the neighbourhood of Urumiah and Mohammerah.

A telegram to the *Times* from St. Petersburg with reference to the Trans-Persian Railway, says it has been agreed that in the Northern half Russian interest shall be 60 per cent., French interest 33 1/3 per cent, and British 6-2/3 per cent, and in the Southern half Russian interest 6-2/3 per cent., French 33 1/3 per cent, and British 60 per cent. The total interests of the parties in the whole line will thus be equal. The French and Russian proposal was that interests should be equal for the whole line. The above arrangement was made to meet British susceptibilities. Otherwise the *Times* adds, the scheme, including the question of the route, has made little progress. The British policy of letting things drift while hating a dislike to the project is regarded as very unsatisfactory. It is felt that the sooner a clear understanding is reached the better for Anglo-Russian relations. Russian promoters are most enthusiastic and have overcome nearly all opposition in Russia. They say they have secured the support of every great industry except cotton, and even there the sole opponent is a large Moscow exporter of cotton to Persia. The most energetic promoters are Anglo-philos. They urge that the railway will bring England and Russia together in a great common interest, make Russia a highway for Englishmen passing to India, and strengthen the bonds between the countries in a thousand ways.

A message from Teheran, dated the 24th August, states that Salar-ed-Dowleh has taken refuge in the Russian Consulate at Kermanshah.

A Teheran message, dated Sept. 3, says that the Treasurer-General has requested the Minister of Finance to authorise the engagement of eighty-two foreigners during the next fifteen months making the total number of the foreign employees 124.

A telegram to the *Times* from St. Petersburg states that the British members of the Turco-Persian Delimitation Commission will be Mr. Wratislaw, Consul-General in Crete, and Captain Wilson, Assistant Political Officer at Bushire.

A Teheran message, dated Sept. 1, states that Salar-ed-Dowleh, who took refuge in the Russian Consulate at Kermanshah, will probably be brought to Teheran under escort, and compelled to leave the country.

Bagdad Railway.

It is reported that the leading idea on the French side in the negotiations regarding the Bagdad Railway is to renounce interests in the Bagdad line and to turn elsewhere for compensation. It is suggested that while the Deutsche Bank will take over shares held by the Ottoman Bank, the former shall renounce various railway concessions in Syria and on the shores of the Black Sea.

In an inspired statement to-day the *Kölnische Zeitung* says that the correctness of the reports regarding the Franco-German understanding on the Asiatic railway questions is subject to the strongest limitations.

The German and French Governments have not been negotiating regarding the railway questions in Asia Minor and Syria. There has only been a private, and not binding, exchange of views between the French and German groups.

A Paris message, dated Aug. 22, to the *Times* predicts an early termination of the negotiations between the French and the German financial groups regarding the Bagdad Railway. Britain and Russia are keeping themselves informed of the progress of negotiations.

The *Temps* adds that Britain is about to conclude an agreement renouncing all interests in the construction of the line up to Bagdad, and that the Deutsche Bank will buy the shares of the Ottoman Bank, Germany thus obtaining liberty of action without foreign control. These agreements are conditional on a complete understanding between Russia, France and Britain, and between them and Turkey.

Turkey.

Fears are beginning to be expressed of the possibility of the Franco-German negotiations regarding the Bagdad Railway ending in the division of Asiatic Turkey into so-called railway zones, which could easily be transferred into spheres of political interest. It is urged that it is the paramount interest both of France and Britain to avert anything of the kind as tending to the disintegration of Asiatic Turkey.



An Indian Moslem at Adrianople.

The following interesting letter has been received with the English Mail from Mr. Abdur Rahuman, General Manager of the All India Medical Mission, written on board the *ss. Ismailia*, near Alexandria:—"In the hurriedly written postcard which I wrote to you from Adrianople, I promised to write to you lengthily later on. I am sorry I could not write earlier on account of the hurry of our departure. Well, better late than never. Here are my impressions of Adrianople with a few other events which are of note. Through our special sources of information we had come to know much before others ever dreamed of it, that it had been decided to make a forward movement. When we learnt of this we at once went to Dr. Bessim Omer Pasha and to A. H. H. that in the event of an advance move, we should like to form a small unit and go with the army and to 'succeed premier' as they call it here. We naturally could not establish a field hospital as it would have taken much time and, secondly, we were so few. The arrangements in the army are that the soldiers themselves bring the wounded from the actual field of battle to a small tent where a doctor and two or three dressers at once do the first aid and pass them on to the field-hospital, which is always situated beyond the range of fire. Dr. Bessim Omer Pasha promised to send us to do this very first-aid work, and we were all so happy at the idea of performing this new and interesting duty. But our dreams were not realized. The army advanced very fast, and before Dr. Bessim Omer Pasha could obtain permission for us they had already occupied Lule Burgas, and the news of the re-occupation of Adrianople was expected momentarily. Over and above this, there was hardly any fighting at all except on the last day near Adrianople, Kirk Killaseh and Visa. But this too was more skirmish-like than a battle. At last on the eve of the anniversary of the Constitution Day, or better give it its more popular name *Id-i-Hurriyat*, the *Temps* came out in a special evening edition about 4 p. m. and then the world knew that Enver Bey had once more served his fatherland. To imagine that an army of human beings could possibly march 80 kilometres in one day with full ammunition is in itself a task. But Enver Bey and his

gallant soldiers did it. On information gathered in Adrianople from eye-witnesses we were told that at about 7 a. m. five "fidais" of the cavalry entered the city gallantly and fearlessly. Then came the cavalry under Ibrahim Bey at about 9-30, accompanied by Enver Bey, and after an hour or two the new 10th Army Corps under Khonshid Pasha (Enver Bey's Army) entered the city and took charge of all the fortifications and Government buildings. One General and about 2,000 Bulgarians were taken prisoners. The Bulgarians left 260 guns also. Immediately after the arrival of the five "fidais" the people gathered in large numbers and began to shout *Yashasin Osmanli'ler* ("long live the Osmanlis") and *Padshahim Chok Yasha*. The Head Priest of the Jews and the old Mufti went out in a carriage with a band to welcome the Turks. One can imagine from the happy expressions on the people's faces under what a tyranny they had been. The Turks really and actually came to their salvation and delivered them from the hands of Satan's chief lieutenants. The Greeks too joined the populace in its welcome to the Turks. These worthies too were now compelled to acknowledge that the Turk was decidedly superior to their old friend the Bulgar. I say this on strong authority. These people had helped the Bulgarians to commit atrocities against the Mussalmans. But after the new turn that affairs have taken the Bulgarians showed a bit of themselves to the Greeks also.

I have strayed away from my real point. The news was received by dignified and sedate Stamboul too with shouts of joy. Processions were formed and bands were heard playing in different places. The same night Hadji Atil Bey and the different officers of his vilayet, with 600 *Gentlemen* departed by a special train to Adrianople. Happily Kemal Omer Bey gave us the news in time, and we were able to see the enthusiastic send-off that was given to him. H. E. Talaat Bey and other important civil and military officers were present. A small guard-of-honour, composed of soldiers and policemen, with a band was also present. We were introduced to the new Vali who received us very kindly and when Kemal Bey told him that we were going to work in the Red Crescent Hospital at Adrianople he invited us to his city and said that he would do all he could to help us.

Our disappointment in the matter of going with the advancing army was completely made up when Bessim Omer Pasha asked us to go and work in the Ottoman Red Crescent Hospital at Adrianople. It was thought that the Bulgarian had left many Turkish patients, and in case there was fighting we would prove helpful. We made our arrangements and the next morning started for Adrianople. The Station Master at Sirkeci could not tell us if the train would go right up to Adrianople as the Vali who had gone only one night before us had to go on horseback from Tchorda or Lule Burgas. We took our chance and started. We were six in all—Khaliq, Ghulam Ahmed, Manzoor, Sheaban myself with Dr. Fuad at our head. We passed the familiar scenes of St. Stephanos, Kutchuk-Tchekmedjeh and Jew Old Omur with the Operation theatre and Latines still standing intact and reached Hadimkoy at about 12 a. m. From here began the most painful part of the journey. Much has been written about the savagery and blood thirstiness of the Bulgarians, and even King Constantine of Greece has now thought it fit to raise his voice on behalf of the poor sufferers at the hands of these beasts. I wish to have shown a better example of his Christian spirit by raising his voice when the poor Moslems were being harassed and massacred. His own soldiers and officers were an exception. They may have been a bit less ferocious, but against the Mussalman they were all alike. If the Commission that the King of Greece now demands to sit to hand out the real culprits, I am sure Greece will not come out of the ordeal with a very good face. But I for my part have lost all faith in the sense of fairplay and justice of Europe. If this Commission ever sits, it will be influenced more by political than merciful and humanitarian reasons, and the victims will never get justice done to them, and the real culprits will not get their due amount of punishment. Rounding Sanjak-Tepih and the fort of Ahmed Pasha the train enters the valley of Karasu which has been the scene of many a bloody fight in this war. The Turkish wire entanglements are still there, but in rather a neglected condition. Quite near are the ruins of what once was Bakhshishah. Now there are only the four walls of the mosque with hardly any roof and the muazzin's tower half broken. Then we reached Tchataldja. When the Bulgarians came they had killed all the Mussalmans and blown up their houses and mosques. When they went they killed all the Greeks. The result has been that right from Tchataldja to Lule Burgas there is no human soul, and there is no house that can be called habitable. It is all desolate and a complete wilderness. One does not see even sheep and animals in these hills, and birds too seem to have run away from the dread of these savages. Railway stations, roads, wagons and even cisterns for watering the engines have been blown up or set fire to. The names of stations written in Turkish have been scratched out and Bulgarianized, boards are affixed in their places. It speaks volumes for the energy and hard work of the Turkish Army how they managed to repair the

6th September.

The Comrade.

bridges and the lines so soon. From Tchataldja the train goes to Qahakchah and thence to Sinekli and Charkaskeuy. The latter place was the headquarters of General Savoff and under his very eyes the Moslem population of the place was killed, the mosque was turned into a big bakery and there were about a dozen ovens in the railway station itself. The correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* was with us and when speaking to me about these atrocities he said that he was ashamed to call himself a Christian. From here the train goes straight to Tehorlu. Here the old Turkish military barracks and hospital are still in tact, not because the Bulgars spared them but because they had no time to blow them up when leaving in a hurry. On the roads in the hills round Charkaskeuy and Tehorlu we saw trains of carts full of men, women and children—*muhadjirin* who had been permitted to go back to their houses—alas! there were none to which they could. In several places we saw a whole family sitting round a small piece of wall of the house that was once theirs. The misery in which these poor sufferers are is indescribable. If you come across any house that is not broken the first idea that crosses your mind is not that the Bulgarians were good enough to spare it, but it is "How is it that they have not destroyed it?" Just imagine the havoc that they have played and then think of the non-combatants that they must have killed. Naturally all could not run away. The majority had been left behind. Where are they now? Perhaps General Savoff and his men will be better able to solve this mystery. From Tehorlu we went to Lule Burgas passing Muradli and Seidler on our way. Near Muradli our train crossed the Euxine-Midia line and so to say we entered the debatable land. Seidler was the headquarters of the Generalissimo after Sanjak-Epeli and when the army had entered Adrianople they were changed to Baba Eski. Our train reached Lule Burgas just after sundown. We could barely distinguish the outlines of a few houses near the station. The whole atmosphere was full of unity smelt coming from the putrid and badly buried bodies of the soldiers who had died in that great battle. From here we went to Alpuullor, the junction from where the train goes to Baba Eski and Kirk Kilisesh. We had to stay here for three hours and then our carriage was attached to a military train. Early in the morning we reached Adrianople. The train enters the city from the unfortified south-eastern side and you see the minarets of Sultan Selim Djami from miles away.

As you enter the yard of the railway station to your left you pass the military barracks all blown up and to your right you see the Servian and other guns about 250 that the Bulgars have left behind them. Near by is the majestic building of the school for Subordinate Military officers in which is established the Ottoman Red Crescent Hospital. In this very building the British Red Crescent Mission also worked after the fall of the city. Dr Behnaddin Shakar Bey—private physician to H. R. H. Prince Yousuf Izzeddin Effendi and a professor of the "Faculté de médecine"—was the Director of the hospital during the siege and after it excepting the period for which he was imprisoned. The Bulgarians wanted to kill him, but the strong representations of his friends in Sofia and Constantinople saved his life. These savages—I have no stronger word to use for these beasts—do not even respect the dignity of the medical men or even of the Red Crescent.

..... Huge quantities of grain and food-stuffs have been left behind by the Bulgarians. They burnt a good deal, but the quantity left untouched is not negligible at all. Large quantities of ammunition too have been left behind and about forty to sixty thousand rifles also. On the station some of the heaps of grains were still smouldering and several goods wagons full of food were still burning when we saw them. From the station we walked up to the Hospital where Dr Baha Bey welcomed us most affectionately and at the same time told us that we could only stay as visitors as he was himself going to close the hospital, there being no fighting and consequently no patients and the health of the Army being excellent. This was a bit of a cold douche to our enthusiasm, but the happiness felt at the idea of our being in Adrianople, the place where the Turks regained their lost military glory, was sufficient to revive us. Some of the European correspondents have tried to minimise the bravery of the Turkish soldiers and have called the forts "painted lath", etc., etc. My contention is that it was much more difficult to defend a fort of the painted lath type than one of stones and bricks. And thus the bravery of the Turks impresses one still more strongly. There is a talk of Shukri Pasha not having paid full attention to all the details of the defence arrangements and it is also said that he committed a great mistake in not reinforcing the eastern forts with more men on the occasion of the final attack when he could easily have done it. Be that as it may, military experts and the historian who writes the causes of the fall of Adrianople will have other things to tell the world. But to a layman like me it appears that it was impossible for the Tchataldja or Bulair army to relieve it. The city would have fallen if not on the actual date that it fell then a month or so later. But as to the bravery and devotion to duty of the Turkish officers and men there is nothing but praise, admiration and wonder.

"We stayed in Adrianople for four days only, but saw so many things that I do not know how to describe them all to you. Two things are definite and certain and they are that the population was saved by the Bulgarian rulers and sincerely and honestly welcomes its deliverers from the reign of terror in which they were. Let Europe and her politicians decide matters as they will, but if the wishes of the people of Adrianople were consulted they would unanimously and gratefully vote for the much-maligned but still humane and merciful Turk.

"The first place that we inspected was the hospital itself. It is a huge building and quite well-kept, at least as best as possibly could be done after the departure of the Bulgarians. There were some Servian patients also. The Bulgarians had removed their own patients and left their old comrades who had fought shoulder to shoulder with them. This is Bulgarian sincerity. A small but important incident connected with this hospital is worth noticing. Some Austrian sisters of mercy were working as voluntary nurses under Dr Baha Bey during the siege. When the Bulgarians came and Dr Baha Bey was imprisoned these sisters left the hospital. They were requested by high officials to come and work in the hospital, but they refused. The day on which the Turkish army entered the city these sisters came running to the hospital and took up their duties with full enthusiasm once more. These sisters were Christian, they were subjects of Austria, Bulgaria's friend, and the patients in the time of the Bulgarian occupation were mostly Christians. But they preferred to serve the most hated and despised Mussalmans and Turks rather than serve Christians of the Bulgarian type.

"We went first to the Egyptian Red Crescent Hospital under Dr Mustafa Mars. This hospital is situated right into the city which is about two miles from the railway station. There is a beautiful road all along and we have to cross the two rivers Arda and Maritza. The most interesting sight that one saw at once was the huge display of the "Hilal-i-Osmani" from the windows of almost all the houses. The cafés and restaurants excelled each other in decorations of this most beautiful flag that any nation possesses. Only three days ago the Bulgarian flag was waving in these houses. There is dearth of Turkish coinage in the city so in return for something bought you were generally given back Bulgarian money. Cigarettes too were Bulgarian as the agents of the Régie des Tabacs had not been able to send cigarettes to the city yet. There were several Bulgarians in the Egyptian Hospital, two of them being officers. The visitors' book of the hospital was rather interesting as it contained the opinions and signatures of the "Bulgarian Mayor" of the city and other Bulgarian officers. On our way from the Egyptian Hospital to the Sultan Selim Mosque I saw a sight which I shall never forget for my life. The road leads to the eastern fortifications and trains of carts full of food and other material were passing. It was blazing hot. Mussalman children of four and five years of age were sitting on the side of the road with vessels full of water to supply to the thirsty Turkish "Askar". The act was spontaneous and sincere. The Askar took the tumbler thankfully and happily and there was a competition amongst the children as to whose tumbler would be accepted first. It is a very small incident but one can easily imagine that the children too had distinguished between the good gentlemanly Turkish Askar and the savage Bulgar. Mr Lucie Wolfe wrote an article in some illustrated paper calling this war "The War of Extirpation." I am not sure if it has proved quite that, but I am sure of this that his most Christian Majesty the Tsar or all the Bulgarians and the Crusader of the 20th century will go down to posterity as Ferdinand "the Extirminator" not of the poor Moslem non-combatants only but of his own much-loved Slavs and Bulgars also.

"It was with peculiar feelings that we entered the Sultan Selim Djami. Only three days ago the Bulgarian flag was waving on this beautiful mosque. It is situated on a small hill and without it the general view of Adrianople would be incomplete. It is beautiful from inside also like all other Turkish mosques. The Bulgars had entered it with boots on and some had gone even further and made it dirtier. But thank God, He himself sent the Turks to make it holy again. It did one's heart good to see the soldiers and officers praying here and reading the Quran. One of the smaller domes has been damaged by a shot. But the Augaf Department has already begun repairing it. I cannot believe how Europe thinks of taking back Adrianople and Constantinople from the Turks. They are from then very looks two of the most Moslem cities, and it would be both ridiculous and ludicrous to put a Christian ruler over them.

"As there was no time left to see the fortifications we decided to go and pay our respects to the Vali. The Government House has been blown up in some places and to reach the staircase one has to pass through the debris of the broken portion. Hadji Adil Bey received us most graciously, and thanked us for the congratulations that we offered. He related to us some of the Bulgarian atrocities and finally said that the Vali and Commandant of Adrianople had decided not to leave the city even if the Government ordered them to.

evacuate it. He said that he could never leave the population to be once more harassed and massacred by these blood-thirsty hounds. From here we went to the office of the Commandant Mohamed Ali Pasha who was formerly commandant of Vardos and had visited our Chanak Kila Hospital. He was out, but we were able to see the Chief of the General Staff of the 10th Army Corps who was no other than Enver Bey. When we entered the building some five or six officers were questioning a Bulgarian soldier who was caught in the act of setting fire to a house in a village near by. Dr Ali Ghalib Bey came out and took us to a room which happened to be Enver Bey's and asked us to wait. After a few minutes this smiling little gentleman entered and most shyly accepted our congratulations. We asked him to permit us to go and see the fortifications which he did immediately. After some conversation we departed and went back to Karaghach, the place where the hospital is situated.

"Early next morning we went to see the southern forts. The whole open space between the station and the forts is practically broken up. There is hardly a piece one hundred square yards that can be called even. The force and immensity of the bombardment can be imagined by the fact that only one building received not less than 200 shots of which only two were effective. And this building was the Ottoman Red Crescent Hospital. The powder magazines and the fortifications are all in proper order. All the guns are in the same old places were Shukri Pasha had left them. There is some damage done here and there, but it will be repaired soon. The Serbians were attacking this side, but were not able to do much. After midday we started to see Aivas-Baba and Maltapeh. They are to the east of the city and carriages can go right up to the guns. The new officer in charge of the fort is a Circassian gentleman by name Mohamed Ali and I have never seen a better "Zabit." He explained to us the details of the fighting on the last day and the reasons why the city fell. Aivas Baba is situated very near the city, so that if it is ever taken, the city can never be saved. When the Germans were fortifying the city, a member of the Turkish General Staff had suggested that between the western and southern fortifications and the city there was a very large open space and even if they were taken and the enemies' armies entered the open plain, the guns of the eastern and northern forts could easily check the advance. But as Aivas Baba was situated quite near the city and as between it and the city there was very little open space the better course would be to fortify Maltapeh and the range of hills in front of Aivas Baba and keep Aivas Baba as a second line to fall back upon in case of the first line being taken. His counsel was thrown to the winds and Turkey had to pay the penalty of losing the city. The Bulgarians during the armistice secretly brought their guns and men behind this very range of hills and made little matter of Aivas Baba. Near the guns of Aivas Baba within a stone's-throw is situated Arnautkeuy, a village inhabited by Greeks and Armenians. It is not possible to imagine why Shukri Pasha did not demolish the village. These people supplied all possible information about guns and men to the Bulgarians practically daily. The weakness of the position added to the treachery of the people of Arnautkeuy brought about the fall of Aivas Baba. The ground round about is literally covered with shrapnel and bullets. We were told that the bombardment was so terrible from both sides that the flashes from the guns lighted the whole city throughout the night. This place too sinks a good deal particularly as the Bulgarians did not bury the Turkish dead for 21 days and ultimately they employed the Turkish prisoners to do this work for fear of cholera spreading in their army. On our way back we passed the island on which were kept about thirty to thirty-five thousand prisoners for four days and nights without food or shelter in rain and cold. You had reproduced in the Comrade a letter which some lady had written to the *Year Front*. It is absolutely true that more than 400 men died daily and some of these were wounded also. The horrors of "Serai-Ishun"—the name of this island—cordless one's blood and one cannot believe that these Bulgarians could possibly be given the name of human beings. They are savages, but perhaps the savages too are better.

"The next day early in the morning we were awakened from our sleep by the noise of guns thundering quite at our gates. On inquiry we were told that their Royal Highnesses the Princes Yousuf Izzeddin and Muraddin Efendis had come to visit the city. They were given a befitting reception and in the absence of better accommodation were lodged in the *balidiah* or municipal buildings. In the afternoon there was a great military review after which the Prince thanked Izzet Pasha and other officers for having delivered the city from the hands of the Bulgarians. The Princes saw the fortifications, went to Mustafa Pasha and the next day to Kirk Kilissh and thence to Stamboul.

"At the time when the Vali-Ahed was seeing the review the citizens of Adrianople held a meeting in the great square of the city. The crowds were immense and were composed of all nationalities. The Greek

and Armenian Patriarchs were present and so was the High Priest of the Jews. Speaker after speaker addressed the meeting and described the atrocities committed by the Bulgarians. Some resolutions were passed and the meeting ended with shouts for the Sultan and the Osmanlis. These resolutions were then taken to the various Consuls who promised to forward them to their respective Governments. From the papers that I read after my return to Constantinople I learn that the inhabitants are sending deputations to all the important capitals of Europe to request the Governments there not to let the Bulgarians have Adrianople again. Ghulam Ahmed had an engagement of Izzet Pasha prepared and he was going to Baba Eski to get it signed. But seeing Izzet Pasha with the Prince he decided to take advantage of the Generalissimo's presence in Adrianople and went with Khahk and Manzoor to try his luck. Izzet Pasha was sitting with Zia Pasha, Hadi Pasha, Mohamed Ali Pasha and other officers. These people were immediately recognized and cordially welcomed. Izzet Pasha signed his name, but his love for the Indians can be easily gauged by

reading the words *اوزولم غلام احمد خان* which means "My son Ghulam Ahmad Khan." What kindness could be greater? Mohamed Ali Pasha had heard Manzoor sing and recite the Quran. He praised Manzoor so much that Izzet Pasha could not resist the temptation of hearing him and asked him to go to him early next morning. Izzet Pasha asked him to recite the Sura of *التين*. Manzoor recited it in his beautiful voice and all present were visibly affected. Manzoor was the recipient of thanks and "marhabas" and we took leave of this august personage and drove straight to Khizrluk. This is the place where Shukri Pasha lived with his staff during the siege. It is a small part surrounded by magazines on all sides. There is a series of rooms running along the breadth of the place. Here Shukri Pasha and his staff lived and here were they finally taken prisoners. The Serbians after forcing one of the northern forts went straight towards Khizrluk. They were offered some resistance near Abdur Rahman Tabu, but they marched forward and entered Khizrluk first.

"The Bulgarians were not able to do much damage to the city. Some houses in the Moslem quarters were blown up. Most of the smaller mosques were turned either into ovens or stables and lavatories. They had thought that they would be masters of the place for ever and hence they did not wish to spoil their city. Besides the Sultan Selim Djami there are some other Djamis also, the more important being Bayazid, Eski and Ooch Sharaffi. They have done some slight damage to all, but the Ooch Sharaffi has been damaged most. This beautiful mosque they had turned into a depot and when leaving they set fire to it. It is a stone building and so the fire did not do much damage. They also purposely removed the top story of one of the minarets to glorify their deeds of cruelty and savagery. These units of the conquering hordes of Christendom did not possess the least semblance of morality. It had become a custom with the shop-keepers in the city not to utter a syllable when any officer or soldier entered his shop. They selected and picked up anything that they wanted. If the shop-keeper demanded the price he was generally given a bayonet or sword thrust in return. Children and women were practically in a sort of a self-imposed imprisonment during all the time of the Bulgarian occupation of the town. Muhammadan ladies were violated with great cruelty, and for them even the roof and four walls of their houses were no shelter against the lust of these wretches. It seems that they get very little salary as a great many Turkish prisoners got their liberty by paying five piastres. A doctor at present working in the hospital actually got his freedom by paying only three piastres.

"After Mussalmans comes the number of the Jews. They too suffered a lot. A Jewish gentleman presented me two Bulgarian flags. You know that the Bulgarian flag has three horizontal stripes. The topmost is white, the central green and the lowest red. The Ottoman flag is red and white with the Star and Crescent. This gentleman had these two flags hung up in the windows of his house. The sun and the rains removed the green and only the red and white remained. On seeing this the old wretch of this gentleman remarked much before even the arrival of the Turks that God would not keep them under the Bulgarians always as the sun and rain had made the flag Osmanli, and the Osmanlis would come back once more. The prediction of the old lady proved true. The very elements seem to be helping the Turks. The younger brother of this gentleman, on seeing the Turkish Army enter the city, removed the flag from their shop and actually cleaned his boots with it. What better evidence could be given of the complete hatred that the Bulgarians had created for themselves. I have given you the instance of Moslem children giving water to the soldiers. Here is another instance. There is a small well on the road from the station to the city, and here some of the soldiers watered their horses. Water is brought to the tank by working a small machine

of the suction pump type. A small and very pretty boy of about six was moving the handle, while the soldiers were sitting by and smoking. Even children of Adrianople have understood what it is to be under the Bulgarians and under Osmanlis. It seems the Bulgarian is no lover of children, while Osmanli Askar is all love and kindness to women and children. I myself have seen him smoking his cigarette and driving his cart with five or ten of street urchins, Greek and Mussalman, sitting in his cart and talking to him all sorts of things. The Austrian Consul in his reply to the deputation of Adrianople citizens who had gone to him with the resolutions passed in their meeting rightly congratulated them and had behaved better than even a Bulgarian General. This is what Christians say of the Turks.

Their treatment of the prisoners was also bad. No medical help was offered to them if they were ill or wounded. They were hardly given any food at all. All their better clothes were taken away and they were left half naked. No proper arrangements were made for their housing. The case of Sarai-Ichin is known to the world. Whenever there was any difficulty about food or any other matter the solution was always found in killing them. The prisoners were made to carry the buckets of night soil in Adrianople and other places. In one day in a place beyond Mustafa Pasha they killed nearly 2,000 prisoners. At some other place they put about 1,500 soldiers in a wire enclosure and shot down 800 of them. Some ran away and related the story which has been officially published. Instances could be multiplied by thousands. Iszet Pasha and his subordinate commandants have been sending reports and photographs of the Satanic deeds of these disgraces to humanity. To crown all their horrible deeds they sent Turkish prisoners to fight against the Roumanian. The poor men could not disobey. When they came face to face with the Roumanian Army they surrendered and were sent back to Constantinople by the Roumanian Government. Why are the upholders of law and justice silent? Why do they not raise their voice against these illegal acts if not against the slaughters committed and Muslim blood which flowed in rivers if not oceans? When the Bulgarians knew that the Turkish Armies were advancing they left all places hurriedly. They destroyed all they possibly could. A day before the arrival of the Turkish army, they sent out a report that the Turks were coming and no Christian would be left alive. This was purposely intended to make the population kill each other. But they did not succeed. The Armenians had all fled away to Sofia and other Bulgarian towns and the Greeks were now equally their enemies. When this did not succeed, 200 *Lambakas* arrived and made their plans to kill all the Mussalmans and ruin the city completely. But the sudden and unexpected march of 80 kilometres of the infantry saved the Mussalmans and these *Lambakas* fled away. But not before they had possibly mutilated and killed about 50 Greeks and thrown them into the Marmara. Adrianople is now perfectly calm and very well policed and order reigns completely. The credit is solely due to the Vali and the Commandant. There are about 3,00,000 soldiers in and about the city, but not a single case of bad behaviour has been heard of. The people are happy and contented to play to God that the Turks may remain as their rulers. They are free to do their business, their ladies can go about freely, their children can play and run about without the slightest danger to their life. They do not want anything more and they certainly do not want and will not have the Christian rule of Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria. May their wishes for ruin and may they live long to enjoy happy and peaceful lives under the tolerant and merciful reign of Sultan Muhammad V.



A Letter from Constantinople.

The following letter has been received by Dr. Anwar from Constantinople, in which the writer Dr. Ahmad Foad, his friend and fellow-worker during the Balkan war, gives him information respecting the Turkish refugees to Asia. We hope it will be read with interest by our readers:—

Constantinople, Aug 9, 1918.

DEAR DR. ANWAR,—My best compliments to you and all members of your respected Mission. I congratulate you on the magnificent reception accorded to you at Delhi, in recognition of your noble and zealous work for the cause of Islam during the Balkan War.

I had already sent you all the proceedings of our Colonisation Society, some through Mr. Abdul Rahman, and some directly to you. Now I am sending you the resolutions passed in our last two sittings. On the 80th of Haziran (18th of July), a letter was addressed by the Adviser of the Ministry of Interior to his Excellency the President, Dr. Assad Pasha, stating that the Ministry of Interior had already sent about 50 families of refugees to Erzine and begged our Society to send some officials to look after the feeding and other affairs of these

refugees, and expressing the admiration and appreciation on the part of the Government of the philanthropic work accomplished by our Society through our Indian brethren's generosity. During the following week, we were searching for trustworthy officials, specially after Maulana Muhamed Sherif left for India and Mirza Abdul Kayum had joined the Haraka Fabrie for learning fez-making. On the 8th of Tamuz (21st of July) we held a meeting in which Assad Pasha, Sheikh Abdul Aziz (Chawish), Meshad Shoukri Bey, Mahmud Agah Bey, Kemal Omer Bey and myself were present.

The following resolutions were passed, and the reply to our letters forwarded to the Ottoman Bank to the effect that no money of our funds will be taken out of the Bank, except if the cheque is signed by the President Assad Pasha, Treasurer Kemal Omer Bey, and the General Secretary, that is, myself.

(1) That a General Manager in the person of Mr. Abdul Aziz Bey, the ex-Director of Adrianople, Telegraphic Office, and an Agricultural Expert in the person of Mr. Salih Bey, the ex-Director of the Agricultural Department in Series; and Mr. Selahedin, an Egyptian young man, and Mr. Mahmud Ebrahim, the ex-judicial clerk of Tefrika (Monastir) province be appointed as Assistance Managers with a monthly salary of Lt 30 for the first, Lt 20 for the second and Lt 8 for each of the third and fourth year other than their fares to Erzine and back.

(2) That Lt 500 be deposited in the Imperial Ottoman Bank of Adana for this commission on condition that money will be withdrawn by cheques signed by three of these officials. Besides these uses, the money may be spent, when necessary, for feeding the refugees.

(3) That every full-grown person among the refugees be paid two piastres a day, and children under five be paid one piastre a day.

(4) That the Treasurer Mr. Kemal Omer Bey be asked to approach the Ottoman Bank with the request to give at least 2% instead of 1% interest on the funds deposited there.

(5) That the General Manager and Agricultural Expert should hand over in two days a report on the agricultural implements necessary for starting the operations at Erzine.

(6) That Mr. Mohamed Shoukri Bey should act in place of Mr. Mahmud Agah Bey the Inspector during his absence on leave.

On the eleventh of Tamuz (24 of July), another meeting was convened. It was attended by Mr. Assad Pasha, Faisal Bey, Minister of Interior, Meshad Shoukri Bey, Kemal Omer Bey, Mahmud Agah Bey, and myself. The report submitted by the Manager and the Agricultural Expert was read. It was settled that axes, shovels, and ploughs, be bought from Constantinople, and sent directly to Erzine. The tools of the blacksmith and carpenter will be sent for afterwards if needed; secondly, the cattle will be gradually bought by the Commission, in the name of the colony, oxen for crossbreeding and sheep and goats will be bought in future. A carriage with a pair of horse for the official will be bought, arrangements for the carpenters and blacksmiths will be made locally by the Commission, and report will be sent to the Central Committee.

The Commission is authorised to make the necessary investigation and to start digging artificial wells or building some concrete canal for drawing the water. The neighbouring springs will be utilised for supplying water to the village and irrigating its lands. The building, according to the set scheme, will be put to public auction for securing the lowest possible rates, and then a report will be sent to the committee about it. A petition will be submitted to the Government, asking her not to send any new refugees to Erzine, except after having them examined by the doctor of the society to be assured of their good health, strong constitution and energy.

Up till now no other funds are coming in. Winter is approaching, and unless the building be finished in time, the misery of the poor refugees will be increased and they may terribly die, simply through lack of kindness and generosity on the part of the Muhammadan world. These poor creatures have suffered much for no other reason than this that they are Muhammadans. They have lost everything in the defence of their cause, and now helplessly depend on their Indian Moslem brethren's assistance. We cannot make any contract, nor start building operations except after having more funds. Awaiting the fulfilment of your promises, we are sure that the generous Moslem Indians will step forward for the help of these innocent refugees in due time.

(Offering you my best wishes,

I remain,
Yours very sincerely
DR. AHMED FOAD.

NB—Assad Pasha offers you his best wishes and tells you that the lack of funds will make a bad name for the Moslems of India, a thing which he can't bear at all. He will enclose some photos taken by Assad Pasha on the day of your leave. Please send one of them to our dear friend Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.

FOAD.

TETE À TETE



We understand that Mr S. Khuda Bakhsh is shortly bringing out "A History of the Islamic People" (translated from Dr. Weil's "Islamitische Völker") with notes and introduction. This is the first instalment of the translation covering the life of the Prophet, the history of the Qur'an, the period of the first four Caliphs and the Omayyads of Damascus. The book is being published by the Calcutta University, and it is expected to be ready by the end of the next month. Mr S. Khuda Bakhsh is an industrious scholar and has cultivated a wide range of interest in Islamic history. We are sure his forthcoming publication will worthily maintain the level he has already achieved in this line of work.

A CORRESPONDENT sends us the following:—"An extraordinary meeting of Indian Moslems was held at 37, Westcott Square, W. on Tuesday, the 5th August, 1913. The following resolutions were unanimously carried: (a) We, the Indian Muslim residents in London, most vigorously protest against the unjustifiable action of the authorities in demolishing the mosque at Cawnpore and also demand its speedy restoration. (b) We express our indignation at the violent conduct of the authorities resulting in the death of 20 Moslems and convey our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families. (c) Proceedings of the meeting should be cabled to India and the copy of the resolution be sent to the press."

We regret we are obliged once more to offer an apology for our delays. We are sure our readers are not ignorant of the fact that not one is more painful to us than inability to maintain the punctuality that characterised the *Comrade* some time ago. But then there are circumstances over which we have no control. Oppressive heat, ill-health of the staff, irregularities characteristic of printing in an extremely hot season such as this, and many other obvious anxieties due to our multifarious duties, personal as well as communal, constitute some of the grounds of our defence. However, we must fall back upon the sympathy and indulgence of our readers who have already displayed the same in an abundant measure. The only possible way to get rid of the initial handicap that has hitherto delayed the regular weekly issue of the journal, has seemed to us to combine, for once only, the three numbers for the 28th and 30th of August and the 6th of September. Due to readers into a big one consisting of forty pages and to send it out on Saturday, the 6th September, 1913. We trust our readers will excuse us for our shortcomings, which we are anxious to atone for in the distant future.

We mention elsewhere a letter from a citizen of Delhi, dealing with what he rightly calls the horrors of tramways. This is not the first time that a complaint of such a description has reached us. On the other hand, we have from time to time received quite a number of complaints, some of which were indeed heart-rending. To begin with, it is to be borne in mind that most of the roads of the metropolis are not broad enough to afford space for the tramway service, and by authorising the Electric Tramways Company to ply its cars on them, the Municipal Committee has committed a serious mistake. It is certain that it is receiving into its coffers a handsome amount of income on that account, but it is no

less certain that by the introduction of the tram service in the narrow streets of the city it has incurred a certain responsibility for endangering the life of the citizens. Again, the servants in the employ of the Company have proved either greenhorns or insolent. It is no uncommon observation of the public that their notions of duty and responsibility, as mirrored through their reckless driving and overbearing conduct towards the public, are far from satisfactory. It is said that even tragedies of the above description have failed to move them to a better, what to speak of the right, conception of their duty, so much so that the public have begun to look upon the tramcars—which are looked upon as a boon in Western countries—as an addition to other objects of public nuisance. The account of the tragedy, the subject of the present remarks, is, we write subject to correction, amply illustrative of the conduct of the drivers of the cars and deserved the immediate attention of the powers-that-be, but we are at a loss to understand why we have not hitherto heard of any action having been taken in connection therewith. Again, it is strange and inexplicable why the policeman on the beat near the spot of the accident did not, as stated by our correspondent, arrest the driver on the charge of homicide, or is it the case that the servants of the Tramways Company are, somehow or other, enjoying any impunity for their acts and omissions, otherwise punishable under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code? We trust that the authorities would hold a sifting inquiry into the case and bring the person or persons responsible for the sad occurrence to law or their senses, and thus allay the dissatisfaction that has of late been growing among the Delhi public in regard to what they term the "tram nuisance."

THE HON. SECRETARY of the Committee for the Defence of the Cawnpore Mosque, after acknowledging with thanks individual subscriptions received by the Committee up to the 20th August, amounting to Rs. 2,589, wrote to us as follows:—"Lately we received an urgent telegraphic message from our representatives at Cawnpore asking us to remit to them at once a sum of Rs. 10,000. As the funds in hand did not exceed Rs. 2,000, and we were anxious to keep our representatives well supplied with money so as not to prejudice the defence in any way, we decided to raise the balance by loan. Accordingly 5 members of the Committee have borrowed from the Allahabad Bank Rs. 8,000, with interest at 7 per cent per annum, on their personal security and have remitted Rs. 10,000 to Mr. Maqbool-ul-Haque, who is the leading defence counsel at Cawnpore. Under these circumstances, the Committee desire to make a further appeal to the public for funds. The money borrowed from the Bank has to be paid up as soon as possible. The very great majority of persons under arrest are too poor to conduct their own defence, and it is needless to say that they have got a strong claim on Muslim fraternity for pecuniary and legal assistance. Further, we have got to provide for the needy dependants and relations of our martyrs and that in a manner worthy of our community. For all these objects we require a considerable sum of money, and we trust that our community will liberally respond to our appeal. We are glad to say that our last appeal has not been made in vain: we have been receiving subscriptions from remote parts of the country and there are also various centres where funds are being collected. There is every likelihood of a large sum of money being collected in course of time, but as our needs are pressing and immediate we request our people to be prompt in payment."

The latest news from the Hon. Secretary of the said Committee states that the subscriptions received up to the 2nd of September, 1913, amount to a total of upwards of Rs. 27,000 (including the loan referred to). We understand that the Committee has received additional sums of money from some of the towns in Upper India on the last *Pid festival*, but we have yet no information as to the grand total hitherto realised. We trust that the appeal of the Committee will evoke an enthusiastic response from our co-religionists throughout the country.

WE HAVE received from Beirut a letter from a certain Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, M. A., in which he tells us how he suddenly disappeared from the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, in May, 1904, and was later on known to be in Baghdad, Cairo and Beirut, respectively. He together with his elder brother, probably Abduj Jahbar by name, took the Degrees of B. A. and M. A. from the American University at Beirut. Impressed by the work of the Christian Mission there, the two brothers established an educational institution named the Darul 'Oloom, which during the last four years has grown from two to twelve classes. The Christian Mission has been making stupendous efforts to dislocate Islam from Syria and make room for Christianity, so much so that in Beirut alone there are over thirty or forty educational institutions from Universities down to school for boys of three or four years old. Then, there are over a dozen girls' schools, some of which are especially meant for Moslem girls. One of these known as

Miss Taylor's School for Moslem girls has over 70 Moslem girls of noble families from 6 or 7 to 18 or 19 years old in its boarding house alone. The movement of these Christian missionaries has achieved such a marvellous success that their students are quite enamoured of them and are ever ready to replenish the coffers of their institutions in time of emergency. Such an intense attachment to Christian enterprise on the part of boys and girls of pure Moslem parentage augurs ill for the future of Islam in that part of the Turkish Empire. In view of the pregnancy of these facts intimated to us by our friend, is it for us to draw the attention of the Muhammadans to the dire necessity of starting a counter-movement in that land of the prophets? We have told from time to time and we tell once more that the Christian movement has of late been growing keener and keener to the absolute detriment of Islam in some purely Moslem lands, and the religion of Allah is at stake. We wonder if this fact cannot serve as an eye-opener to our co-religionists in India and abroad. The signs of the time are eloquent enough to lash us to rise to the situation, but shall we awake in distant future to be mortified by the havoc perpetrated on Islam and its votaries? Well may we say in the eloquent words of Hafiz:

زحار ما دل آنکه شود مگر آگاه * که لاله ی دمد از خاک کشتگان غمت

(Perhaps thy heart will be aware of our plight only then, when tulip has grown out of the ashes of the martyrs of thy love.)

IN REPLY to a telegraphic message to Turkish authorities, of Mr. Mohamed Ali and Dr. Ansari respecting an early despatch of Turkish Bonds, His Excellency Rif'at Bey, the Finance Minister, has

Turkish Bonds.

sent the following cablegram: "Have forwarded Comptoir National d'Escompte, Bombay, Treasury Bonds for 80,000 sterling to be delivered at Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, and other necessary banks, which will sell them. Please apply to Banks for Bonds wanted." So the Bonds have been received after all, for which the most enthusiastic among us were on the tip-toe of expectancy. In the meantime, the chances that Turkey will be allowed to retain Adrianople appear to be growing daily. The prospect of an agreement regarding a financial boycott by European Banks are not promising. The French investors who have to bear the brunt of the whole thing and have already made great sacrifices in deference to Russia's political views, are unwilling to do more. The intending investors from amongst ourselves may even be divided into two classes: one may be styled as the believers, including Mussalmans of all descriptions who are quite prepared to accept all sorts of risks in investing their money in the Turkish Bonds, while the other may be termed, without the least idea of disparagement, as doubters, who must first satisfy themselves as to the stability of the Bonds in question before they proceed to part with their gold. We had to expend a good deal of logic and adduce quite a number of arguments to persuade the latter class of men to bring in line with the former in respect of buying the Bonds of the Turkish Treasury. But, thank God! things have of late so changed as to quite facilitate the sale of the same, inasmuch as the most shrewd among the European business men have begun to feel losses personal or national, consequent upon a financial boycott of the Turk and are unwilling to make any further sacrifices to serve the political ends of Russia, the most astute among the enemies of Turkey. The Indian Mussalmans have done Turkey a signal service, material as well as moral, in her moments of worst misery and affliction, and by doing so not only have they earned the eternal gratitude of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan ul-Muazzam and millions of their co-religionists in the Ottoman Domain, but above all they have won the testimony of their conscience and the approbation of their Maker and Master. The greatest practical results of this co-operation on their part have been the strengthening of the ties of brotherhood and the cementing of the heterogeneous national forces into one homogeneous whole, wherein alone exists terror for the enemies of Islam. But the foundation of goodwill and fraternal regard must never be allowed to dry. In view of the new situation, the Turkish Government has to encounter fresh difficulties. On the one hand it has to complete the scheme of her Colonization and provide homes for the refugees into Asia, most of whom are women and children who have suffered simply because they worshipped the Allah of Islam; and on the other, it has to ensure the retention of Adrianople which has, from the beginning to the end of the war, been regarded, and rightly so, as a question of life and death to the Ottoman. Both of these things require extraordinary expenditure, and it is to be raised by the sale of Bonds in the living present. Mr. Mohamed Ali and Dr. Ansari will commence their tour in that connection after Ramzan. Let the Mussalmans, believers as well as doubters, make ready to open the strings of their purses, whether long or short, to buy the Bonds, and show to the world at large that they are yet a living force and know how to make sacrifices for helping their co-religionists here below and pleasing their God above.

MR. SYED MAHMUDULLAH, a member of the All-India Medical Mission, now proceeding with two other of his comrades to Mecca on pilgrimage, writes to us from Damascus on the 28th July:—"We

On the way to Mecca.

on our way to Medina have come to Damascus, and here we have joined two members of the Bombay Mission, namely, Hakim Serajuddin and Mr. Ali Ahmad. We all four went to visit the Commander of this place, Suleman Pasha by name. This Pasha is known to us, for he visited our camp hospital very often at Telahaldja. He was very much pleased to meet us once more. We had about half an hour's conversation with him, and then on the next evening he invited us to a dinner party. It was the 25th day of July. Nawab Atser-ul-Mulk was also in the dinner party. On the 24th Hakim Serajuddin sent cards, on behalf of us all, to the Nawab Sahib for permission to see him. The Nawab Sahib without any hesitation came to see us in our Hotel de Jerusalem that very evening. He was very glad to see us and said, "I am fortunate enough to meet the *mujahedins* and am proud of it." We thanked His Honour for his simplicity and generosity. He then invited us to a dinner at his bungalow on the 27th July, 1913. Suleman Pasha then in the dinner thanked us for our work. The Nawab Sahib spoke on our behalf. Then on the next day Ebrahim Pasha, a noble and a very big Zعيمdar of Khurdislan and Sham who commands a force of 10,000 Kurds, always ready to sacrifice their lives at his bidding, heard the news of our coming here from Suleman Pasha and invited us on 26th July, 1913, to a dinner at his house in the evening. There were present many noted *ulema* and a few other well-known men of the place. They all welcomed us very cordially. Hakim Serajuddin spoke on behalf of Indians in Arabic and in Persian. The Pasha can understand Persian, but cannot speak. The dinner was a combination of Oriental and Turkish style. After the dinner for more than two hours the Pasha and his comrades had a conversation with us on various topics. The Pasha seems to be very sensible and thoughtful and has a very tender heart. He wept at the degeneration of Islam. Before our invitation in the morning we went to see him with a "Zabit" (Uzbashi) sent by Suleman Pasha. The Pasha lives in a very grand palace, the ground of which is paved with marble. There he welcomed us in his drawing-room. He was much pleased to see us and said the present moment necessitated the union of the Moslems throughout the world. He pitied the death of Mahmud Shekhet Pasha and the present idea of taking Europeans as the head of every office of the Ottoman Government. Yesterday, the 27th instant, at 10 a.m., Nawab Sahib gave us a dinner at his bungalow. There was also Monir Wahiduzzaman, son of Monir Masuzzaman, the teacher of the late Nizam, and also the son of the Commander of Jaffa. The dishes were Indian. We ate very eagerly, for after a period of 8 months we once more felt the Indian taste. Afterwards the Nawab Sahib expressed himself thus: "I feel proud that I am the first Indian who happens to meet the *mujahedins* in this Islamic country." He thanked us for our work and advised us to be always ready to do such things. He then presented his photo to each of us and said, "My wife intends to decorate you with medals, so she has sent 1 Nizamia Ashrafies of gold of the time of Nizam's grandfather." And the Nawab Sahib hooked them to our frock coats with his own hand. We thanked the Nawab Sahib and his Begam on behalf of both of the Missions. To-day, 28th July, 1913, Hakim Sahib and myself presented to the Nawab Sahib a big group-photo of our Missions in memory of our interview in this city of historical interest. The Nawab Sahib was greatly pleased with this. The photo that we presented is the one which was taken at Kilingah Hospital with Tahir Bey, Esad Pasha and Basim Omer Pasha. Ahmed Izzet Pasha has telegraphed to all the Commanders of this country to receive us wherever we get down. Suleman Pasha has telegraphed to persons in charge of all the railway stations from here to Medina to welcome us. He also telegraphed to the Commander of Medina to receive us. The Governor of Damascus is not here. He has gone to Beyrout. This town is naturally beautiful. It is surrounded by mountains and plains of great extent with seven streams of cold water running through the town and the country. The soil is very fertile. It has gardens of fruits all over the country. Moslems form the majority of the population, and speak Arabic. Here are the tombs of many Prophets and Sahabis as well. It is here that the mountain where Cabal killed Abel is situated and the rock is said to be still tinged with blood, while on the other rock is seen a pair of eyes constantly shedding tears—in action which will continue till the day of resurrection, in memoriam to the late of Abel. Ashab-i-Kahf's dwelling is in the cave of a mountain. On the 29th instant we are leaving this place for Medina.



The Comrade.

Sir James Meston and the Deputation.

I.

THE world is roughly divided into progressive countries with national governments dependant for their existence on popular suffrage, and backward countries where ideas of popular rights are wholly unknown and governments—mostly foreign—rule over the people in a despotic manner. In the case of the former, it is essential that governments should be subjected to daily criticisms directed against them with a view to oust them from power so that the critics may substitute a government of their own, if they can make the country believe that it would be a better government; and even if such criticism does not drive away the government and substitute a better government in its place, it is most likely to create in the government in power a proper sense of responsibility tending to improve it. In the case of the latter countries, the idea of popular rights being generally unknown to the people, a tendency to criticize either does not exist, or is so much inconsistent with the existing order of things that its slightest appearance is treated as a source of danger to the State, and it is nipped in the bud. We have never hesitated in disclaiming for ourselves any desire to regard the India of to-day as one of the latter countries, for at no time of its history since the first Englishman visited India with a view to create a British interest therein, has India been a wholly backward country, and at no time in the history of British rule in India has Government as a whole shown any hostility towards criticism aiming at the improvement of the administration or denied the legitimacy of the people's insistence on their own rights. But for all this, India has no national government, and so far as the machinery of the existing Government is concerned, it does not directly depend on the suffrage of the people. Such a position is a delicate one both for the country and for its government, for the people, if they are at all progressive, must keep in view the establishment of a government dependant for its existence on their suffrage, and the officials of Government have a great temptation to belittle the importance of popular goodwill and to look askance at the insistence on popular rights. Such a position demands imaginative sympathy both in the people and the government, and without that a problem which is already sufficiently difficult is likely to grow in difficulty.

In India it has only been comparatively recently that people have begun to have political ideas and to insist on the rights of the subjects, and since the commencement of this political propaganda, a little more than a generation ago, the officials of Government and the people have both been on their trial. We have never ignored the fact that popular demands have sometimes been far in excess of popular deserts, and we have frankly criticized such actions at various times and are prepared to do so even to-day as severely as the occasion demands. But at no time since the *Comrade* commenced its career has it shirked the duty of criticizing the actions of the different officials of Government and the policy of the Government itself that underlay such actions. And if more recently our criticism has been directed oftener in the direction of the acts of officials and the policies of Government, it has been because during the last two or three years some of the most momentous events of history have occurred in this country and abroad having a direct bearing on the welfare and the feelings and sentiments of the people. And although the British connection with India has not ceased to be beneficial to India, we regretfully hold that some of the decisions of the British Cabinet and of the Government of India and some Local Governments have not been marked with great sagacity and political wisdom. But while we have been unsparing in our criticism of Government and its officials, we can safely claim that we have never neglected to praise a single policy or action which appeared to us to deserve mention and approval or to make it most unlikely for any of our readers to suspect that with all its fault British rule was not essentially beneficial and progressive.

What has, however, been done at Cawnpore is so unlike anything expected or previously anticipated by the officials of Government that had we not entertained hopes of a wide and amicable settlement without discussing the matter publicly in our columns, we would have been justified in marking our strong disapproval of it at the very moment we became cognizant of the facts. And although it seems very late in the day, we shall fail in our duty if we do not sound the note of warning to Government. The recording by the Madras League in its Constitution of a desire for Self-Government, to be attained at some future date, even though recorded by the League with characteristic variations from the Congress creed, may with some justification be regarded as an important development or even new departure in the politics of the Mussalmans. We would not, therefore, have considered some apprehensions on the part of Government in connection with such a development as wholly unjustifiable, and although we have voted for the new departure ourselves, we have not failed to warn the Mussalmans

of the danger ahead. Similarly, the Government of the United Provinces may have been justified in harbouring suspicions of the effects—often wholly unintended—of a boycott of British goods preached not in the spirit of commercialism or industrialism, but of political indignation, and if Governments have not exceedingly short memories, our own part in the nipping of this movement in the bud could not have been forgotten. But if one policy of the British Government was so firmly based that it could not be uprooted in a casual manner, it was its religious tolerance and non-interference with the religious unscepticibilities of the people, and we confess we never expected that in the 20th Century differences will arise between any Local Government and the Mussalmans of the Province based not on politics but on matters of conscience and faith.

That the Cawnpore affair is such a difference, it would be an insensate folly to deny. It was in view of the wholly unexpected character of the developments at Cawnpore that we looked forward with great hope to the promised reception of a deputation consisting of some of the leading Mussalmans of the Province by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. Here was an opportunity offered to the head of the Province to rectify a blunder committed, so far as we have been able to gather from semi-official sources, not by the Lieutenant-Governor himself, but by one of his subordinates who stooped to force his hands. There was nothing derogatory for Sir James Meston if he had dissociated himself and the bulk of his administration from the high-handed action of one or two of his subordinates, and such things are not unknown even to the members of the Civil Service. But this is exactly what has not been done and the hobby horse of prestige is being ridden for a fall.

Differences arose between the Mussalmans and Sir John Hewitt over Aligarh affairs, and it was this time the Lieutenant-Governor himself who had blundered. The Trustees of the College, for whom at least in these days it could not have been claimed that they could oppose their united efforts against the blunders of the Government without hesitation, proved extraordinarily united and resolute, as they deserved, the whole-hearted support of their community. It was clear that the Lieutenant-Governor would have to give way or prepare himself for the sustained opposition of the Mussalmans during the rest of his tenure of office, and such of the Mussalmans as were noted for their manly independence were disinclined to do aught but, as empowered by the Rules of their Trust, reject the suggestions of the Lieutenant-Governor and take independent action. Others, however, suggested approaching the Lieutenant-Governor once more, and it is possible that this suggestion emanated from the head of the Local Government himself. It was carried out in spite of the protests of some against the dangers of personal interviews and deputations and the disinclination of others to go whirling before officials when all that they had to do was to exercise the powers vested in them in this behalf. The sequel is instructive. We have seldom come across a more adroit performance than the speech of Sir John Hewitt in reply to the deputation of the Aligarh Trustees on that occasion. For while he clearly felt the power of the Trustees, and of the community behind them, he put such a cheerful face on the matter that it robbed the result of much of its sting at least in the people's estimation.

Unless we are very much misinformed, in the earlier stages of the affairs at Cawnpore, Sir James Meston was more stung against than sinning, and if this is true, Sir James Meston could well have retained the binoculars of one or two of his masterful subordinates during the month that intervened between the sacrifice on the 1st of July and events of the 3rd August. But even if he had not been able to do so before, he had an opportunity in the deputation that he met him at Agra on the 4th or 5th August or as subsequently arranged, at Cawnpore itself on the 9th, and which, for some unknown reason, met him at Lucknow on the 16th. That opportunity we are distressed to declare Sir James Meston has lightly thrown away, and although it is most painful to us whose praise of Sir James Meston's courtesy, kindness and high wisdom has been unstinted, to have to compare him, and that too to his disadvantage, with Sir John Hewitt, whose high-handedness we have had occasion enough to criticize, it is clear that we shall be placing our personal feelings above public duty, if we failed to institute such a comparison at this moment, and to give it as our opinion that in this matter at least Sir James Meston has shown a statesmanship of a far inferior order to that with which we can legitimately credit Sir John Hewitt.

It is bare justice to say that Sir James Meston's natural bent of mind is not autocratic and this is the reason why when he attempts to justify the autocracy of others, he lacks the accent and the emphasis of the autocrat to the manner born. Hailu felt in his bosom a desire to impress the Mussalmans with the majesty of his Government he could well have told the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahimadabad after the events on the 3rd August that he was unwilling to hold parleys with Mussalmans after such an event. But instead of doing that he expressed his readiness to meet the deputation, and when he at last met it on the 16th August at Lucknow, he made the fatal error—that is, if he wished to play the autocrat at all—of arguing with the deputation. The result is that while the concluding remarks of Sir James Meston, wherein he gave the deputation

grace to the high hopes entertained of this deputation, have only served to create an unfortunate resentment in men whom he characterised as "some of my best friends, Indian gentlemen whose opinions I highly value and whose advice I would implicitly accept in nine cases out of ten", his arguments are being subjected to the most scathing criticism in the market-place and have not convinced even one man in a hundred thousand.

To take the very first point with which the address dealt, it was contended on behalf of the Mussalmans that "our community is not moved by any feeling of jealousy towards the good fortune that has attended the Hindu temple close to the mosque in question", and that "our community has deeply resented the suggestion that the outpouring of feeling was due to the saving of the said temple." And what was His Honour's reply with reference to this claim of the Mussalmans? His Honour was delighted to have the assurance of some of his best friends, gentlemen whose opinions he highly values and whose advice he would implicitly accept in nine cases out of ten, but he was careful enough to avoid in his speech every word and expression likely to give an impression that he credited that statement of these highly estimable friends. In fact, he gave them to understand almost in so many words that he did not believe a word of what they said. If the jealousy of the good fortune of the Hindus was not the reason "for the unexpected outburst of protests," well, then, what else could it be? There are not, we admit, the exact words of Sir James Meston, but we emphatically hold that this was the exact significance of his words. We owe a great deal of deference to anyone in the exalted position of the head of a Local Government, and we owe a great deal more to him if he happens to be one possessing the reputation of Sir James Meston. But we owe some deference to a large and respectable community also, and to the gentleman composing its deputation to Sir James Meston whom Sir James has publicly praised. And this compels us to say that the community resents the implied insult in Sir James Meston's reply. But the Mussalmans are not going to grow jealous of the good fortune of the Hindus at Cawnpore simply because they are solemnly assured that they are, when they did not grow jealous of the Hindus after receiving a number of letters written by hirelings advising them to accept immediately some land to the north of the Mosque as a compensation "lest the Hindus should get it for a temple!" Certainly the Hindus of Cawnpore have given no indication that they believe the Mussalmans harbour such feelings against them, for in April last Mr. Sim could not get a single Hindu member of the Municipal Board to vote with him while more Hindus than Mussalmans voted against him on that occasion. And even in May last more Hindus voted against Mr. Sim than for him. If a Hindu or a Moslem journalist writes anything against the other community he is liable to be branded as a criminal for exciting race hatred, and the Press Act at least is wide enough to involve him and his paper and Press in considerable trouble. But for several months past at Cawnpore the Hindus are being excited against the Mussalmans and the Mussalmans against the Hindus, and yet instead of putting a check to this, as we were entitled to expect from the Connet speeches of Sir James Meston, he can find nothing better to say than to imply that the Mussalmans are jealous of the Hindus and the Cawnpore officials are only stepping in between them and dealing out the strictest justice. It is our belief that the two communities at Cawnpore have withstood their temptations creditably, and it is our hope and prayer that the affairs at Cawnpore may lead to an everlasting peace and unintermitted friendship between them throughout India.

We now come to the question of laches, a charge repeatedly brought against the Mussalmans of Cawnpore by the Lieutenant-Governor himself. No one can read the address presented to Sir James Meston by the deputation without acknowledging that a hard task was set to the officials of Cawnpore and those who are supporting them if they were inclined to dispute the Moslem contention. It was submitted by the deputation that—

- (i) "no demarcation of the land to be acquired had been made on the spot, nor any plan of the land published otherwise than by filing an English copy in the Collector's office;"
- (ii) "if the plan so filed be examined by itself it will not show that any portion of the mosque was intended to be acquired,"
- (iii) "no notice required by section 9 of the Land Acquisition Act was ever served on the trustees of the mosque as it was on the occupiers of all neighbouring places;"
- (iv) "there can be no doubt that any apprehensions on this score were removed when in November 1912 the Mussalman public of Cawnpore took what Your Honour was pleased to say to some of the members of our community of that place as an assurance that the mosque as a whole would be saved from demolition" and
- (v) "the acquisition was not understood even by some of the members of the Municipal Board of Cawnpore to have been finally decided upon until the meeting of the Board was held on the 8th of March, 1913."

Let us now examine how Sir James Meston met each of these arguments. The most important of these are the first three, for they amount to counter-charges of laches, and they make the blunders on the part of the Cawnpore officials themselves far more serious than any brought by them or the Lieutenant-Governor against the Mussalmans, because they concern nothing less than requirements of the law of Land Acquisition.

Section 8 of the Land Acquisition Act requires the Collector to cause the land (unless it had been already marked out at the time of the publication of the Local Government's notification in the official Gazette) to be marked out and also measured. The first argument of the deputation was that this requirement of the law was never complied with, and Sir James Meston has altogether avoided a reference to this objection. The reason is obvious. The custodians of law and order are not unoften the first to break the law, and this is exactly what has happened at Cawnpore.

Putting aside the second argument for a moment, let us examine the third. Under Section 9(1) the Collector is required to "cause public notice to be given at convenient places on or near the land to be taken, stating that the Government intends to take possession of the land and that claims to compensation for all interests in such land may be made to him".

Section 9(2) lays down that "such notice shall state the particulars of the land so needed, and shall require all persons interested in the land to appear personally or by agent before the Collector at a time and place therein mentioned (such time not being earlier than fifteen days after the date of the publication of the notice), and to state the nature of their respective claims to compensation for such interests, and their objections (if any) to the measurements made under section 8".

Section 9(8) requires that "the Collector shall also serve notice to the same effect on the occupier (if any) of such land and on all such persons known or believed to be interested therein, or to be entitled to act for persons so interested, as reside or have agents authorised to receive service on their behalf within the revenue district in which the land is situated".

Section 9(4) states that "in case any person so interested resides elsewhere and has no such agent, the notice shall be sent to him by post in a letter addressed to him at his last known residence address or place of business and registered under Part III of the Indian Post Office Act, 1866".

Now although the address of the deputation did not refer to the requirements of Section 9(1), we believe we are right in saying that no "public notice" was given "at convenient places on or near the land to be taken" as required by that sub-section. At any rate, Sir James Meston is strangely silent on this point.

What is, however, certain, and what the deputation clearly stated in its address is that no notice such as is described in section 9(2) or is required by section 9(8) was served privately on the Mutawallis of the Mosque in question, although the name of the Mutawalli was registered by special order in the House Assessment Register on the 18th December, 1903. It may possibly be thought that the official who had neglected the marking out of the land under Section (8) and the giving of a public notice under Section 9(1) had also neglected the service of private notices on occupiers of land and persons known or believed to be interested therein. But significantly enough this was not the case. Such private notices were served on occupiers of other lands and on persons known to be interested therein, and more particularly such a private notice was issued about the end of 1909 to Messrs. Almuddin and Fakhruddin the owners and occupiers of house No. 89—i.e., the one adjoining the mosque, as to others, fixing the 10th of January, 1910, for the enquiry provided by section 11 of the Land Acquisition Act. An award was also made in respect of this house on the 7th February, 1910, and the making of awards in the case of other persons whose land was acquired was completed in 1910. But just as no notice had been served on the Mutawallis of the adjoining mosque, no award was made in respect of it till the 28th of July, 1913, i.e., 3 days before its partial demolition. If the mosque in question or any portion thereof was contemplated, why was no similar notice served on the Mutawallis? Does it not strike Sir James Meston that the mere fact of the issue of such a notice would close the entire controversy and the Mutawallis would stand condemned on the score of laches? But strangely enough not a syllable was uttered by His Honour on the subject and we need not dilate on the significance of his silence. Did Sir James Meston take some of his best friends who composed the deputation on the millions of their co-religionists no less interested in the mosque who could not lay claim to this signal honour for dunces that while ignoring the obvious, namely, the requirements of the law of Land Acquisition, he roamed over the obscure and the irrelevant in order to show that "no reasonable man can pretend that the people of Cawnpore had no knowledge of . . . what was proposed."

His Honour stated in his speech that "in March of that year, 1908, a memorial was submitted suggesting an alternative route and mentioning incidentally that A. B. road as then aligned would destroy three mosques and two temples." If it is not an impertinence we should like to appeal to His Honour himself whether any "reasonable man can pretend" to infer from this that in a subsequently arranged alignment the eastern *dalan* of the mosque would be acquired more than four years later. If not, what is the relevance of the statement specially when not a word is said about the requirements of Section 8 and 9 of the Land Acquisition Act which were not satisfied.

Again His Honour "stated that on 2nd November, 1911, the Mutawallis of the mosque petitioned the Municipal Board regarding the sale

of the adjoining house " From this petition it appears that the western wall of that house had been used by the mosque as an enclosure wall of its courtyard on the east. The sale of the house and the removal of its materials, in the words of the Mutawallis themselves, "would mean dismantling of the mosque." Now we are really at a loss to know what all this is expected to prove. Once more to repeat the words of Sir James Meaton, "no reasonable man can pretend" that because the Mutawallis objected to the pulling down of the western wall of the adjoining house on which in fact rested the rafters of the eastern rooms connected with the mosque, they knew that the eastern *dalan* of the mosque itself would be acquired and then demolished. As a matter of fact, this application proves in the clearest possible manner that the Mutawallis were extremely sensitive about the demolition of any portion of the mosque and actually petitioned the Municipal Board to restrain the owner of the adjoining house from pulling down a wall that was not part of the mosque property.

The only statement of Sir James Meaton that is relevant in this connection is that the Special Land Acquisition Officer reported on this application that the wall should be left for the meantime as the "portion will probably be available when the bathroom is taken." This is the only reference to the taking of anything which could be possibly suspected to be connected with the mosque. But we submit that it is much too obscure to be easily understood as a reference to a portion of the mosque, and it is clear from the proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee on the 3rd February, 1912, that no importance was attached to the reference. The Committee read the application of the Mutawalli "with Babu Awadh Bohari Lal's Note", and the result was recorded in the following manner:—"The Committee understand that the parties will come to an agreement under which the wall will remain. The Committee has no objection to any such proposal which they consider suitable and advisable." On the 6th February, in its ordinary meeting the Municipal Board "read the proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee, dated 3rd February, 1912:—Confirmed." Will the slender column of such a report and these proceedings support the weight of the conclusion sought to be drawn by His Honour that whereas there is a solitary Moslem member on the Improvement Committee and a few Moslem members on the Municipal Board therefore the Muhammadan public and at least the Mutawallis "were thoroughly aware" that not only the "bathroom" but also the whole of the eastern *dalan* of the mosque measuring 28 feet, 5 inches by 9 feet, 3 inches, or 263 square feet in area, would be acquired forcibly and forcibly demolished?

"Why Is There Disloyalty In India?"

UNDER the above title, there appears a thoughtful article in the current issue of the *Nineteenth Century*, in which the writer proceeds, with an assumption that there is disloyalty in this country, with quite a series of angry exclamations and heated interrogations with regard to the multifarious blessings of the British rule and the want of appreciation, or rather ingratitude, on the part of the Indians despite these blessings. The pith and marrow of the whole statement may be summarised in the question: Do not the roads, the bridges, the railways, the telegraphs, the irrigation works, the harbours, the hospitals, the universities, the returns of trade and agriculture, the census reports, and the general peace and well-being of the country atone for the white faces, the proud, cold hearts, the brusque manners, the arrogant aloofness, and the political privileges of the ruling race? Some of the questions the writer has raised may, according to himself, be solved by time alone, but to some others there are answers superficial or profound which may be given at once.

To begin with, we feel it our duty to compliment the writer upon his large-hearted sympathy for the people of this land and a sincere attempt at a diagnosis of the problem of Indian unrest, with which very few Englishmen think themselves concerned. But at the same time, we must, to an overwhelming majority of our countrymen, point out that it is quite libellous to brand India wholesale with disloyalty, the very idea of which is abhorred by the law-abiding, peace-loving, and God-fearing population of this great land. No doubt, there does exist a seditious motion of the community which has imported from Europe an imitation of the methods of Western anarchism. But then there are black sheep in every fold, and their existence cannot justify the blackening of the whole flock. The great mass of the population is neither actively loyal, nor disloyal. What an average Englishman terms disloyalty is in reality a moral revolution, which is unmistakably characterised by a growing spirit of nationalism, and the demand for a larger share in the administration of the country. Western education with its characteristic ideas of freedom, inquiry and criticism respecting all sorts of institutions and all departments of life best illustrated in Mill and Macaulay cannot fail to improve the Indian mind as it impressed the English mind with a nobler and more exalted view of life. As for the practical teaching of this moral and political unrest, nothing can be better. Illustrative of this than the teaching of the English in the community, both official and non-official, in the company of those considered to be their inferiors. Modern

manners are offensive enough to the older generation of Englishmen, and it was only the other day that on the occasion of a school prize distribution in England Lord Roseberry deplored the decay of manners and would advise the rising generation of his people to go back to the splendid seventeenth century when English life was sweetened by courteous manners and obliging conduct. Heat, impaired vitality, overwork, and misunderstandings consequent upon ignorance of a foreign people in matters of language, custom and religion have aggravated the situation to an apparently irreconcilable antagonism.

Thus, we see that the superior airs of a class English men and women, their vanity, frivolousness, bad manners, and social segregation from their Indian fellow-subjects have created a gulf, which it is not easy to bridge over. But that which aggravates this unhappy state of things most is no other than an unequal distribution of the good things of life. At present an average Indian receives, if at all, but a meagre share of the material benefits, which the economic forces of the modern age have brought in their wake. It is true enough, as the writer remarks, that "he does not want them much, and he feels with a sort of dim amusement that we (Englishmen) are forcing food upon a man who is not hungry; yes, and creating the demand which it is our (Englishmen) commercial interest to supply. As for him, the life that he desires is the life without exertion, without care; life in the old groove, free from incessant interference; life simple, frugal, reverent, with long periods of leisure, poor in comfort, not very rich in hope, but dignified even among dirt and squalour by a certain lofty detachment of spirit which enables him to quit it when the time comes calmly and without fear of death." But it is still truer that he has a personal knowledge of the fact that money is the national god of Englishmen and that love of power and love of gain are their dominant motives. The European merchants, planters, lawyers, business men are to the Oriental the embodiment of a civilisation devoted to material aims. Again, the stiff-necked European bureaucrat with his vaunted privilege and prestige is a standing witness of the exclusion of the Indian from the leaves and fashes of the office, and in the words of Mr. Geoffrey Cookson, the writer of the article in the *Nineteenth Century*, "he is tired of seeing the alien in high places, in receipt of the largest salaries." And to go on, "the representatives of the British Raj are not what they used to be. Government by regulation may be a peculiarly disagreeable form of despotism. It substitutes a machine for the personality, and the new official is the slave of the machine; a slave so overloaded with work that he has no time to study those whose destiny the machine is shaping."

It is said that life is not merely obedience but self-development. And to quote the writer, "where that goes on permissively and on sufferance merely, under alien eyes, there is the *malaise* of a suppressed function." With the exception of rare genius, the chances for Indians of culture and enlightenment of advancement in the administration of their native land are but few and far between. It is true that in theory the Indian Civil Service is open to all qualified Indians who can successfully compete for it, but so were the highest offices of state in the days of the Roman Empire open to the meanest citizen. If then only the privileged few could attain to the highest situations, the Indian, too, have now to wrestle with a number of difficulties which handicap them in the race with the white man. However, it is gratifying to know that a Commission representative of Englishmen as well as Indians is considering the Indian Civil Service in all its aspects. Nothing embodies and materialises the political tie between England and India more than that Service, and much depends upon the report of the Commission so eagerly awaited in this country.

In conclusion, the writer observes: "I am sure that if we could serve the spiritual needs of India as well as have laid the foundations of her enormous wealth, not a hand would be lifted against us." Very sane remarks, if they could only be put into practice. If Englishmen have failed to understand the needs of the Indians in their intercourse with the latter for the last 150 years after the battle of Plassey, surely it is high time for them to do so now. Let the material resources of the country be developed and let the sons of the soil be admitted to a greater share in what concerns their own destinies. With respect to the spiritual needs of the country, we do not see any need for Government to go out of its way and play the apostle to us. What is wanted is that the masses of India be left unhampered and uninterfered with in the observance of their religious beliefs, as they were assured in 1858 in the memorable Proclamation of Victoria the Good. Nevertheless, if Government is anxious for the spiritual betterment of the country, it would be better to leave education entirely to private enterprise under wholesome state patronage than to cover the whole land with colleges and schools conforming to one type, foreign, "efficient," formal, uninspired; leaving the soul of youth cold and the imagination untouched.

The educational process is the free communist university throwing out her arms to whatever direction she expects a new-born child's embrace, assisted and watched by the State, but not guided with needless regulations and crushed under the weight of official control.

CORRESPONDENCE



Moslem Education.

Sir,—In the issue of the 12th July of the *Comrade* there appears a remarkable letter from Mr. Altaf Ahmed on the subject of Moslem Education. The letter stands unique in its lucidity of language and form of style, coming as it does from the pen of one of the educational experts of this country. The writer has admirably delineated the main forces at work in bringing about our moral and intellectual poverty, and has sympathetically prescribed the panacea of education for "the treatment of a complaint affecting the moral and intellectual health of seventy millions of human beings." One of the many causes that have hampered the even course of our education, he points out, is the obstinate opposition we have had to encounter in the communal struggle round about us in the country. I doubt the accuracy of this remark. Rather he should have said that our educational backwardness and political degeneration are results of our own separatist policy which is still advocated by the so-called champions of the Moslem cause. Our own distrust of our brethren has alienated their sympathies from us. The writer advises us "to take practical steps for the purpose of spreading education—primary, secondary and collegiate—among the various sections of the community in all parts of India, and to co-operate in the work of establishing at least one Moslem College in each province and a Moslem High School in each district and in the erection of a Muhammadan Boarding House for each Government High School", and lastly to help the Muhammadan students in securing their admissions to Government schools.

The honor of taking initiative in the matter of Moslem Education is doubtless due to Aligarh, and it is Aligarh which has created a widespread demand for education among the Moslems of this country. And also it is Aligarh which has abused Moslem education by making it unduly expensive beyond the reach of a Moslem of an average income. The utilitarian principle of the greatest good of the greatest number loses its force here and the theory of efficiency reigns supreme—an efficiency which would have better suited the environments of civilized Europe. This marvellous conception of efficiency is deplorable as it does not go beyond dress, food and other external decorations. Aligarh would have done immense service, if it could make education available at a minimum cost. Under present circumstances we of course cannot give any credit to what Aligarh has achieved, and its pretensions for universal fame are far from being true.

An indisputable proof of the "high standard" of Aligarh education is that there is practically no education among the local Moslems. They have not the facilities of educating their sons in the Aligarh institution as they have not the nerve to surmount the huge barriers created in the way of the local Moslem public. The writer's suggestion about establishing a Muhammadan High School in each district and also of building a Moslem Hostel for each Government High School is worth trying. I hope that he will try to touch the practical side of his scheme by doing these two useful works at least in the Aligarh district which will serve as a living model for the Moslems of other places. The writer is an influential personality in this town and if he comes out with the scheme in his hand, it is hoped that by the co-operation of the generous people of this place this scheme will soon come to fruition.

ALTAHMI: 19th July, 1913, SYED IFTIKHAR HYDER FAIDI.

The Lucknow Meeting of 14th August.

Sir,—The meeting of the 14th August convened to collect funds for the defence of the Cawnpore accused and the relief of the survivors of those who were shot down by the Police on the memorable 3rd of August was abortive. When about a hundred people had assembled, there came a line from the District Magistrate of Lucknow ordering immediate dispersal of the meeting on the

ground of an apprehended breach of public tranquillity. The District Magistrate of Lucknow must be hyper-sensitive to suppose that the assembly was actuated by any intention other than that of its Cawnpore co-religionists in their hour of trial and unmerited sufferings. That he actually believed that the disturbance of public tranquillity was either likely or imminent is a supposition which may do credit to his imagination, but is certainly an insult to his intelligence. The presence of a large body of armed Police near the "Rifai-i-Am" to quell a disturbance which was mostly unlikely to happen was infinitely more ornamental than necessary unless the idea was to impress the Lucknow citizens with the might and puissance of the Deputy Commissioner which needed absolutely no demonstration. The arbitrary order of the District Magistrate dispersing a perfectly lawful assembly with thoroughly innocuous intention was a transparent attempt on his part to choke genuine sympathy and stifle legitimate criticism. Ten thousand meetings pre-emptively stopped by District Magistrates can't reconcile us to the sacrilegious demolition of a portion of the Maohli Bazar Mosque or to the propriety of Mr. Tyler's conduct which has robbed the Cawnpore Moslem of 20 lives. Arbitrary dispersals of lawful meeting can't kill an agitation which is founded on no imaginary grievance—an agitation which, though certain to be kept within constitutional and legal limits, will grow in volume and intensity with each attempted repression. It would be a pity if the Lucknow magistrates were tamely acquiesced in. The conveners of the meeting who include a most prominent citizen of Lucknow, should have their right to hold a public meeting of a thoroughly lawful character vindicated in a court of law. The precedent created at Lucknow may prove dangerously infectious. Attempts to gag comment and muzzle criticism, silence sympathy and discourage help may be similarly made in other places.

TAHSE.

The Delhi Tramways.

Sir,—On the 22nd instant at 6 p.m. when I was going in a tramcar, I had the misfortune to witness a most lamentable accident caused through the negligence and wanton carelessness of the Tramway servants. The car was running from Deputygunj towards the Kutab Road at its full speed, when at a distance of some twenty yards the driver as well as all the occupants of the car saw a poor labourer, nearly thirty years old, in the middle of the road, going in the same direction in which our car was proceeding. At first the driver wanted to slacken the speed, but he did not do so till the poor man was at a leap's distance. Then he tried in vain to stop the car. Unfortunately for the man another car was coming from the opposite direction and it crossed just at the point where our car had struck against the man. The driver of the car running in the direction of Sudder Terminus did not take even the least trouble of slackening the speed of his car or to stop it. Moreover, even after the accident had taken place he took away the car at full speed. The car I was in was stopped, and the passengers were shocked to see the mutilated condition of the body of the poor creature. His left leg above the ankle was smashed to pieces and the head badly crushed so much so that he was bleeding from the eyes, the nostrils and the mouth. The spot of the accident is very close to the southern gate of the Sarai of Hafiz Banna, where the man lay senseless writhing in agony. The Police constable on the beat was called, but he too took no immediate steps to get medical relief or to carry him to the Hospital and thus try to save his life if possible. At my request the constable took down the number of our car and the name of the driver, but nobody followed the other car to the Sudder Terminus.

About a fortnight ago a similar accident occurred exactly at the same place in connection with which it is very astounding to hear that instead of punishing and warning its own servants, the Company brought a Criminal suit against some merchants of the Sudder who, being touched by the occurrence, had scolded the driver. This conduct of the Company shows that in reality it makes no attempt to avoid the recurrence of such accidents, but on the contrary it seems to be mainly concerned in shielding its own servants from the consequences of their culpable negligence.

Such an undesirable state of things is due to the bad management of the Company in the matter of its employes. The drivers of the cars appear to have no sufficient training and are placed in charge of cars without being taught their responsibilities. Injuries, hurts and accidents are not infrequent and it seems from the treatment meted out by the Company's menial servants to the public that the Company have monopolized the use of the entire breadth of roads which were already not of such breadth to have justified the laying out of the Tramway track, for which the Municipal Committee alone is responsible to Man and God, and I think in order to mend matters it is extremely desirable in the interest and safety of the public that the Municipal Committee and its broad-minded President should bind the Company to such rules which may insure the life of the public and avoid the chance of the recurrence of accidents which have of late filled the minds of people with horror and indignation.

HABIBULLAH.

22nd Aug., 1913.

Mr. Norton: It means that the net is not very wide, but its meshes are very small and nothing can escape.

The Chief Justice: Can you believe anything can escape it? It covers words that are likely or may have a tendency, that is not only must they have a tendency, but even those are included that may have tendency—not only directly but even indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication—and even “or otherwise”—to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty’s subjects in British India. It doesn’t even say into whose hatred or contempt. It may be the hatred or contempt of one man only.

Mr. Justice Stephen: It may be the hatred or contempt even of a single foreign subject.

The Chief Justice: Yes.

Mr. Justice Stephen gave the instance of certain political cries which would come under section 4, for instance, “God save Ireland,” or as in the American war “Mary had a little lamb.”

The Chief Justice: I think what we are saying comes under the Act and may be proscribed by Government.

In the discussion about the character of the pamphlet the Advocate-General referred to a passage as typical, but the Chief Justice pointed out that the preceding paragraph showed that if any people were brought into hatred or contempt they were the French authorities who rejected the appeals of the commanders of their ship to intervene at Dedegatch. They were not His Majesty’s subjects in British India. The Advocate-General pleaded that the Viceroy was at the head of the Government of India and in touch with the Foreign Office which was criticised. So was also Sir Edward Grey.

The Chief Justice: Surely not as Christians! The criticism appeared to show that British Government had its complications of foreign affairs, and the British nation was appealed to to induce the British Government not to be influenced by those complications but to interfere to prevent the massacres. This was not even a condemnation of the Home Government’s apathy. In any case there was an attack neither on Christians nor on Englishmen as such.

On the 27th August the proceedings were as follows.—

Mr. Justice Stephen: Do you not think that stating of grounds implies the allegation of facts?

The Advocate-General: If it becomes necessary under the Act for the Government to state the circumstances as to the condition of things at a particular time which in their judgment makes it necessary to pass this order, if they got to state these, the necessary consequence would be that the Government itself would be perpetrating the very evil to avoid which is the object of the Press Act. Counsel then went on to discuss the question as to whether the grounds should be stated in the notification. He contended that the words in the section with reference to the statement of grounds were *directory* and not *mandatory*.

The Chief Justice: In this case there is this difficulty. The only fact we have is that certain copies passed into the hands of Mr. Mohamed Ali. Supposing a copy is sent to me. Is my poor individual copy going to bring people into hatred or contempt?

The Advocate-General: It appears that they were reprinted.

Mr. Norton: That is not the reason assigned in the notification. The notification is for the pamphlet.

Continuing, the Advocate-General said that it was indicated on Tuesday that it was a slur upon Mr. Mohamed Ali. That was not so.

The Chief Justice: Do you attribute anything like criminal offences to Mr. Mohamed Ali?

The Advocate-General: Not a bit. My intention, we will assume, was the highest. We suppose that he was acting in the highest interest of civilisation and humanity in ventilating this. Still the authorities are of opinion that there is a danger in submitting this case to the public because it has a tendency to stir up hatred. Although Government thinks so, it is not suggested that Mr. Mohamed Ali intended it. That there is no slur on Mr. Mohamed Ali, I submit, is perfectly plain. He did it in the highest interests of civilisation. Nevertheless if the Government of its own knowledge thought that—

The Chief Justice: We do not know the facts. Only the Government has the facts.

The Advocate-General: If the Government is bound to disclose them it can bring into the court evidence as to the state of affairs, legal and foreign.

The Chief Justice: We can do nothing except in the eye of public, whatever our convictions may be of the character of the Government. We cannot form any opinion apart from the facts.

The Advocate-General: What is got to be done is for Mr. Norton on behalf of the applicant to satisfy your lordships that this pamphlet under no circumstances can create hatred or contempt.

Mr. Norton: This must be given in the grounds of the notification.

The Chief Justice: It is intended that the court should be in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any proscribed thing. That is why the grounds should be stated. It may be within the knowledge of the Government that certain ignorant words have a sinister significance, which we may not know. But it is a matter of fact, and we are not to be guided by the Government’s knowledge. It is meant for

the very worst class of people. Is it not so? But the words of section 4 are so wide that even the enology of one class may bring it into hatred or contempt of others. Any ingenious combination of circumstances would bring everything under the Act, from the certain to the impossible.

The Advocate-General: They can come to the High Court only on one ground. In the High Court’s Rules too the applicant is to state the grounds and he states only the ground that the pamphlet is not covered by section 4.

The Chief Justice: That is a somewhat specious argument. By section 12 you are required to state the grounds and you repeat the words of section 4. That is not stating the grounds. If the applicant states as his ground that the pamphlet is not such as section 4 contemplates, that is sufficient ground for upsetting the order. It is only playing with words.

The Advocate-General: As your lordship please.

The Chief Justice: It is not as I please, but as I fear it must be. The grounds mean facts and not law.

The Advocate-General: When we mention that the pamphlet is of such a character and we therefore proscribe it we give facts.

The Chief Justice: That is to say, “We are of opinion because we are of opinion.”

Mr. Justice Woodroffe: The less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a publication does not come under section 4. We are left to guess a lot of things.

The Advocate-General: The grounds depend upon the character of the pamphlet.

The Chief Justice: Not if it is directory!

Mr. Justice Woodroffe: According to your agreement nothing need be set out at all. Government may be in possession of the grounds and yet they are not bound to declare what these grounds are.

The Advocate-General: Yes.

The Advocate-General then dealt with the pamphlet in question. In the first page there is a passage that “the Oriental, and the Turk in particular, has always trusted the Englishman, because he is known to be a just man, I am afraid that this belief is passing away.” This statement of Sir Adam Block, counsel considered, was defamatory.

Mr. Norton said that he should be proud to have his countrymen singled out.

The Advocate-General: For what? For this that the belief that they are just was passing away?

Mr. Norton: This is the view of Sir Adam Block; but where the Turks themselves appeal on page 68 and reprint these words of Sir Adam Block’s preface, they omit his words “I am afraid that this belief is passing away.” That is not their opinion.

The Advocate-General then read out extracts from the pamphlet and said that the whole of the pamphlet fell within the purview of the Indian Press Act. The reference throughout the pamphlet was to Christians, Christians, Christians.

The Chief Justice: To whom is the appeal made?

The Advocate-General: The appeal was first made to England, but when it was republished in this country its character was altered.

The Chief Justice: I suppose the appeal was made to the Christians, to the better side of the Englishmen on the ground of their religious creed.

The Advocate-General: Your lordship makes it quite a touching publication! But could that appeal be made to the small band of Englishmen here?

The Chief Justice: I want your view. Suppose the reference to Christians was with a view to show that Bulgarians did these things in spite of their Christianity, would it not enhance the effect?

The Advocate-General: Yes, it would.

The Advocate-General then referred to the alleged atrocities and said that two things which appealed most to the Moslems were the violation of their women and the desecration of their mosques. Mr. Justice Woodroffe: Suppose the facts are these, should they not be mentioned because the Mussalmans resent them?

The Advocate-General: There would be a reflex action here.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe: You must show the nexus between the people who did these things and the people whom you say it has a tendency to bring into hatred or contempt. There is no obvious political nexus. We are not political allies of the Balkan Allies. We are Christians and so you say we might be brought into hatred or contempt. You must show the nexus.

The Chief Justice: The effect of the notification is to band us as allies of the Christian Bashibuzouks.

With reference to the effect of not stating the grounds the Chief Justice said: If the words in the Act were stronger and said that the order of forfeiture shall state the grounds, and it did not, could we not say there was no order? And if there was no order, then nothing follows.

The Advocate-General: No, but there is an order *de facto*.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe: What is your argument? Has a reference to this Court any reality at all? Can this Court nullify any function at all?

In a discussion of the merits of the pamphlet Mr. Justice Woodroffe, addressing the Advocate-General, said: Your argument comes to this that whatever may be done by Christians in Europe, no one in this country can raise a protest because there is a Moslem population here!

The Advocate-General: It depends on the way the protest is made.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe: It comes to this that a protest is to be allowed if you can sufficiently water it and make it weak!

On another occasion Mr. Justice Woodroffe asked the Advocate-General: "Must not the words have a tendency to arouse evil passions?" The Advocate-General submitted that the pamphlet had such a tendency, upon which Mr. Justice Woodroffe said: "Such a feeling is what may be called 'righteous indignation.'"

With reference to the atrocities attributed in the pamphlet to Christians Mr. Justice Woodroffe drew the attention of the Advocate-General to references also to acts of kindness and generosity of the Christians.

The Chief Justice: What do you say to Mr. Norton's argument that the Act was passed to prevent evil passing under the guise of innocence, that the Act was passed as part of a scheme of enactments to deal with quite a different state of affairs and a class of men very different from gentlemen like Mr. Mohamed Ali, who has, if I may properly say so, committed no criminal offence?

The Advocate-General: I would request your lordship to apply to this case the well-known rule of interpretation that Acts should be looked at as they stand.

The Advocate-General objected to references to speeches made in the Council in the Press Bill debate, but the Chief Justice pointed out that they could refer to the history of such legislation.

The Chief Justice: Do you accept that it was passed for a particular part of India?

The Advocate-General: *Inter alia*.

The Chief Justice: What are the *alia*? Was not the Act directed against a large scheme of crime?

The Chief Justice referred to the history of the legislation with a view that it may throw light, for instance, on the meaning of class hatred. He drew attention to what he called "a very proper explanation" under section 158A of the Indian Penal Code and pointed out that the Press Act had no such explanation. He said: "Even if a man published something with a view to give an opportunity to Englishmen here to say 'we protest against this', he is liable to the serious consequences under this Act. In Section 158A it is not a proviso, or an exception, but an explanation of the law."

Mr. Norton in his reply sought to prove that a statement of grounds was mandatory and referred to a similar statement of grounds in Section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and again argued that the Government would not have been able to secure the non-official support wherewith to pass the Press Bill if the non-officials knew at the time that such clauses of the Bill would be used at such times and in such a manner to brand such publications as seditious.

The Advocate-General: I disclaim as clearly as possible any suggestion that there is anything seditious in this pamphlet.

Mr. Norton tried to show that the very wide words of section 4 of the Press Act were narrowed down by Explanation II which stated that comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (c) of the section. But the Chief Justice said that this did not cover the bringing into hatred or contempt "any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India." It only applied to bringing into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India. "And," said the Chief Justice, "the explanation seems to be that this explanation was taken from section 124A and the explanation from Section 158A was overlooked!"

Among other things the Chief Justice referred to "a curious departure in language" in Section 17 of the Press Act from other sections. Throughout Section 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 20 "copies" of books or newspapers have been mentioned, but in section 17 the reference is to "book or newspaper" only and not to copies. The Chief Justice remarked: "We are told that in the same enactment if different language is used, it must signify some difference." Addressing the Advocate-General and the Standing Council, he asked "What is the significance here?" No reply was forthcoming.

The Chief Justice on another occasion said: "For some reason or other there is a distinction drawn between 'contempt or hatred' of Section 4(1)(c) of the Press Act, 'animosity' of Section 144A of the Indian Penal Code and 'antipathy' of Act IX of 1872."

Mr. Norton's reply was a short one, but most eloquent and affecting. He was himself visibly moved and the Chief Justice was noticed to be similarly affected.

Mr. Justice Stephen asked Mr. Norton: Who are the people against whom the pamphlet is directed?

Mr. Norton: Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks.

Mr. Justice Stephen: What is common to the three? Mr. Norton: Atrocities. My lord! Your lordship perhaps expect me to say "Christianity," but I am not going to say it!

Mr. Norton referred to the view taken by Englishmen in England of this pamphlet, which contrasted violently with the view of Government. There Lord Lamington had formed a Committee, with Mr. M. Houston-Gibbs as its Honorary Secretary, and its office at the house of Lord Lamington himself, for the purpose of giving greater publicity to the appeal of the Turks and demanding an International Commission of Investigation. Mr. Norton said he had in his hands a pamphlet—based on the proscribed pamphlet—to which Lord Lamington had contributed a Foreword. It was entitled "The Balkan Massacres: A Turkish Appeal to the Women and Men of Great Britain," and underneath this title was printed in red a Cross, and below that the words, "A British Response and Demand for an International Commission of Investigation," and two texts from the Gospel according to St. Matthews. That, he said, was the response of England. But the notification proscribing the same pamphlet was the response of the Government here. He was told by the Advocate-General that the first to proscribe it was the Government of Bombay. Had Lord Lamington been still the Governor he was sure the Government of Bombay would not have proscribed the pamphlet.

The Chief Justice: Don't say that, Mr. Norton. Don't say that!

Mr. Norton, continuing said, he would then make the words of Lord Lamington his own and read the foreword which was as follows:—

"The object of this pamphlet is to stir up public opinion so that an International Commission may be appointed to enquire into the treatment of Muhammadan persons during the recent war and to provide for the security of their lives and property now, and when a settlement of the country takes place.

"It may be impossible to verify all the alleged atrocities. But I know from unimpeachable sources that gross barbarities have been perpetrated. Besides, too, Sir Edward Grey's refusal to publish Consular Reports is eloquent negative evidence in the same direction.

"It is a poor retort to say that the Turks would have behaved in the same way. The Christian States attacked Turkey on the plea of introducing orderly and civilized government into Turkish territory. It is hardly a Christian method to do so by wiping out the population.

"Why should our sympathies be confined to Puntumayo? Or to the inmates of Portuguese prisons? I fear one reason is that in the last two cases we do not mind offending the authorities implicated, whereas in the case of the Balkan States we are fearful of incurring displeasure. This timidity, however, has brought about its own revenge by exciting the feelings of our Muhammadan fellow subjects.

"Apart from self-interest, surely a Government which ranks amongst its members those who condemned their own fellow-countrymen for waging war in South Africa by 'methods of barbarism,' should try to secure for the Turks the usages of modern warfare and protection from the barbarities of a bygone age.

"I hope that this pamphlet may help to bring home to people in this country some idea of the horrors that have been taking place."

Judgment.

On the 1st of September at the Calcutta High Court Special Bench consisting of the Chief Justice and Justices Stephen and Woodroffe judgment was delivered in the application of Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor and Proprietor of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*, Delhi, against an order of the Bengal Government declaring under section 12 of the Press Act a pamphlet entitled "Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us" forfeited to His Majesty.

The Chief Justice: This is an application to the High Court under section 17 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, to set aside what is described as an order of forfeiture under section 12 of that Act.

The order of which complaint is made was published in the "Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary" July 22nd, 1913, and runs as follows:—Notification No. 2296 P.D. of the 18th of July 1913. Whereas it appears to the Governor in Council that a pamphlet entitled "Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us" containing words of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, (Act IV of 1910) is liable to being taken into consideration as seditious under section 12 of that Act.

of His Majesty's subjects in British India. Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by section 12, subsection (1) of the said Act, the Governor in Council hereby declares all copies of the said pamphlet wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty.

This is not the first pronouncement on this pamphlet for by a similar notification published in the "Gazette of India," on the 10th July, 1913, the Governor-General in Council declared the pamphlet to be forfeited. And even before this there had been a notification to the same effect by the Government of Bombay.

Section 12 (1) is in these terms:—"When any newspaper, book or other document wherever printed appears to the Local Government to contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may by notification in the local official Gazette stating the grounds of its opinion, declare such newspaper, book or other document to be forfeited to His Majesty."

The relevant portions of section 4 are as follows:—"Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India" then the consequences indicated in the Act are to follow:—

There is a curious difference between the language of section 4 and of section 12. Under section 4 what may be declared to be forfeited is "all copies of such newspaper, book or other document."

Under section 12 what may be declared to be forfeited is "such newspaper, book or other document." Section 12 stands alone in this respect and its language may be contrasted with that of sections 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 20 as well as section 4. I doubt whether any difference of operation was intended.

Section 17 entitles any person having an interest in any property of which an order of forfeiture has been made under section 12 to apply to the High Court to set aside the order, but only on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1).

Together with this section must be read section 22 by which, with a qualified exception in favour of the High Court, all jurisdiction is in effect barred. This section, save for the exception, reproduces section 16 of the short-lived Press Act of 1878 commonly known as the Vernacular Press Act.

Two conditions then are necessary to a forfeiture in accordance with the terms of section 12. First it must appear to the Local Government that the publication contains words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), and secondly the Local Government must by notification in the local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion, declare such publication to be forfeited to His Majesty. The first condition implies that the publication had been seen and read by the Local Government prior to its declaration of forfeiture, for it must first form an opinion. Though there is no evidence as to this, the Advocate-General assured us that a copy must have been in the Local Government's possession before the declaration. I will assume this to be so.

ABSENCE OF GROUNDS.

The second condition is one which has given rise to considerable discussion. It has been urged that it is a necessary condition that the grounds of the Local Government's opinion should be stated and that this has not been done in the present case.

(On learning that it appears to the Government in any particular case that there are words of the nature described in section 4 (1), the first question that occurs to anyone whose duty it is to enquire, is why does it so appear, what are the grounds of its opinion? Those responsible for the Act foresaw this, and so they specifically provided that the forfeiting notification should state the grounds of the Local Government's opinion.

But when we turn to the notification no such grounds are stated; nothing in the nature of a fact is set forth, there is merely a citation of those words of the section which are invoked. The notification seems to take this shape:—"It appears to the Local Government that there are words likely to bring into hatred or contempt a class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India and the grounds of its opinion are that the words are likely to bring into hatred or contempt certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in India."

Now the repetition of an opinion cannot be its grounds, and yet that is all that the application furnishes in the shape of grounds. This is obviously insufficient and not in compliance with the terms of the Act. Moreover I think that this direction in the section is manifestly wrong and that the Legislature intended to impose and has

imposed on the Local Government an imperative obligation to state the grounds of its opinion.

The language of section 4 may be compared. It requires that the notice forfeiting the copies of the publication should be in writing and state or describe the offending words, signs or visible representations. The provisions as to the statements to be contained in forfeiting documents were, I think, designedly inserted and were intended to be a check on the power of forfeiture vested in the Local Government for it is easy to see that the obligation to state grounds furnishes a valuable safeguard. The statement of grounds may for another reason too be regarded as an essential part of the Legislature's scheme; for it might help the High Court to perform the duties cast on it under section 17. And in fact, we have in this case been considerably embarrassed as will appear later, by the absence of grounds.

The notification therefore appears to me to be defective in a material particular and but for section 22 of the Act it would (in my opinion) be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture. That section, however, provides that every declaration purporting to be made under the Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place. The result is that though I hold the notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act still we are (in my opinion) barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare.

This brings me to the question whether the pamphlet under discussion contains words of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1). The provisions of section 4 are very comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. Indeed it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of impossibility on the other. It is different to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this wide spread net the praise of a class might not be free from risk. Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.

DEFENCE OF THE PAMPHLET.

It is, however, argued that even so this pamphlet is outside both the spirit and the words of the section. And now I will notice the argument that has been addressed to us as to this. The pamphlet, it is said, is an appeal to His Majesty's subjects, followers of the Christian faith; and it is an appeal to them as Christians to move the British Government to such individual or concerted action as will put a stop to outrages that shock all feelings of humanity, if they in fact occurred. And so, it is contended, this is an appeal to the people of a Christian nation, just because they are a Christian nation, and this would be the first to protest against the cruel disregard of the principles of its faith by some who profess to be its adherents, and against acts so abominable as to have earned the seathing denunciation of the Christian monarch of one of the allied nations. Nor does the argument rest there, for it is brought to our notice that the pamphlet contains passages which show that Christianity as a creed is not attacked notably that which states that "it was ever the symbol of humanity and mercy"; and that it states that those who were fighting under the Cross betrayed it. It is true that it refers to crusades, but this has reference not to any crusade proclaimed by Christianity but to the proclamation of the King of Bulgaria. On the other hand there are passages which expressly state that Turkish excesses are not condoned which show that Christians are not attacked as such and narrate the protest made and help given by Christians other than the Balkan allies engaged in the war. There is no racial or political tie between the Balkan allies and the Christian subject of His Majesty in India which would make it possible that wrongs committed by the former should be considered imputable to the latter. Nor is there really any creedal link because it is not suggested that the acts complained of were done in the name of and with the authority of Christianity, but in betrayal of it. On the contrary, it is argued, the suppression of this pamphlet might tend in the Mussalman mind to band the Christians of this country with the authors of these wrongs and make it appear that it was desired that these should not be made public lest they might throw discredit on Christian subjects in India. The pamphlet then, it is said, so far from bringing Englishmen or His Majesty's Christian subjects into hatred or contempt is the highest compliment that could be paid to them.

This is the arguments and it may be very forcible when addressed to those who can be swayed by it. The Executive Government can be moved by such reflections; our investigation is of a more precise order.

THE BURDEN OF PROOF.

The Advocate-General has admitted, and as I think, very properly, that the pamphlet is not seditious and does not offend

against any provision of the Criminal Law of India. But he has contended, and rightly in my opinion, that the provisions of the Press Act extend far beyond the criminal law; and he has argued that the burden of proof is cast on the applicant so that he must establish meritoriously the pamphlet may be still, if the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for the applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further and show that it is impossible for there to have that tendency either directly or indirectly, and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all for we find that the Legislature has added to this the all embracing phrase "or otherwise."

And here, I may, not inappropriately, invite attention to section 153A of the Penal Code, which has such affinity to the statutory provision governing this case that it may be regarded as its basis. That section was added to the Penal Code in 1828, and was directed against the promotion and attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes. It will be noticed that the feeling here described is one of enmity or hatred; no provision is made for contempt. But the more important divergence is that while the Penal Code requires that the enmity or hatred should be not only towards a class but by a class, there is no such limitation in the Press Act as to the source from which these hostile feelings should proceed, it aims against all hatred or contempt regardless of these by whom it is entertained. Nor is this the only direction in which there is a greater stringency in the Press Act. To Section 153A there is appended an explanation which declares it not to be an offence to point out without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce the feelings of enmity or hatred indicated in the section. And yet no such qualifying words are to be found in section 4 of the Press Act, and this is the more remarkable because the qualifying explanations of section 124A are introduced though they relate to an even greater offence.

It may be that the omission was an oversight but whether that be or not the Government insists on the absence of this explanation though it leads to a curious result. I think the Government is entitled to stand on the letter of the law though it deprives Mr. Mahomed Ali of an opportunity of relying on an explanation concerned in the spirit of that which forms parts of section 153A of the Penal Code. Had the Press Act incorporated the explanation to section 153A, as it has that to section 124A, Mr. Mahomed Ali might perhaps have made a very strong case in view of the Advocate-General's admission as to the character of the pamphlet and the applicant's purpose and intentions.

The applicant, however, contends strenuously that the pamphlet does not come even within these all embracing terms of the Act and that the Legislature aimed at something wholly different. The incalculable powers of forfeiture vested in the executive are a sure sign that the Act was called into being by urgent political necessity. And it is of sufficiently recent date to enable us all to remember that the mischief chiefly aimed at was the prevalence of political fanaticism and anarchical outrage. Comprehensive words were designedly used to catch crime and the incitement to crime posing in the guise of innocence. The Act was directed against crime and aimed at its prevention. I doubt whether publications with an authorship, motive and a purpose like those of the present pamphlet were thought of; and I recognise the force of the argument that the Act is now being applied to a purpose never intended. But be that as it may, if the Legislature has employed language wide enough to cover the pamphlet, this lack of reserve affords no answer to the forfeiture now attacked.

I have already dealt with one phase of absence of grounds in the notification. This defect and the Government's failure to place before us any materials beyond those provided by the applicant have sensibly added to our difficulties in discharging the peculiar duties cast on us by the Act. The notification does not even specify the classes that might be brought into hatred or contempt or which of these two diverse sentiments is apprehended. And so when Mr. Norton rose to address the Court he had to seek this information from the Advocate-General.

The first answer implied that it included Christians, Greeks and Armenians; but as under the Act the classes are limited to those composed of His Majesty's subjects in India, the Greeks were withdrawn and the first and the last retained. Still the answer in its original form is not without its significance though it was afterwards modified. The pamphlet would doubtless bring into hatred the un-Christian Christians whose words of liberty are described. The mischief intended is that the infection of this hatred might fall on the Government, but on His Majesty's Christian or

English subjects in British India. If this be the Government's view with all the information at its disposal the Court, no more informed than the man in the street, cannot (in my opinion) affirm this could not be so and affirm it with a degree of assurance that would entitle it to set aside a measure of safety on which the Government had solemnly resolved.

The Advocate-General has convinced me that the Government's view of this piece of legislation is correct and that the High Court's power of intervention is the narrowest; its power to pronounce the legality of the forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred; the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the Executive order is withheld; and its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all comprehensive provisions of the Act. I describe it as an almost hopeless task because the terms of section 4 are so wide that it is scarcely conceivable that any publication would attract the notice of the Government in this connection to which some provision of that section might not "directly or indirectly whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise apply."

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE

I have said that the ability to pronounce on the wisdom or unwisdom of Executive action has been withheld. There was good reason for this. Courts of law can only move on defined lines, and act on information brought before them under limited conditions. It is not so with the Executive authority. It would be paralysed if it had to observe the restriction placed on the Courts. Its action can be prompted by information derived from sources not open to the Courts, and based on considerations forbidden to them; it can be moved by impressions and personal experiences to which no expressions can be given in court, but which may be a very potent incentive to executive action. The Government may be in possession of information which it would be impossible to disclose in a court of law, and yet obviously requiring immediate action. Therefore the jurisdiction to pronounce on the wisdom or unwisdom of Executive action has been withheld and rightly withheld. It may be a question whether even the semblance which this Act provides should not have been withheld as it was by Act IX of 1878. Political considerations, reasons of State are the life blood of Executive action, but they have no place in a court of law.

"The constitution," said Lord Mansfield, "does not allow reasons of State to influence on judgment; God forbid it should. We must not regard political consequences, however formidable they might be; if rebellion was the certain consequence we are bound to say *Pias Justitia ruat cælum* (Case of John Wilkes, 19 H. W. St. Trials 1112.)"

The fact is that the Executive and Judicial authorities stand on a wholly different plane for the purposes of arriving at a decision as to the propriety of Executive action. And the one cannot sit in judgment on the determinations of the other. *Si judicis, cognoscere, se regius, jula.*

And what then is the conclusion of the whole matter of the two alleged checks on executive action, supposed to be furnished by the Act, one, the intervention of the Courts, is ineffectual, while the other for this very reason can be, and in this case has been disregarded, without imparting the practical effect of a forfeiture purporting to be under the Act.

"NOT A STAIN ON HIS CHARACTER."

One word more and that is as to the motive of the present application. The applicant, Mr. Mohamed Ali, is by no means unknown in India; he is a journalist of position and repute. Though he is not an accused, he tells us that he regards himself as under the stigma which (he declares) must attach to any person who has come under the operation of an Act directed, primarily at any rate, against a criminal movement marked by outrages which so shocked the public sentiment as to call for this drastic legislation. But even if he has not succeeded in proving the negative that fate and the law have thrown in his way, at least his application has not been wholly in vain. The Advocate-General, representing the Government, has publicly announced that Mr. Mohamed Ali's forfeited pamphlet is not, in his opinion, a seditious libel, and, indeed, that he attributes no criminal offence to Mr. Mohamed Ali; he was even willing to concede and believe he was acting in the highest interests of humanity, and civilization. In this, I think, the Advocate-General made no admission which it was not proper for him to make. Mr. Mohamed Ali then has lost his book, but he has retained his character; and he is free from the stigma that he apprehended. And this doubtless will be some consolation to him when we discuss, as we must, his present application. I think there should be no order as to costs.

Mr. Justice Stephen delivered a separate judgment, agreeing with the Chief Justice that this application should be dismissed without costs.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe agreed with the judgment of the Chief Justice.

The Cawnpore Case.

Cawnpore, July 18.

THE case was resumed at 11 A. M. to-day. Counsel for the Crown applied for another ten days' remand in the case of Nazir Mahomed Khan, who was arrested very late, and regarding whose identification special care will have to be taken, as there is no other Kabuli in jail. The Court granted a remand for ten days and ordered that Nazir Mahomed Khan should be informed that he should make arrangements for his proper identification by getting other Kabulis in the jail, so that he may mix among them at the time of identification.

In the case of two other accused, Hafiz Ahmed Ullah and Abdul Qadir Asad Subhani, the Crown also wanted an adjournment as the District Magistrate had applied for sanction for the prosecution of these men under sections 124(a) and 153(a).

Mr Haque, on behalf of the accused, opposed the granting of a remand and said that these men made speeches on the 3rd August and the Crown had ample time to get the sanction.

The case against these men was adjourned till 1st September. Mr. H. M. Davies, Barrister-at-Law, at this stage retired from the case.

Girdhari, son of Baba Mal, a shopkeeper in the Chouk, the sixth witness for the prosecution, was then called. He deposed that he was present in his shop on the morning of 3rd August. He could not see the mosque from his shop which was 300 to 250 paces from the mosque. He was taken to the mosque by a police constable and was informed that there were men under arrest inside the mosque. Witness was not allowed to go inside. A Sub-Inspector was writing the names of those inside. Witness stood outside over the partially demolished wall of the mosque. He signed the list of seventy men who were arrested inside the mosque. Two other lists were prepared, one of thirty persons arrested outside the mosque, and one of property.

Sitaram, a goldsmith, was the next witness. He worked in the Sarafa which was fifty to a hundred paces from the mosque. A constable took witness to the mosque and he stopped on a pile of bricks near the mosque. He gave evidence similar to that of Girdhari, the previous witness, regarding the preparation of the lists of those arrested inside and outside the mosque and of the property found there. He signed all three lists. From his house (he was in the top story) he saw about a thousand men. Some were rebuilding the mosque, some were throwing stones at the Teli's temple, and some were attacking policemen. First, the Kotwal came and reasoned with these men. The Kotwal, after being stoned, went back and came with his men who carried spears. After several minutes the Kotwal went back towards the Collector's bungalow and the rioters came up to the chowki, destroyed things, burnt pyragras and broke spears. There were some Kabulis who were making a great noise and were very rowdy. The Collector, with sowars, police officers and men, came on the scene after 10 or 12 minutes. He rode alone towards the crowd, waved his hands asking them to stop, but after bricks had been thrown at him he rode back and called up the armed police and the sowars. Bricks continued to be thrown. Then black cartridges were fired at which the rioters halted, but as no one was injured, they came back again. Then fire was opened and when people saw men falling, they began to run away. When the men were running away, the mounted police charged them and arrested the rioters who were there. The Court at this stage rose for lunch.

After lunch, two police sub-inspectors who had already given their evidence, were recalled and questioned regarding the preparation of the lists of those who were arrested and sent to the lock-up. Sub-Inspector Taziddiq Hossain identified the list of forty boys arrested inside the mosque. This list was prepared by him.

Sub-Inspector Abdul Ghani detailed how he took 171 prisoners, who were brought in different batches and were sent to the lock-up and later on to the jail under his custody.

The eighth witness for the prosecution was Karamat Ullah, son of Allah Bux, by profession a beggar. He had gone to the Idgah on the morning of the day of the riot as everybody else was going there. He returned with the men up to Moulganj, then went away to his home. Witness with his son Nizam-ud-din, ran away from Joka Bazar. There were thousands of men between Moulganj and the mosque. He saw from a distance that brickbats were thrown and then he ran away. Witness was asked if he knew anything about the flags. He answered that he did not know who made the flags, but he saw some and carried one in his hands for some distance.

Witness here began to give confused replies and the Court remarked that the witness had been induced to make as much of a spectacle as possible, which was a matter of regret. Witness then said he saw some seven flags and added that they were going to the mosque to be rebuilt.

When asked what he saw that he first came to hear of the intention to rebuild the mosque, witness replied that he did not know if the mosque was to be rebuilt. The Court made a note with regard to

the testimony of this witness, that he gave evidence with great hesitation and repeated several times that he was a poor man. It was obvious to the Court that he had been successfully approached on behalf of the defence.

The next witness was Chheda Lal, son of Ajodhia Pershad, shopkeeper, Maidsa Bazar, and residing in Gillis Bazar, in the Ram temple which was a double-storeyed house. Witness went on the day of the rioting to the Idgah where a meeting was being held. He was at a distance and therefore could not hear the speakers. There were some fifteen thousand men at the Idgah. Some men were saying the mosque will be forcibly rebuilt and some said even the bazar was not safe. The meeting closed in his presence. Every one following four flags went in procession. Witness went ahead and told people in the Sarafa, or Chandi Bazar, to close their shops for a while as a crowd was coming and there was a fear of loot. Witness also sent a boy on a bicycle from the parade to Chandi Bazar. Some men closed their shops at his request, and some at the request of the police. Witness then went to the Teli's temple and from there to his house. From his house witness could see both Gillis Bazar chowki and the mosque.

Cawnpore, Aug. 19.

Proceedings in the Cawnpore riot case were continued to-day before Mr. H. M. Smith.

M. Haque, on behalf of the defence, stated his wish to have time to prepare for examination. The Magistrate intimated that there would be time in any event, as nearly four days would be taken in recording the statements of 107 accused, and the defence would not be called upon to cross-examine before Monday.

POLICE SUPERINTENDENT'S EVIDENCE.

The first witness examined was Mr. R. J. S. Dodd, Superintendent of Police, who said that on 3rd August he was stationed in Cawnpore. He was aware that there was going to be a meeting at the Idgah on that day and of which he received first information on Friday. He did not anticipate any riot on the 3rd though while the meeting was going on, witness received a telephone message from the Kotwal to keep the police in the lines ready.

The meeting was held at the Idgah on Sunday. He inspected the police lines every Monday and preparation for that inspection is made on Sundays, which involved all equipment, specially of the mounted police, being taken to pieces. Also many men go out on Sunday. On this particular Sunday morning the very first thing he did was to order a parade to test the men if they could turn out. Witness gave his parade order first without receiving any message from the Kotwal. The parade took place at which he was present for an hour. After the parade, the men were held in readiness and were to remain in the lines till 10 o'clock. Afterwards he returned to his house and from there went to the District Magistrate with some files connected with different matters. The reason for going to the Magistrate was both that he had to show him the files and discuss the affair of the Idgah meeting. He had a message on the telephone that people at the meeting were being induced to go to the mosque after the meeting. The actual message was that certain people were going round the outskirts of the crowd telling the people to go to the mosque. He went to the Collector and found him in. Before he left for the Collector he heard that the procession had started. After a considerable time, a Sub-Inspector rode up and gave certain information. They received two or three reports in connexion with the mosque.

As a result they sent for the Kotwal who arrived eventually. Then the witness and the Collector rode towards the scene of the occurrence. At the kutcherry they met the sowars and the armed police which they had called out from the lines. There were about sixteen sowars and 129 armed police. The witness and the Magistrate cantered up to Gillis Bazar Chowki followed by the sowars and armed police. When he arrived at the chowki the mob was on the ground to be occupied by the road. The District Magistrate alone rode towards the crowd. He went up some distance. After a time bricks were hurled at him. He was forty paces in front of witness. He stood there for a minute then turned round and beckoned witness to go up to him.

The din was fearful. Witness went up and his men followed. All met at a distance of 30 paces from the Gillis Bazar Chowki. On the District Magistrate turning back, stone throwing became worse than ever.

THE ORDER TO FIRE.

The District Magistrate then gave witness orders to fire. He therefore turned the men round and formed them up for volley firing. The District Magistrate had to yell out an order. Some constables near the magistrate hearing his orders, immediately fired in the air. Several others followed suit. The firing was mostly high and hitting nobody.

NO BLANK AMMUNITION.

The men had no blank cartridges.

THE SOUTHERN GUNMAN.

The crowd increased and began to attack the police who were driven back. The only thing that could save the situation was for

sawars to charge, and witness ordered those who had carbines and swords to charge. They charged with drawn swords. They went on charging in the direction of mosque. They did not get to the mosque in one charge, but the effect of the charge was to clear the mob on the right. He could not see what was on the left. He met a check near the demolished portion of the *dalan* of the mosque from which a large crowd was throwing stones. More sawars followed. He saw bricks falling on the policemen while they were firing.

He also got several knocks.

"CEASE FIRE"

When the mob had cleared away, the first thing he did was to whistle "cease fire."

The next witness examined was Nazir Ahmad, police constable, who said that he with 13 or 14 policemen was coming from Moulgani Obowki towards Gillis Bazar Chowki on being informed that the Kotwal had been stoned. When he reached the Maida Bazar and Madhli Bazar Road he saw stones being thrown at the Kotwal. He was also struck by a brick and became unconscious. He was at a distance of some thirty paces from the mosque. His nose was broken. Witness was still in hospital.

MR. TYLER'S EVIDENCE

The next witness examined was Mr. H. G. S. Tyler, District Magistrate, who deposed that he knew of the meeting of 3rd August, either on the Saturday or Friday previous. He was informed by the Tehsildar that there were different processions which were carrying flags. He knew that meetings had been held on 1st July and 28th July, but there was no trouble whatever with regard to them. He heard from Mr. Dodd that some of the crowd were going from the *Idgah* to the mosque. Prior to that, witness had no idea that there was going to be any trouble. The fact of the crowd going to the mosque did not lead witness to believe that there was going to be any trouble. Witness received several reports that morning after Mr. Dodd's visit. As far as witness recollected, he saw the Kotwal when he was starting to go down to the mosque. He (the Kotwal) told witness that he had been assaulted. Before leaving his house, witness asked Mr. Dodd to telephone to the police lines asking the men there to meet them on the way. Witness with Mr. Dodd left his house and met the police near the Gillis Bazar Chowki. Witness asked Mr. Dodd to hold his men. There was a very large crowd, the thickest near the mosque and thinner as it was further from the mosque and a number of people on the tops of houses. Witness rode on alone in the hope that he would get some one to send over to the mosque. When he had gone some distance, a number of bricks were thrown at him. There was a tall man with a long beard who he thought would do something to stop the men. He called to him to stop, but all that he did was to excite the others. Firing commenced and it seemed to be effectual. He looked round and saw that the men were putting the carbines to their shoulders and were taking aim. Both he and Mr. Dodd ordered the men to fire lower. It was practically impossible to make oneself heard. The police were meanwhile feeling uncomfortable and they gradually began to retreat. At this stage Mr. Dodd called and signed to the sawars to charge. The Kotwal and Mr. Dodd then went to the sawars and with a shout led a charge. This charge was on the right, while intermittent fire was going on the left. It had the effect of checking the on movement of the general mob towards them, but a number of individuals actually came on and witness saw some of them assaulting some policemen. The police on the left followed. He saw a constable hitting a man on the ground and witness stopped him.

After giving orders about the removal of the injured and seeing that his orders were obeyed, witness went towards the mosque. As he went towards the mosque, witness saw that bricks were being thrown from inside the mosque. As far as he could recollect brick throwing ceased as he arrived near the mosque. A little intermittent firing was still going on as the police spread out on open ground. This was stopped at once. Up to the time that the police after opening fire were driven back by the crowd, he did not see any man fall. A final stand was made at the mosque and consisted in bricks being thrown from the mosque at the police. After all was over, witness went down towards Moulgani to see if there was any likelihood of further brick throwing. He gave orders that all those that were inside the mosque should be arrested. He also gave orders to arrest no one except those inside the mosque or persons found on the scene of disturbance. A little later he found that the police had arrested a batch of persons who were found some distance from the mosque in question and he had them all released, except one who had a blade tied to the end of a bamboo. This man got a week's simple imprisonment yesterday. Witness was familiar with the site where a portion was demolished on 1st July. After the riot was over witness found that a lot of loose bricks had been piled up where the *dalan* had been. The height was about four feet six inches or perhaps more from the level of the ground.

This concluded the examination-in-chief of the witness.

The court adjourned at this stage for lunch.

After lunch, Ganda Singh, jailor, district jail, Cawnpore, proved the correctness of the two lists which had been prepared under his supervision, one containing the names of those admitted to jail and the other containing the names of those discharged from jail. Witness also produced the jail register and pointed out entries relating to the prisoners.

Kalak Singh, a mounted constable, was the next witness and deposed that he, along with other mounted police went to the scene of disturbance. Ultimately he and others charged the crowd led by the Superintendent of Police. One man struck him with a *lathi* and a bone on the back of his right hand and thumb was broken. He went to hospital.

Counsel for the Crown intimated at this stage that the only other witness he would examine was Captain Simpson, officiating Civil Surgeon, who was at present in Lucknow, but was expected very shortly.

The Magistrate intimated that on the next day he would examine the accused.

Some of the accused have applied for bail to the Sessions Judge who has given notice to the Public Prosecutor and will hear arguments to-morrow.

The Court rose for the day at 2 P. M.

Cawnpore, August 20.

Mr. Austin Kendall, Sessions Judge, Cawnpore, to day disposed of applications for bail made on behalf of AbdulQuadir Asad Subhani and Hafiz Ahmed Ullah, two prominent members of the Moslem community, who were arrested on 3rd August. On that date the police applied for ten days' remand and again on 13th August a remand for five days was obtained on the ground that the accused would be charged under section 124(A) and 153(A) and the sanction of Government was necessary for these charges. On the 18th August, the Crown applied for another remand which was granted in spite of opposition on the part of Counsel for accused. Mr. A. M. Khawaja (Aligarh) who appeared on behalf of accused, urged that the last order of remand was illegal and that the accused had been in custody for a long time without anything being brought against them. They were respectable men and there was no fear of their absconding. The Government Pleader, Pandit Sri Kishan, opposed the application on behalf of the Crown.

The Court in passing orders said that it was obvious that when Government has to sanction a prosecution, it can only grant sanction after due consideration and it is in the interest, not only of Government but also of all honest and well-meaning agitators, that it should be recognised that Government ought not to be hurried in arriving at a decision on such an important point. The question is a delicate one, whether certain spoken words or certain actions do or do not exceed the bounds of honest criticism. The local authorities seem to have taken some time in preparing the report which will go to Government. For this very reason it may be anticipated that the Local Government will not require so much time as they otherwise might in coming to a conclusion. The applications for bail were therefore rejected, but the Court noted that if the Government order were not received by 1st September sanctioning a prosecution, the Court would be prepared to consider favourably another application in the matter. It was also pointed out that having regard to section 344, C. P. Code, the postponement granted was not illegal.

A consideration of the application for bail on behalf of Saibghat Ullah, son of M. Rahmat Ullah Rad, one of the accused in the riot case was postponed.

TRIAL OF RIOTERS.

The case of 107 accused in the mosque riot case was taken up to-day at 11 A. M. before Mr. H. M. Smith, Special Magistrate. One accused who was almost blind, was discharged. The Magistrate then began the examination of the accused.

A rather heated discussion took place between Mr. Masbar-al-Haque, Counsel for accused, with regard to the Court's mode of questioning the accused. Counsel said that under section 342, C. P. Code, the Court may put questions to accused for the purpose of enabling accused to explain any circumstance appearing in evidence against him and to supplement the evidence against him.

Counsel in reply to the Court stated that the question to be asked whether he attended the meeting at *Idgah* and took part in the procession to the mosque which wanted to rebuild it, could not be put unless there was evidence to that effect against that accused. If the Court wanted to find out the common object of the accused and whether they wanted to rebuild the mosque, it should do so from the evidence of the prosecution and not by questioning accused. If the prosecution had not given evidence on any particular point, the Court could not fill the gap by questioning accused at a later stage.

While another accused was being examined, Mr. Masbar suggested that both questions and answers should be taken down as spoken and in some instances simply said "yes" to questions put by the Court.

SHARP PASSAGES BETWEEN COURT AND COUNSEL.

This led to an exchange of some sharp passages between Counsel and the Court, Mr. Haque concluding by saying that he did not want to imitate the Court's tone and language to which he was not accustomed. He wanted to do his duty. It was better not to open his lips in that Court as he had been informed that he was preposterous, ludicrous, and inconsistent.

The examination of the accused persons was then proceeded with and some thirty accused were examined. All these denied taking any part in the riot and gave various stories as to the manner in which they were arrested by the police. Most of them said that they were either going to their homes or coming from their homes to attend work. Seeing a mob and a crowd they stayed on. Some said they had attended the meeting at the *I'dgah* also.

After lunch, Captain Simpson, Civil Surgeon, who was posted at Cawnpore in the first week of August, but was at present stationed in Lucknow, was examined and deposed that on being informed by telephone that he was wanted at the Prince of Wales Hospital, he went there on 3rd August at 11 A. M. When he reached the hospital there were ten policemen in the ward and four or five other men. Others were being brought. One wing of the hospital was emptied and reserved for those injured in the riot, both policemen and rioters. The first day, the only list made out was of injuries received by the dead or who died in hospital. On 3rd August, the rest of the injured were simply treated. A proper list of injuries received by those in hospital was made next day. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor visited the hospital on the morning of the 4th August. Witness then read out from his jury report extracts relating to the injuries of various persons including the accused. Some of the accused were brought and their injuries were pointed out by witness.

The Court rose for the day at after 4 P. M.

Cawnpore, Aug 21.

The trial of the 106 accused in the Cawnpore Mosque riot case was continued to-day before Mr. H. M. Smith, Special Magistrate. The examination of Captain Simpson, formerly officiating Civil Surgeon, Cawnpore, was continued. After Captain Simpson had read out from his injury report a description of the injuries sustained by policemen, both civil and armed, foot and mounted, sub-inspectors and head constables, Mr. Boys asked witness the number of persons who died in hospital during the time he was in charge. Witness replied that the total number of dead was nineteen, including one constable, and one Hindu constable, who was in plain clothes, was brought to the hospital in a dying condition and had several bullet wounds. While witness was in charge of the hospital, no one complained to him that he should not be placed among those who had been injured in the riot. On the 4th August, when witness opened the dressings of the wounded, he received great assistance from Dr. Fuller. What witness described as bullet wounds were in fact all buckshot wounds. This concluded the examination in chief of the witness, cross-examination being reserved. The prosecution will probably close their case after producing one more witness, regarding the injuries received by policemen. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque intimated to the Court that Mr. Eardley Norton, who had been engaged on behalf of the defence, was expected in Cawnpore on Friday, the 29th August, when the defence would be in a position to begin the cross-examination of the witness for the prosecution. Mr. Haque further intimated that, as Mr. Norton would in future be leading on behalf of the defence, he could not cross-examine any witness during his absence, as he did not know what line of cross-examination Mr. Norton would adopt. It was also pointed out to the Court that the last Saturday of the month is generally observed as a holiday in Criminal Courts and that there will be two or three other holidays on account of Hindu and Muhammadan festivals. The Court then resumed the examination of accused persons all of whom denied participation in the riot and explained how they happened to be on the scene of the disturbances.

Mr. Austin Kendall, Sessions Judge, to-day disposed of the bail application presented on behalf of Sabgat Ullah, son of Mr. Rahmat Ullah Rad, proprietor of the "Nami Press," and an influential member of the local Muhammadan community. The accused in his application for bail gave his age as fifteen years, but the medical report showed that none of the accused at present in custody were under fifteen years of age. The Government Pleader opposed the application for bail. No one appeared to represent the accused to-day and the Sessions Judge rejected the application for bail as an offence under Section 353, I. P. C., was non-bailable.

The residents of Cawnpore are still taking the deepest interest in the case and stand about in large and small knots waiting for any news from the court-house or for the now familiar sight of the police escorting bullock-carts, containing manacled accused, and gharries conveying injured. The accused are daily showing signs of increased weariness.

Cawnpore, August 22.

The case of the 106 persons accused in connection with the recent mosque riot was again taken up to-day at 11 A. M. by Mr.

H. M. Smith, Special Magistrate. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque enquired from the court if the witnesses which he understood the prosecution wanted to produce would be taken up that day. Mr. Boys informed the court that he had three more witnesses to produce and would produce them the next day (Saturday) as the whole day was likely to be occupied in recording the statements of the accused. The Court intimated that it was recording the statements of the accused at the rate of thirteen accused in an hour and their statements were therefore likely to conclude that day. The examination of accused persons was then continued by the Court. Some seventy accused have so far been examined. The following statements of some of the accused may be taken as typical.

Accused Hafiz Abdul Hassan, Pesh Imam of the Machhli Bazar Mosque, stated that he did not participate in the riot. He was arrested inside the closet of the mosque. He did return with the crowd from the *I'dgah*, but came later. When he arrived at the mosque the people were dispersing and the police were stopping them and guns were being fired. He through fear went straight to the closet. He did not see bricks being thrown from the mosque. Accused was also questioned regarding the *I'dgah* meeting and what transpired there.

Phalam Haidar, accused, stated that he was not guilty of rioting. He was not inside the mosque at the time of the rioting, neither did he go to the *I'dgah* meeting, but remained at his house. When the news of guns being fired and people running away reached him then, after waiting for some time, he went to look for his younger brother, who was the Pesh Imam of the mosque. The policemen did not stop him from going inside the mosque which he entered, believing that everything was quiet but he was immediately arrested.

Abdul Wadood Khan stated that his age was fifteen years. He was not among the rioters nor was he arrested inside the mosque. He was going at 12 A. M. to the printing press where he was working. He was arrested in the way. The people under arrest were being brought from the Machhli Bazar Mosque, and he stopped near the Gillis Bazar Chowki to have a look at them. He was arrested by two constables.

Rahim Bux, accused, stated that he was a resident of Shikohabad, but used to come to Cawnpore, where he had a shop. On his return from the *I'dgah*, he went to Mowganj to do some shopping at a Bania's shop. He saw a large crowd of people approach and joined them to see what was going on. When he began to hear guns being fired, he through fear ran into a lane leading to a building which turned out to be the mosque, where he was arrested.

Hafiz Rahim Bux, accused, stated that he was returning from Pathkore to his house. In the way he saw some people standing near the mosque. He went inside as he was feeling thirsty and he began to drink water from a pipe when he was arrested.

Amin Uddin, accused, stated that his son had died that day and he went to perform the funeral ceremonies at Baonganj. On returning, he stopped at the shop of a watchmaker in Parade Road. The shop was closed. He therefore returned to his house. When he reached Minri Bazar, he was accosted by a constable. He began to run, but was arrested.

Mohamed Yasin, accused, who is a well-known member of of the Bemat section of Mahomedans, stated he was arrested outside the mosque near the door. He had attended the meeting at the *I'dgah* which was held with a view to sending a memorial to the Viceroy regarding the Machhli Bazar mosque. He went to his house from the *I'dgah*. From his house he saw that a crowd had gathered near the mosque. He went to see what the matter was. He had not reached the crowd before he was arrested. He had no opportunity of escaping.

Mahdood Bux, tailor, accused, stated that he left his house to look for his nephew. He was arrested by the police and was taken straight to the Police Lines and thence to the lock-up. The accused further stated that he very seldom went out of his house as he suffered from pain in his chest.

Mohamed Armin, accused, stated that he had arrived in Cawnpore that morning by the 9-30 A. M. train. He went to the Minri Bazar and said his prayers there. At about 1 P. M. he was going back to his house, but when he reached the Muckanin Bazar a constable who was in front of him ran towards him and arrested him.

Siddiq-ud-din, son of Haji Imam-ud-din, merchant, accused, stated that he was sleeping in his house which was at a distance of eight or ten houses from the mosque. On hearing the sound of guns being fired, he went out of his house into the lane leading to the Machhli Bazar. He was arrested as soon as he reached the Machhli Bazar. Accused was then taken to somewhere near the temple. He asked the Kotwal what was his fault that he had been arrested. The Kotwal said he could not speak to the accused.

Hafiz Abu Said Khan, a well-known Mahomedan of considerable wealthy property, stated that he had gone to the *I'dgah* meeting but did not come back with the others. When the crowd had cleared,

and the dust had subsided, he returned towards his house. He was near the Government High School when he heard guns being fired. Later on he heard that some Mahomedans had been killed near the mosque. He went to ascertain whether that was true. He was arrested outside the mosque near the door.

Sibghat Ullah, son of M. Rahman Ullah Bad, proprietor of the "Nami Press," whose bail application was rejected by the Sessions Judge yesterday, stated that his age was 15 years and that he was a student. He was in his house taking his food when he heard the news that some men had been killed at the Machhli Bazar mosque. He went to see what had happened. Policemen were taking away the men who were under arrest. He was also arrested. He was arrested outside the mosque.

Hamidullah, a student of Pandit Pirthinath's School, stated that he had left his house to purchase paper in the chowk for school use. He was arrested by the police near the Machhli Bazar. There was no rioting then. Many men were under arrest near the mosque. He was also included among them.

Sami-ullah, aged twenty, a student of the Government High School, stated that he was learning his lessons in his maternal grandfather's house. At about 10 A. M. he heard cries of the Kalma being recited. He came out to see what was going on. He was standing on a stone slab of his grandfather's house, when the police arrested him.

One of the accused examined said he was a stranger to the place and did not even know where the mosque was. He was brought to the police-lines where he wrote his name. He was not at the Idgah.

Another accused said he was fetching ice for guests at a luncheon at his house when he was arrested.

Fakirai Sadullah said he did not see the riot, but was arrested while going to a shop.

Badruddin Sadiddin, a railway clerk, deposed to being arrested while in the bazar.

Others spoke to being arrested in their homes or in the streets.

The last of those examined were the injured and of all their statements the chief interest centred round those of an old man named Azam Khan. He said that he was going from the Chowk to Manirganj. At the latter place policemen chased him, overtook him, arrested him and assaulted him. He fell to the ground and bruised his left arm and he received a bullet wound in the right shoulder.

Abdulla Hossain, who was unable to stand while making his statement, said that he was going to buy tobacco and when he heard shouts he ran in fear into a Hindu hut. A sepoy followed him and thrust his lance into his left ankle and then pulled him out of the hut. The mosque is not visible from that spot.

During the statement of one accused, the Magistrate said his impression was that an unearthly din preceded the firing of shots, yet the accused in their statements said they were attracted to the spot by the sound of shots and seemed to know nothing beyond that.

The Court continues to be engaged in recording the statements of the accused which is likely to conclude to-day.

The accused have, for the last three days, been allowed to say their prayers during each interval. The handkerchiefs are not taken off during these intervals. The sight of 106 accused persons performing their prayers with handkerchiefs on is a very moving one.

Throughout the day there was a continued sound of the means of injured men.

The Court rose at 4 p. m. to-day. There are seven more accused whose statements have yet to be recorded. These will be recorded to-morrow. The defence applied for a copy of the injury report prepared by Captain Simpson, formerly officiating Civil Surgeon of Cawnpore. Court thought that it could not give a copy of the report as it was not a public document. The defence said it was very necessary to have it, as without it no cross-examination was possible. The Court has reserved its order on this application.

It is stated that defence will move for an adjournment of the cross-examination in order to give Mr. Norton time to prepare.

Cawnpore, August 28

The case of the 105 accused charged with rioting and causing grievous hurt to public servants in the discharge of their duties was resumed to-day before Mr. H. M. Smith, Special Magistrate. One accused had not attended the court for the last three days and the case against him was adjourned. He will now be tried with six other accused who are still in hospital. The court recorded the statements of the remaining six accused.

After this was over, Sub-Inspector Tasaddiq Hossain was recalled and deposed that he prepared a list of those men who were arrested inside the mosque. He looked after the injured and arranged for their being sent to the Hospital. He took the last batch of eight or ten injured to hospital. The names and descriptions of the injured were taken down in hospital in books kept on the same day and in other ways.

Head Constable Abdul Karim, established, stated that he was attached to the G.D. Bazar Chakki where the number of men on the day of the riot was thirty-four. He had gone to the shooting of the riot.

in plain clothes. After the shooting he returned to the chowk. When he arrived at the chowk he heard guns being fired and saw bricks being thrown. He also saw that people were being brought under arrest. Eight or nine policemen belonging to his chowk were injured. Witnesses gave the names of the eight constables who received injuries.

Mr. Boys then addressed the Court and said: "At the very outset of these proceedings, before calling a single witness, I made a statement on behalf of the Crown with a view to making it clear whether the proceedings about to commence would be under Chapter 18, with a view to committing to Sessions, or under Chapter 21, as the trial of an ordinary warrant case. I also made the statement, with a view of making it clear, that the Crown were prepared not to press the more serious charges under Section 333, I.P.O., provided that the defence were willing to give an assurance that, whatever other defence there might be, the plea would not be raised that the rioters were justified in rioting. If what was in the view of the Crown such an utterly untenable and unjustifiable plea was to be raised, it was inevitable that in the interests of law and order, the Crown must ask this Court to take a very grave view indeed of the case, to frame the more serious charge, and to send the case to the Sessions with a view to a heavier sentence than this Court could inflict. The willingness of the Crown to adopt the more lenient course was, however, met by Mr. Mashtar-ul-Haque, as leading counsel for the defence, with a refusal to give any assurance whatever, and the Crown was therefore compelled, until such time as the last accused might have made his statement, to reserve to itself the right to press the more serious and non-bailable charge to the Sessions. The statements of the accused have, however, now all been recorded, and not one has pleaded that he used violence, and that he was justified in using violence. The Crown is, therefore, in a position now to say that it is willing not to press the more serious charge. Whether such a plea can, in defiance of the pleas of the accused, be raised by their counsel as a legal plea and whether if so, any weight whatever can be attached to it, is a matter which need not now be considered. I have stated that the Crown is willing not to press the more serious charge. On the other hand, the Crown has no desire to prevent the defence from having a trial at the Sessions if they desire it. Had the plea to which I have referred been put forward by any of the accused, the Crown would unhesitatingly, in the interests of law and order, have pressed the charge under Section 333 to the Sessions. Even now the Crown has no desire to stand in the way of the defence, if they desire to have this charge framed. If the defence do not want this, and the Crown not pressing, the Court may consider whether it is not unnecessary to frame the charge under Section 333. In that event the Crown asks for a charge under Section 147, I. P. O., only."

Mr. Boys, continuing, said the case was simple enough in its main facts. The Magistrate had not to find a case against each individual, but against the whole. Again he emphasized that the Crown did not wish to press for committal.

Discussing the attitude of the defence with regard to the framing of charges Mr. Haque said: Our attitude is that we do not express any desire at all. We place the responsibility upon the Crown. (Laughter.) Our only desire is to go home. (Laughter.)

The Court then put to Mr. Haque the question whether he was doing his best in the interests of his clients by refusing to express a desire for the case to go to Sessions.

Mr. Haque: I believe, honestly and sincerely, that I am doing my best for the accused in doing so.

Mr. Boys then said that the prosecution wished to tie nobody's hand. They wanted the defence to do something for the accused. This was the attitude of the defence after the prosecution's desire to assist the unfortunate accused. Mr. Boys suggested that the case might be considered for an hour and the Court adjourned for luncheon.

After luncheon there was an air of great expectancy in Court. When Mr. Haque had made his statement respecting the attitude of the defence the Magistrate said to Mr. Haque: At the opening of this case, if I recollect rightly, you said that each of the counsel for the defence represented a certain number of the accused. I understood that you yourself and other gentlemen represented six accused. I do not know if that arrangement still stands; but, if so, I would like all counsel for the defence to say what attitude they adopt.

Mr. Haque said that the statement he had made was subscribed to by the others.

Magistrate: Then I may take it that all adopt this attitude.

Reply. Yes!—from all the counsel.

The Magistrate said he did not want to go behind counsel's back, but he wanted to know if the attitude of counsel was the attitude of the accused.

Mr. Haque replied that the trial could never go on if interruptions had to be taken on every question.

Magistrate to Mr. Boys: You are not prepared to take the risk of advising the framing of charges under Section 147?

Mr. Boys replied that he was most certainly not prepared at the present time to take the risk.

The Magistrate then passed the following order :

The prosecution case being closed, Mr. Boys, for the Crown, has addressed the Court. At the very outset of the proceedings the Crown asked for charges. Mr. Boys pointed out that he was not making this as an application under Section 494 which allowed the Public Prosecutor, with the consent of the Court, to withdraw from the prosecution of any accused person, since there is a Calcutta Ruling that the section does not permit the withdrawal of one charge while the other is allowed to stand. The position, therefore, is that the Crown does not press the more serious charge, but that, if the defence desire to have a trial in the Sessions Court, the charge should be framed and the case committed. In reply Mr. Haque stated that he did not wish the case to be committed to the Sessions, but he would not say that he wished it to be disposed of in this Court. On this I had to point out a certain amount of risk that the Crown was running if the charge under Section 333 was not framed and the only charge was one under Section 149, and, if this Court should convict any of the accused, one line of appeal that might be taken by the defence would be that as there was a charge by the police under Section 333, which was not disposed of, this Court had no jurisdiction to try the offence under Section 147. And if this plea should succeed, the result might be an order for a retrial *de novo*, without the merits having been gone into at all. Mr. Boys replied that he was not willing to run this risk on behalf of the Crown, and it was suggested that the defence might give an assurance that this technical plea should not be raised in the event of a conviction and an appeal. Mr. Haque declined to give any such assurance. The Court adjourned for an hour to enable counsel for the defence to talk this matter over. On resuming, Mr. Haque stated that the reply of the defence to the suggestions of the Crown is as follows : (1) that the accused should all be discharged at this stage, (2) if charges were to be framed, the Crown must take the entire responsibility for what is done, and (3) that, at this stage, the defence should not be asked to do anything that may be their loss. This ultimatum is supported by Counsel appearing for all of the accused. As regards the initial request, without going into the merits of the case, I may say that I find good grounds for framing charges. As regards the responsibility, it is hardly necessary for me to express an opinion, but it is clear that the Crown, though holding that the accused persons before the Court are according to the case for the prosecution actual participants in the riot, yet holds that they are not the persons on whom the chief responsibility for the riot should be laid. It has therefore tried to save them from the pain and distress of a prolonged trial and to leave against them only a charge of an offence which might permit of their being admitted to bail during the trial. Counsel for the defence have, however, rejected these overtures. I should have liked to be able to assure myself that the attitude taken up is one that is approved of by the accused themselves; that their interests are not being sacrificed to a cause or a principle, but to question that personally, at this stage, might be considered unjudicial. However, in any case, it appears to me that the responsibility for the more serious view that must be taken of the case lies with the defence and solely with the defence. I have given the defence an opportunity of objecting to my disposing of the case in this Court and they decline to take an objection. Mr. Boys has pointed out that, in view of the assurance repeatedly given by Mr. Haque to the Court that he and his colleagues would give every possible assistance to the Court and facilitate proceedings, the responsibility for the framing or not framing a charge lies with the Court and not with the Crown. That, therefore, by refusing to say whether or not they want the case to go to Sessions or to be disposed of in this Court, they are putting difficulty in the way of the Crown, who have discharged their whole responsibility by the statement already made that they are willing not to press the more serious charges under Section 333. At the same time Mr. Boys undertakes to state, on the next date fixed, whether, from the point of view of the attitude of counsel for the defence, there is any objection to or risk in the Court, in the interests of the accused, refraining from framing the charge under Section 333, I P. C. I accordingly adjourn the case to the 26th, Monday being a holiday. The Court then rose until Tuesday.

Mr. Haque drew the attention of the Court to the fact that throughout proceedings he had never used the words "cause" or "principle".

New arrivals among the defending counsel were the Hon'ble Shabazda Altab Ahmad Khan and Mr. Zikrur Rahman.

Cawnpore, Aug. 26.

The proceedings before the Special Magistrate of the enquiry into the Cawnpore mosque riots were resumed to-day at 11 A. M. and terminated as regards the majority of accused. When the Court rose on Friday a deadlock had been reached, and it was anticipated that, unless the defence acquiesced in the invitation of the prosecution to take a certain step which would result in

the cases being dealt with on a less grave basis, all the accused must go for trial to the Sessions. There was no change in the state of affairs this morning. The defence refused to express any desire as to whether the cases should go for trial to the Sessions. The Magistrate, therefore, in accordance with the terms of the order recorded by him on Friday, committed the accused for trial to the Sessions. During the course of the proceedings the customary crowd outside the temporary Court House exhibited unwonted interest.

When the Court opened to-day counsel for the Crown made the following statement :

"The case was adjourned to give the Crown an opportunity of considering whether, from the point of view of the Crown and in view of the attitude of counsel for the defence, there is any objection to or risk in the Court, in the interests of the accused, refraining from framing the charge under Section 333, I. P. C. In the absence of any definite statutory provision, and in the present state of the Case Law on the subject, the Crown is unable to go further than it has already done in stating that it does not press the more serious charge under Sections 333-149, I. P. C., and is quite willing that a charge under Section 147, I. P. C., only should be framed, provided that counsel for the defence are prepared to say that they have no objection to this course being followed. If on the other hand, counsel for the defence are not prepared to say that they have no objection to this course, it follows that the Crown have no alternative but to leave it to the Court to frame a charge under Sections 333-149 I. P. C., and to commit the case to the Court of Sessions, if the Court be of opinion that such offence under Section 333-149, I. P. C., is *prima facie* made out by the prosecution evidence. In regard to the question against which of the accused a charge or charges should be framed, the Crown has no wish to press the case against any of those still before the Court who may fairly be considered to be, on account of their youth or for any other reason, not responsible for their action in the same degree as the others. It was with this in view that on the first day of this inquiry I selected eleven of the more youthful accused and invited the Court to discharge them a course which was adopted. Further, I invited Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque to draw my attention to any more of the accused in regard to whom I considered a similar course might with propriety be adopted, but he refused to do so, and stated 'I do not want any of them let go.' When others among the counsel for the defence began to draw my attention to particular accused in whom they were interested, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque peremptorily instructed them to make no suggestions. Subsequently the Civil Surgeon was asked to examine all the accused and reported that there were none under 15. If before framing charges, the Court is of opinion that there are any further individual cases which might be considered or, if counsel for the defence are even now willing to suggest any names for consideration, the Crown is prepared to agree to any suggestion the Court may make."

Mr. Haque rose to protest that there was some mistake in the statement that he declined to suggest names.

The Magistrate expressed the view that the cases must go for trial.

Mr. Haque : It seems such an unusual thing for the Crown to ask the defence for such an assurance.

Subsequently Mr. Boys returned to the question of Mr. Haque's attitude regarding the youthful accused. He repeated his statement and added that as the Court could see, Mr. David and another counsel for the defence had already agreed that they were approached to suggest names. The incident was not in the hearing of the court. Counsel had a distinct recollection of the matter.

Mr. Haque : It does not matter.

The first order passed by the Court was to the following effect :

"Mr. Boys to-day stated that in the absence of any statutory powers and in the present state of the Case Law on the subject the Crown is not prepared to go further than saying that there is no wish to press the charges under section 333, I. P. C., and that the Crown is willing that a charge under Section 147, read with Section 149, I. P. C., should be framed provided the defence are prepared to say that they have no objection to this course being followed. In reply Mr. Haque, as leading counsel on behalf of the defence said, 'At this stage we keep quiet. We don't know under what law we are asked to give any assurance.' I take this to mean that the defence will not say that they have any objections to the course proposed by the Crown. At the same time they decline to say that they have no objections. I have, therefore, no option but to proceed to frame charges inclusive of one under section 333, I. P. C."

Before the charges were actually framed, Mr. Boys invited the defence to suggest the names of any more of the accused for discharge on the ground of youth. The defence suggested 19 men. Of these, on the Court's suggestion, Mr. Boys applied for permission to withdraw the case against four accused only. These four accused were discharged. The Court then framed charges against 101 accused to the following effect : "Firstly, that you on the 3rd day of August

1918, at or in the near or immediate neighbourhood of the Machhli Bazar mosque in the city of Cawnpore were members of an unlawful assembly, the common object of the persons composing that assembly being by show of criminal force to enforce a right or supposed right to a portion of land at the north-eastern corner of the said mosque and, further, to overawe by show of criminal force public servants in the exercise of their lawful powers and in prosecution of which aforesaid common object violence was used by some members of the said unlawful assembly and that you thereby committed the offence of rioting, punishable under Section 147, I. P. C. and within the cognizance of the Court of Sessions. And, secondly, that you on the same day and in the same place were members of an unlawful assembly of which the common objects were as aforesaid, a member or members thereof voluntarily causing grievous hurt to a public servant, viz., Talab Singh, a mounted constable, acting in the discharge of his duty and thereby committing an offence punishable under Section 333, I. P. C. read with Section 149, I. P. C., and within the cognizance of the Court of Sessions and I hereby direct that you be tried on the said charges by the Court of Sessions."

One week's time was given to the defence to put in their list of witnesses.

Before the charges were framed and read over to the accused the Court examined Mr. McDonald, Municipal Engineer, who testified to the correctness of certain maps prepared under his supervision. One map was of the major portion of Cawnpore showing various mohallas in which the accused resided, and the other of the immediate neighbourhood of the Machhli Bazar mosque, showing various lanes by which rioters could have fled. The Court rose at 2 P. M.

Cawnpore, August 27.

An application for bail on behalf of 101 accused against whom Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate, Cawnpore, framed charges yesterday under sections 147 and 333 read with section 149 of the Indian Penal Code, was opened to-day before Mr. Austin Kendall, Sessions Judge.

Dr. Mahomed, B. Vikramajit Singh and Mr. Tasuduk Hossain Shirvani appeared on behalf of the accused. The grounds on which the application was based were (1) that the accused had committed no offence, (2) that the Public Prosecutor had expressed his opinion that the Crown would not press the charge under section 333, I. P. C., which was non-bailable, provided that an assurance was given by the defence that no objection would be taken to that course on behalf of the accused in appeal, as the Public Prosecutor did not think that the applicants for bail were on the scene of occurrence with any intention of looting the bazar or with any other similar criminal intent but that they were actuated by a zeal under exceptional circumstances, (3) the applicants could not give any such assurance and that it was for this reason that the committing magistrate charged the petitioners under the non-bailable section 333 of the I. P. C.

It was urged in support of the application that the Crown did not want to press the offence under section 333 which was non-bailable and that the giving of the assurance which the counsel for the Crown wanted would have tied the hands of the defence. Among the accused some were very old men while some were mere boys of 15 or 16 years of age, while others had sustained injuries from which they had not yet quite recovered. The case under section 333 was very meagre as only one person was alleged to have received grievous hurt and he could not name any of the accused. The committing magistrate had sent the accused to the Sessions Court on technical grounds.

The Sessions Judge directed that notice of applications for bail should be given for the Government Pleader, and the matter will come up for hearing again to-morrow.

PRAYER FOR TRANSFER OF CASE REJECTED.

Intimation has been received that the Government of India have rejected the memorial which was sent on behalf of all those arrested in connection with the recent mosque disturbance for a transfer of their case to some other Province or Presidency and to a court not subordinate to the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Cawnpore, August 28.

The cases of Nazar Mahomed Khan Kabuli, against whom a remand was obtained by the police and of four others, including Maulvi Sullaiman, a teacher who had received rather serious injuries in the recent riot, was called on to-day before Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate of Cawnpore. All these four men could not be placed on their trial along with the rest of the accused as they were unable to attend Court on account of the injuries. One of them had to be brought to Court on a stretcher on which he lay during the proceedings before the Court.

Mr. Boys said that four out of the six injured accused were able to attend. The Civil Surgeon's report showed that the other two might be able to attend in about a week. Mr. Boys suggested that the case against these six accused might be enquired into in the hospital. The counsel for defence agreed to this and the Court adjourned the case against these six accused till Saturday next.

30th August. The Civil Surgeon was to be asked whether he could make arrangements in the hospital for the proceedings to be continued there.

In the case of Nazar Mahomed Khan Kabuli. Mr. Boys stated that the identification of the accused had taken place only a day previous and his instructions were to apply for a short remand. But his difficulty was that the police had not till then sent up challan against him. As soon as challan from the police came in he would formally move for a remand.

Counsel for Nazar Mahomed Khan agreed for a remand till Saturday next and the case against Nazar Mahomed Khan was ultimately adjourned till Saturday and the Court directed that accused be produced in the hospital on Saturday.

Counsel for the Crown intimated that Nazar Mahomed Khan will either be charged with rioting, etc., and in that case he will have to be committed to the Sessions and his trial can take place there along with the rest of the accused, or he will be charged with incitement to riot and in that case he need not be committed to the Sessions as he will not then be charged under section 333, I. P. C., an offence exclusively triable by the Court of Sessions.

In the case under sections 124A and 153A, I. P. C., against Maulvi Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani and Hafiz Ahmed-ullah, counsel for the Crown intimated that he had no further information. He expected Government orders before Monday next when he would be in a position either to lead some evidence against those accused or withdraw the case against them.

BAIL APPLICATION REJECTED.

Sessions Judge's Order

The following is the full text of the order passed by Mr. Austin Kendall, Sessions Judge, on the bail application of 101 accused in the mosque riot case which was argued this morning:—

"It is argued that the detention of applicants is simply penal, as the Crown had itself not desired to prosecute under Section 333. This is not so at all. The Crown offered, in what it thought the interest of the accused, a compromise which would have the result of a prompt decision of the case and the certainty of a sentence in case of conviction which could in no case exceed two years' rigorous imprisonment. That this could be done it was necessary to ask the court to take a step which might be considered irregular and the Crown would not do so unless the defence joined in agreeing to condone the irregularity, if such it was. The learned counsel for accused did not say that they desired for their clients a trial before a higher court or that they did not desire a trial before the Magistrate. There was no question of forcing them to disclose their defence or to act precipitately or in a way by which their clients might be prejudiced. They declined to agree and the court had no alternative. It is their action and not that of the Crown which has resulted in these 101 persons being in jail await a completely new trial, instead finding themselves with their trial half completed, with an assurance of a Magistrate's and not a Judge's sentence and with the prospect of enjoying their annual 12d as their counsel will do in the bosom of their families, for section 147 is a bailable offence.

The Crown has nowhere admitted, nor does anything spoken for the prosecution allow the reference that it admits that no offence is proved under section 333. The fact that a senior Magistrate with experience as Sessions Court has committed the case to the Sessions Court provides "reasonable ground" within the meaning of section 497.

It is argued that section 498, has no connection, 497 lays down the main grounds to be considered in granting or refusing bail and it is manifest that those must be the grounds which a court will consider in exercising a judicial discretion under section 498.

Mr. Halibullah, Barrister-at-Law, for some of the accused, has implored the mercy of the court, apart from the merits of the case. It is said that there is no danger of the accused absconding or breaking out in any way. But it is pointed out by the prosecution that five persons are at present absconding whose names are known to the learned counsel for the defence, a list having been given to them. A Judge undertakes a very grave responsibility if he allows on bail persons for whom the law prescribes that bail shall not be ordinarily granted. Sufficient reasons have not been shown to me why I should undertake that responsibility in this case. The application is refused.

(Sd.) AUSTIN KENDALL, I. C. S.,
Sessions Judge.

Cawnpore, August 30.

The trial of the injured accused, alleged to be concerned in the Cawnpore Mosque riot, was to have been opened to-day before Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate, in the Volunteer Corps premises; but as some of the accused were still unable to be present, the Court, on the application of Mr. Boys, Crown Counsel, adjourned the case to Thursday next.

At the last hearing Mr. Boys mentioned the possibility of the trial taking place in the hospital, but this course was found to be impracticable. Mr. Boys further intimated that as the cases could not be adjourned *ad infinitum*, and the prisoners kept in jail for long time, he

would proceed with the case against as many of the accused who could be present on that day. With regard to one of the accused then present Nasir Mohammad Khan, a Kabuli and a well known man, the Court passed the following order:—

"The police have charged Nazir Muhammad Khan under sections 147-109 and 333-149, I. P. C. Counsel for the Crown states that having seen the identification proceedings he does not intend to press the charges. If Counsel is of this opinion it would be a mere waste of time for me to proceed to hear any evidence. I discharge Nazir Muhammad Khan under section 209 (2) of Code of Criminal Procedure."

When discharged, Nazir Muhammad Khan caused some amusement by his vehement demand to be taken from the Court in the manner in which he had come, that is, in a gharry. He protested that he was a well-known man in his native place. He further requested a copy of the Court's order in order that he might spread it broadcast.

In reply to the Court Mr. Boys said he had not yet received any reply from Local Government on the subject of sanction to proceed against two accused on charges under Section 124 A (Sedition). In the ordinary course of events he expected to proceed with the case on Monday. Counsel for Crown also mentioned the question of inconvenience caused by the conveyance of 101 prisoners to and from Court. These accused had yet to hear the committal order and he questioned the utility of bringing out bullock-carts, gharries, armed police and *sowars* in order to bring to Court a number of accused to hear an order read which could just as well be read in jail. It was agreed to read the order in jail on Tuesday or Wednesday whichever was a court day.

Cawnpore, Aug. 31.

Yesterday evening, Hafiz Ahmed Ullah, a well-known hide merchant, who was arrested on 3rd August last and in the case of whom the local authorities had applied to the Local Government for sanction to prosecute under section 124 (a) (sedition) and 153 (a) (inciting class hatred) was released from custody by order of Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate, Cawnpore. It would appear that the Local Government has refused the sanction applied for in the case of Hafiz Ahmed Ullah. It is not yet known whether the case against the other accused, Moulana Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani, will proceed to-morrow, but it is presumed that his being still kept in confinement indicates that the Local Government has given the necessary sanction in his case.

Cawnpore, Sept. 1.

Proceedings commenced to-day at 11 A. M. in the Court of Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate, Cawnpore. The Court informed Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, leading Counsel for the defence, that by its order Hafiz Ahmed Ullah, one of the accused, had been released.

The case of Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani was then taken up. The Government's sanction regarding prosecution of accused under section 124 A (sedition) was produced.

Asghar Abbas, Deputy Superintendent of Police, made a formal complaint under section 124 (a), I. P. C. against Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani. The first witness examined by the prosecution was Radha Kishan, Sub-Inspector of Police. He deposed that on 3rd August he went to the *Idgah* to take down notes of lectures that might be delivered there. He went there under the orders of the Superintendent of Police. He reached the *Idgah* at about 6-15 A. M. Some seven or eight thousand men had gathered there when he reached the place, and more were still coming. Speeches were delivered from a small platform in the middle which was 9 or 10 inches high. People were sitting all round the platform. He was sitting at a distance of 6 paces from the platform and could hear the speaker very well at that distance. Five speeches were made at the meeting. The last speech was made by Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani (witness pointed out Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani). Witness took down notes of his speech in Urdu shorthand which had been taught to witness in the Reid Christian College. He could write at the rate of 132 words a minute. Witness produced his notes of the speeches and pointed out the pages containing notes of the speech made by Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani (pages marked 1, 2, 10). Witness also made a Roman-Urdu transcription of it. After making the transcription witness read his note and found that his original transcription required correction in some places. Witness then pointed out some two dozen mistakes which required correction. Most of the corrections pointed out by witness were unimportant and did not materially affect the speech. The shorthand notes taken by the witness were signed by Mr. Dodd in his bungalow after returning from the riot.

Mr. R. J. S. Dodd, Superintendent of Police, was then examined, and stated that on 3rd August there was a very grave riot alleged to have been committed by Muhammadans at the Machhi Bazar Mosque. The riot took place at about half past ten in the morning. After riot was over, witness signed some shorthand notes. Witness identified his signature on pages 1 to 14 of the shorthand notes. His signature was not on page 15 and he could not account as to why the signature was not there. It was shortly after he got back from the scene of that riot that he signed the shorthand notes. He

believed it was about 1 P. M. His signature was not the usual one, but rather shaky as he had received an injury in the riot in his right arm.

The next witness examined was Mr. M. I. Ghose, Professor of Shorthand in the Reid Christian College, Lucknow. He was Professor of both English and Urdu shorthand. The Urdu shorthand had been taught in the College under orders from the Government since 1908. Urdu shorthand was prepared by him and was based on Pitman's system of shorthand. Witness taught Urdu shorthand to Sub-Inspector Radha Kishan. Radha Kishan obtained a certificate when left. Witness used to test candidates and the College afterwards granted them certificates. He had seen the notes of the speech of Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani taken by Radha Kishan and he had also seen the long-hand transcription of it in Roman-Urdu and compared the two very carefully. The Roman-Urdu transcription with the corrections or deviations shown on the copy was a correct rendering of the Urdu shorthand notes. He made certain corrections. Witness was shown the Roman-Urdu version of the speech before the Court and witness stated that it was a copy of the transcription after he had made corrections in it.

Mr. Boys intimated that was the evidence that he had to produce that day, and next day he might produce two more witnesses.

Mr. Boys further asked the Court to discharge Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani who was till then under arrest on charges under sections 147 and 333, I. P. C., and to order his re-arrest on a charge under section 124-A and the Court passed orders accordingly. The Court then rose for the day at 1-40 P. M.

Cawnpore, Sept. 2.

The case against Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani was again called on to-day at 11 A. M. before Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate, Cawnpore. Mr. Boys, Counsel for the Crown, stated that however strenuously one might work it was not possible for the prosecution to declare if they were in a position to close their case within forty-eight hours of its being started. He therefore asked for an adjournment. The case was accordingly adjourned to Friday.

The case of the six injured accused be taken up on Thursday next.

SIR JAMES MESTON CITED AS A WITNESS.

Mr. Haque, when handing in a list of witnesses, said: "You will see, Sir, that the first name on the list is that of Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces. I may say here that if I could follow my inclinations, I would be the last man to put down the name of the Lieutenant-Governor because I may state I have had many personal kindnesses from him during the past three or four years, but I owe a duty to my clients and, I will go further and say, I should not be following the traditions of the English Bar if I did not ask your Honour to summon him. We submitted a memorial to His Honour in Council and we put in a paragraph that we might have to summon the head of that Province as a witness. We put in another paragraph stating why his evidence was necessary. It may be in the recollection of your Honour that the riot took place on the 3rd August. The first official from outside who inspected the place was Sir James Meston. Certain statements were made by local officials who had given evidence before the Court to Sir James Meston when he came here and we find there are certain discrepancies. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will be the best possible witness for the defence in this respect. I pointed out on my first day here that the scene of the occurrence has been so changed that we cannot possibly see it as it was. There were mark of bullets. We should like to know in what state was the scene of the occurrence."

Counsel proceeded to emphasize the fact that Sir James Meston was one of the first officials on the scene and he saw the scene of the riot as it actually was. Concluding, Counsel said he would leave the matter there at the discretion of the Magistrate.

The Magistrate: I have been waiting to hear you say one word as to how the evidence of the Lieutenant-Governor could be relevant. The only mention of Sir James Meston was in the evidence of the Civil Surgeon who had made out a list of injuries received by the wounded for the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Haque: There is definite evidence that he was there.

The Magistrate: At present I do not think that the Lieutenant-Governor is capable of giving relevant evidence at all. If you had cross-examined, the case might have been different.

Mr. Haque: I have seen in the papers that Sir James Meston is to give evidence in London on finance matters and leaves on September 18th and we would like his evidence before that.

The Magistrate made the following order in the matter:

"A list of defence witnesses has this day been put in by Counsel for the defence. The first witness in the list is His Honour Sir James Meston. I have listened very carefully to the argument by which the learned Counsel has sought to show that the Lieutenant-Governor can give evidence that is material. Two grounds have been mentioned. The first is that the local officials had talks with the Lieutenant-Governor shortly after the riot. As regards the facts of the riot, any statements made in the course of these conversations

would be inadmissible in evidence. As a matter of fact the prosecution witnesses have not been cross-examined. There is no evidence that any statements were made to His Honour. The second ground is that since the riot the physical appearance of the disturbance has been changed, that the Lieutenant-Governor saw the place soon after the riot, before alterations had been made, and would therefore be able to assist the Court to a picture of the mosque and its surroundings immediately after the riot. The defence in fact seeks to put the Head of the Province into the witness-box to prove a matter that can be proved by thousands. I do not think that the evidence of Sir James Meeson is material and in the exercise of the discretion which section 216 of the C. P. E. allows me, I refuse to summon him as a witness."

Cawnpore, Sept. 4.

The case against six injured accused in connection with the Cawnpore mosque riot was called on to-day before Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate, Cawnpore. Only four of the six injured accused could attend the Court, and the case proceeded against four. Four accused only the two remaining accused are likely to be discharged.

Captain Simpson who was the officiating Civil Surgeon of Cawnpore early in August last, described the injuries received by the four accused present in Court.

Ganga Singh, Jailor, produced certain Jail registers containing entries regarding admission and discharge of persons connected with the riot and pointed out certain mistakes regarding the names that had crept in the registers. Counsel for the defence objected to this evidence being recorded, as it had nothing to do with the case of the four accused before the Court.

Other witnesses who were examined on behalf of the prosecution were Muni Cohn Kotwal, Tasadduk Hossain, Sub-Inspector of Police, Talab Singh, Mounted Constable, and Nazir Ahmad Constable (both these had received injuries in the riot), and Chotey Lal, all of whom had been examined in the case against the 101 accused and gave their evidence on similar lines.

Two new witnesses were produced on behalf of the prosecution, these being Rai Debi Prasad, ex Vice-Chairman, Cawnpore Municipal Board, who mainly deposed to stone-throwing at the Gillis Bazar Chowki, and Mr. B. N. Tholal, Editor of the Cawnpore Journal. Mr. Tholal, concerning whom the Counsel for the Crown said he was not aware until two days ago that he knew anything of the matter, said that on August 3rd he drove in his trap to the *Fidyah* where he knew a Muhammadan meeting was to be held. He remained in his trap outside the gates for twenty minutes, the reason for this being that people were asked to take off their shoes and hats before entering. He heard two men make repeated announcements at the gate to people going in that a meeting was to be held in Lucknow that evening in connection with the same and that people could go by a convenient train, and also that people after the meeting should form a procession and follow a flag. Witness returned to his house, but an hour later left again and passing near the mosque, his attention was attracted by a noise coming from the mosque. Turning there he saw a crowd of about 400 people near the mosque, some of whom were attempting to rebuild the demolished wall by putting loose bricks near at hand one upon another on the remains of the wall. This went on for some time, and witness then noticed that at some distance away a mounted police Sub-Inspector was retreating before stones which were being thrown. Turning back witness saw Sub-Inspector Abdul Wahab and the Kotwal together facing the crowd. The Sub-Inspector pointed a revolver towards the crowd, but stone throwing continuing some policeman behind these officers threw at the crowd. The police were driven back, and two of them took shelter in the compound of Prag Narain's temple, one of them being followed by a small crowd of Muhammadans. Witness went into the temple, but came out of the main gate and took a stand near the Gillis Bazar Chowki. He saw the police driven back behind the chowki by a crowd which included a large number of boys who threw stones at chowki. The crowd then went back to the mosque. Ten or fifteen minutes later the Collector and the Superintendent of Police and an armed force of police rode up. Halting his men the Collector faced the crowd alone. Bricks were thrown at him. He had to call up the police which shortly after opened fire. The mounted police charged with drawn swords and the crowd melted away. The Court then rose.

THE COMMITTAL ORDER.

The committal order in the case of 101 accused who have been sent to the Sessions for trial on charges arising out of the Cawnpore riots was issued on Tuesday owing, however, to the length of its preparation and to the intervening holidays. An examination of it by the Special representative of the Associated Press was not possible until to-day.

The order bears the signature of Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional Magistrate, and has Tuesday's date. After giving the charges, the names of witnesses and a resume of the evidence before the Court Mr. Smith says: "A *prima facie* case has been made out against the accused, that they were members of an unlawful assembly. The evidence also proves that grievous hurt was caused to Talab Singh, one of the mounted police on duty, during the riot. This hurt was caused by a member or members of that unlawful assembly and was in furtherance of the common object, and section 149 of the I. P. C. makes all the members of the assembly liable for the offence". The order proceeds: "It would be unprofitable for me in this order to go in detail into the statements made by the 101 men who are still before the Court. On the whole, no serious attempt has been made to explain the circumstances of the arrest by the accused. It may be said that the case for the defence as a whole is that the list compiled by the police, of the 70 and the 80, are forgeries and that they could not have been written on the spot as alleged. Out of the first 70 a large majority pleads that they were not arrested in the mosque at all. Those who admit they were inside the mosque give various unconvincing explanations of their presence there. Taking the statements as a whole, if half of them are to be believed, there was no riot, not a brick was thrown and the very first act of violence was the firing by the police on a peaceful multitude of praying Muhammadans. The defence has been reserved for the Sessions Court. As regards the common object of the members of the unlawful assembly, the evidence shows that one of the first things done by the mob was to begin rebuilding in a rough and ready fashion the walls of that portion of mosque which had been demolished. Resistance by the authorities was clearly anticipated. When Tasadduk Hossain (Police Inspector) in plain clothes advanced single handed towards the mosque, bricks were thrown at him and he was not allowed to come within 20 or 30 yards. This fact disposes of any allegation that the police were the aggressors. The common object set out in the charge is, that by a show of criminal force to enforce a right, or supposed right, to a portion of land at the south-eastern corner of the said mosque and, further, to overawe by show of criminal force public servants in the exercise of their lawful powers. I have here to mention a matter over which a good deal of time has been taken up in this Court and which has found a place on the record. Mr. Boys, who appeared for the Crown, at an early stage of the proceedings announced that the Crown had no wish to press the more serious charge under section 333, I. P. C., which is an offence triable exclusively by the Court of Sessions. But he made it clear that this charge would be pressed if the defence should take the line that the rioters were justified in rioting. As the defence reserved its cross-examination, there was no clue to the attitude that might be taken up when all accused had been examined as none of them had pleaded justification. Mr. Boys made the same announcement, but added that the Crown did not wish to prevent the case from going to the Sessions Court if the defence so desired. The leading counsel for the defence declined to say anything on the matter and pleaded that the defence should not be called upon at that stage to say or do anything which might tie their hands. I had therefore to point out a risk which the Crown was running in dropping the more serious charge and asking me to dispose of the case as a warrant case under section 147, I. P. C. This was, that in the event of a conviction it would be open to the defence to raise an appeal of revision, a technical plea, that the existence of a charge under 333, I. P. C., by the police was outside the jurisdiction of this Court to try. After due consideration, Mr. Boys announced that in the absence of any statutory provision and in present state of the case, the Crown was not prepared to take any risk and he asked the Court to frame charges committing the case to the Sessions Court. There appears to be no exactly parallel case which has come before any of the High Courts of India. I have seen reports of three or four cases, however, in which somewhat similar points arose. The rulings seem to hold that the course which I was asked to adopt would not be irregular; it would, however, be improper for a Court to shut its eyes to the evidence which seemed to support a charge which was exclusively triable by a Court of Sessions. In the face of those pronouncements this Court could hardly be expected with its eyes open to adopt a course which has been held to be improper, though it may be noted that in every case the High Courts have held that interference can only be called for where there has been a failure of justice. In the interests of justice a retrial might be ordered where the accused has been prejudiced by the course adopted by the Magistrate or where inadequate sentences had been passed. I may also add that the High Courts did not intervene in a single case. I am certainly of opinion that in the present case the course proposed by the Crown would have been in the interests of the accused, but for the reasons I have given above I do not consider that I should have been right in adopting it."

Then followed a list of 101 accused committed for trial. The order is signed H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate.

CAWNPORE MOSQUE DEFENCE FUND.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Mohammad Zamir Taqvi, Esq., Mhow ...	2	0	0
Messrs Ahmad Bux, Rahmatullah, Sulaiman and Rahimullah, rupees one each ...	1	0	0
Through Asadnillah, Esq., Delhi ...	8	0	0
Through Syed Aynb, Esq., Delhi ...	5	0	0
Mrs Yusof Ali Khan, Rampore ...	3	0	0
Syed Abdul Hakim, Esq., Ashwan ...	25	0	0
Abdul Wahid, Esq., Ajmere ...	5	0	0
Fazlullah, Esq., Hyderabad (Deccan) ...	1	0	0
Samiullah Khan, Esq., Padrauna ...	7	0	0
Through Messrs Abdur Rahman and Abduls Samad ...	417	0	0
M. M. Ahmad, Esq., Basti ...	5	0	0
S. M. Nazirul Hasan, Esq., Khulabad ...	5	0	0
Begum Sahiba Shaikh Farid Hasan, Mooltan ...	2	0	0
Muhammad Hasan, Esq., Aligarh ...	5	0	0
Muhammad Fasihuddin, Esq., Chapra ...	5	0	0
Ahmad Hossain, Esq., Guna ...	25	0	0
Through Abdul Hafiz, Esq., Delhi ...	185	0	0
Istafa Karim, Esq., Sangam ...	3	0	0
Syed Muhammad, Esq., Hapur ...	2	0	0
Moulvi Majid Hossain Sahib, Hapur ...	1	0	0
Hafiz Khalil, Esq., Hapur ...	2	0	0
Mir Mohamed Ali, Esq., Simong ...	2	0	0
A Mussalman of Rampore ...	10	0	0
"Sh" and mother of "Sh," Delhi ...	10	0	0
Zafar Hossain, Esq., Alavi, Delhi ...	1	0	0
Muhammad Shamsuddin, Esq., Delhi ...	30	0	0
"A Sympathiser," Jhelum ...	90	0	0
Malak Khuda Buksh, Esq., Bannu ...	10	0	0
M. Ashiq Hossain, Esq., Delhi ...	5	0	0
Messrs. Muhammad Ahmad Abbasi and Qazi Ahmed Hossain, rupees two each ...	4	0	0
M. Waliul Hasan, Esq., Aligarh ...	1	0	0
Through Muhammad Amin, Esq., Allah Wale, Delhi...	21	12	6
Jam'i Masjid Collection at Juma Prayer ...	45	3	6
Through Messrs. Muhammad Siddiq and Muhammad Ismail, Delhi ...	408	14	0
Muhammad Amiruddin, Esq., Delhi ...	15	0	0
S. M. Razaque Baksh, Esq., Delhi ...	4	4	0
Khurshaid Ali Khan, Esq., Ratapore ...	5	0	0
Syed Ata Hossain, Esq., Lingumully ...	50	0	0
Through Nawab Ali, Esq., Barabank ...	58	0	0
Hasan Jan, Esq., Sojna ...	5	0	0
S. Irshad Hossain, Esq., Sandhan ...	5	0	0
Through M. L. Ali, Esq., Delhi ...	50	0	0
Through Homayetuddin Ahmad, Esq., Barisal ...	200	0	0
Through Gholam Rasool, Esq., Mooltan ...	100	0	0
Muhammad Yusuf, Esq., Delhi ...	1	0	0
Through H. Muhammad Siddiq, Esq., Delhi ...	67	8	4
Servants of H. Muhammad Siddiq, Esq., Delhi ...	5	0	0
M. Sharful Haque, Esq., Delhi ...	1	0	0
Rahmatullah, Esq., Delhi ...	2	4	0
Hashmatullah, Esq., Delhi ...	1	0	0
"A Mussalman," Delhi ...	8	12	0
Nawab Gholam Ahmad Kalam, Coromandel ...	50	0	0
Abdul Hafiz Sahib, Esq., Delhi ...	5	0	0
"A Sympathiser," Delhi ...	5	0	0
Amir Ahmad, Esq., Mondia ...	19	5	0
E. A. Shaikh, Esq., Pona ...	15	0	0
Azizar Rahman, Esq., Manganj ...	5	0	0
Qazi Muhammad Aslam, Esq., Amritsar ...	2	0	0
Muhammad Yar, Esq., Bhawalnagar ...	30	0	0
Muhammad Hadi, Esq., Amroha ...	50	0	0
Gholam Haider, Hasanpur ...	15	0	0
A. A. Latif, Esq., Mandvi ...	20	0	0
Through Muhammad Khalil, Esq., Marehra ...	64	6	0
Through M. K. Sadiq, Esq., Nagpore ...	70	12	0
Mushtaq Hossain, Esq., Phajjar ...	10	0	0
Dr. Muhammad Ishaq, Chakrata ...	5	0	0
"A Singer," Bansi ...	32	0	0
Hakim Gholam Kibria, Esq., Delhi ...	10	0	0
Hafiz Ahmad, Esq., D. A., Nasik ...	25	0	0
Wali Muhammad, Esq., Bhopal ...	15	0	0
Muhammad Abu Bakr, Esq., Gorakhpore ...	2	0	0
Gholam Muhammad Sahib, Esq., Jalna ...	15	0	0
Khurshaiduddin Sahib, Lahore ...	1	0	0
Through Muhammad Beger, Esq., Partabgarh ...	74	4	0
Through Osman Ali, Esq., Rampore ...	8	0	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
Muhammad Yakub, Esq., Bombay ...	5	0	0
Sardar Muhammad Jan Khan, Esq., Jhang ...	1	0	0
Amount received up to 28th August 1918 ...	2,484	1	0
Amount previously acknowledged ...	577	8	8
Total ...	3,011	4	8

The Pacification of Cyrenaica.

(FROM THE "TIMES" ROME CORRESPONDENT.)

THE varying fortune of military operations in Cyrenaica is the cause of some anxiety in Italy, which official statements do not succeed in dissipating. The fault is not a little that of the official statements themselves, which are apt, for the sake of encouraging the country at large, to make too little of the reverses and a great deal too much of the successes of the Italian troops. It is not very expedient, for instance, to allow the details of a heavy loss to leak out gradually; the actual facts of a disaster are invariably known sooner or later, and the failure of the authorities to communicate them at once only irritates public opinion and destroys confidence in official news. Nor does it serve any good purpose to exaggerate victories over Arab hordes who come and go like sandstorm before the wind. After the Italian public has been informed that the enemy has been completely swept out of a district and that all the country inside certain outposts has been pacified, it is naturally disconcerting to learn a little later that communications between those posts and the mainland are interrupted and that bands of robbers are encamped on the roads. It is a pity, because in sober truth the Italian generals in Cyrenaica and the troops under their command are doing very well. They have a difficult task before them, and they are accomplishing it with patience and much courage and with all the skill that a very imperfect system of information allows. Unfortunately their country does not recognize how difficult and prolonged that task is likely to prove, and for reasons of its own the Italian Government is not anxious to dispel its illusions. Meanwhile the work of Italian officers is not rendered any more easy by the consciousness of impatience at home and of the necessity of conciliating public opinion in Italy in the more directions than one.

A correspondent of a Milanese journal commented the other day rather severely on the vacillating policy of the military administration in Cyrenaica. In one district, where the Italian troops, at the invitation of a plundered tribe, had chased the offenders and recovered the stolen cattle, several of the robbers were promptly shot. At another place an Italian officer, sent to investigate the circumstances of the murder of an Italian official, showed great personal gallantry in adventuring almost alone among the hostile natives and persuading the responsible chiefs to return with him and submit to justice, and justice in this case only extorted a fine of cattle. The Milanese critic asks what kind of moral the natives are likely to draw from this inequality of treatment, and whether they will not be induced to believe that, while it is dangerous to meddle with each other's lives and property, the murder of an Italian will only cost a few cows. He probably does injustice to the officials on the spot, for their apparent vacillation in dealing with the natives is due to want of coherence in public opinion in Italy. British officials will readily sympathize with the troubles that then Italian comrades are experiencing in the new colony. Italian Radicalism is not much more reasonable than our own when it comes to questions of sentiment. It wants the omelette but it shrieks over every broken egg. It is determined to keep the new colonies in Africa, but is unwilling to shed the blood of Italian soldiers or of native Arabs. And, in view of the not very distant general election, influence of Socialists and Radicals upon public opinion has to be conciliated. It is to be feared also that this ideal of peaceful penetration, of the wondrous effects of kindness in dealing with natives, of the undesirability of force except as a last resort, is not a little responsible for some of the Italian reverses.

Mindful of this ideal, the Italian generals have caught at every chance of friendly relations, and not infrequently have been deceived. It is impossible to escape the conviction that they have been, and are still, very badly informed as to the spirit of Arab tribes in the interior; it is certain that their good faith has been often imposed upon by the treachery of individual Arabs who have volunteered services. And in this matter also, since Italian intelligence officers are as efficient as any in the world, it is more than possible that they have allowed their better judgment to be obscured by the dangerous illusion that the Italian rule is welcomed by the great majority of the inhabitants. That is what the politician and journalist in Italy insist upon every day, and the Italian officers and soldiers, marching and fighting under the cruel African sun, make a gallant though pathetic effort to corroborate the theory.

Our Brindisi Correspondent telegraphs that two Italian transports with 2,500 men left on Thursday morning for Cyrenaica.

Capitulations in Egypt.

Lord Kitchener and the Adamovitch Case.

A PARLIAMENTARY White Paper [Cd. 6871] was published on the night of the 15th July containing a long despatch, dated June 8, from Lord Kitchener to Sir Edward Grey respecting the arrest of Alexander Adamovitch, *alias* Sergius Pesotschewsky. The circumstances are stated as follows:—

"The Alexandria police had for some time past, in conjunction with the Russian Consul, been watching the movements of a Russian suspected Anarchist, who was later on denounced by the captain of a Russian ship to the Consul as Adamovitch, a well-known revolutionary, who had instigated the strikes among the crews at Odessa. After communication with the Russian Government the Consul applied verbally to the Governor of Alexandria for Adamovitch's arrest, when a perquisition was made in his house with the assistance of the German Consul, as Adamovitch was in the possession of a German passport under the name of Alexander Kornelson. I should explain, however, that the German Consulate does not recognize Adamovitch as a German subject. Adamovitch was accused of being a Russian revolutionary, who last year led the revolutionary movement of the crews of the merchant vessels at Odessa and put himself at the head of their strike. A search which was made after the arrest showed that Adamovitch had been in the habit of boarding all Russian ships arriving at Alexandria for the purpose of carrying on revolutionary propaganda among the crews. He is at present in the Egyptian prison at the disposal of the Russian Consul."

Lord Kitchener observes that the Capitulation treaties and the manner of their application to foreigners in Egypt appear sometimes to be misunderstood. He quotes the principal articles of the French, English, and American Capitulations, and observes that, while no actual mention is made in them of any obligation on the part of the local police to arrest a foreign subject and deliver him, writers on the Capitulations appear to take this obligation for granted, and that this view is shared by all the Powers.

"It is indeed evident that the only practical method of carrying into effect the principles of the Capitulations and of assuring to foreign Powers the enjoyment of their rights and privileges under them is for the Egyptian police to co-operate with the Consular authorities in making arrests. This course was at once adopted, and has been consecrated by long usage. It must also be remembered that the majority of offences committed by foreigners are against local laws, and the local authorities, being unable themselves to deal with the offender, are ready and even anxious to deliver him over to his Consul in order to secure his prompt punishment."

"The course followed now and for as long as we have any record is the following:—The foreign Consul calls upon the local police to assist him in arresting one of his own nationals. He sometimes does this by a personal verbal appeal to the police, or by sending one of his officials or dragomans to them, sometimes by a written application. In about three out of four of these applications no mention is made of any charge against the person to be arrested, and it is in practice very unusual for a charge to be preferred. The police then proceed to arrest the foreign subjects designated to them. They take him as soon as possible to the Consulate, and hand him over to his Consul, obtaining a receipt for him."

"The Consul may incarcerate the prisoner in his own Consular prison, but few, if any, of the Consuls now possess one. The Consul usually proceeds at once to deliver the prisoner over to the local prisons department. He either sends him to the prison with his own carriages, or the local police who have brought the prisoner to the Consulate are asked to take him on to the prison in which case they comply with the request, being furnished with a letter from the Consul to the prison authorities. The Consul may now try the prisoner before his own Consular Court, and may punish or expel him, or he may deport him to be tried before some Court in his own country. The last course is usually followed in regard to grave crimes by all countries, excepting Greece, which has an Assize Court in Egypt. But a person incarcerated at the request of his Consul in an Egyptian prison may also be detained there indefinitely without trial and without the Egyptian Government having any say in the matter, the Consul being only amenable to his own laws on the subject, of which the local authorities have no cognizance."

"The Consular prisoners are kept in special cells reserved for Europeans and apart from the native cells. Suitable furniture, including a bed, is furnished by the prisons administration at a charge of 1 piastre per day for each prisoner, to be paid by his Consul. Prison dress is furnished without charge to prisoners undergoing sentence. Food is provided by the Consuls from outside, and the

scale on which this is done remains at the discretion of the latter, although the prison authorities of course assure themselves that adequate nourishment is supplied."

"The rights and privileges in regard to immunity from arrest by the local police which are enjoyed by foreigners in virtue of the Capitulations are lengthy and complicated, but the following are their main features:—

"No foreigner can be arrested without the consent of his Consul, or without the presence of that Consul or his delegate, unless he is taken in *flagrante delicto*. In the latter case the Consul must be at once informed, and the prisoner must be handed over to him within 24 hours. As a rule the Consul appears and claims the prisoner at once."

"The police may penetrate into a public establishment to effect an arrest, but cannot enter into a private domicile belonging to a foreigner without the presence of a Consular delegate or the express permission of the foreigner concerned, except in cases of calls for help, fire, or inundation. If a foreigner seen in *flagrante delicto* and pursued by the police takes refuge in a foreigner's house, the police surround the house and endeavour to prevent his escape until the presence of a Consular delegate has been secured. If the nationality of the offender and of the owner of the house are different, the presence of the Consular delegates of both the nationalities concerned is obligatory."

"The effect of such restrictions on police work can easily be imagined."

The despatch concludes with a list of foreigners imprisoned by their Consuls during the past 12 months in Egyptian prisons, and gives particulars of four out of the total of 288 cases.

Italian Interests in Asia Minor.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, July 28

"No official communication has been made," says a writer in the *Stampa* of Turin, "on the result of the meeting at Kiel. But we all know what subject occupied the two Sovereigns and their Ministers. The problem discussed could only have been one, the most important of our diplomatic problems to-day—namely, will Italy find in the Triplice a base for her Asiatic policy, or must she look for this base elsewhere?"

So Italy has an Asiatic policy. There is no reason why she should not though the phrase is sufficiently novel, in connexion with Italy to be startling. But the events of these last two years have so changed the Italian outlook that a good many such novelties may be expected. What is more interesting in the *Stampa* article is the concluding supposition which the writer makes as the outcome of an Asiatic policy—namely, the establishment of Italy on the coast of Asia Minor. The writer discusses what part the Triplice is likely to play in the new questions that have arisen in the East, and whether it will be able to reconcile the persistent German support of the Turks with the necessity felt by Italy to forestall some share for herself in the distant day when the Ottoman Empire will be liquidated. Apart from the Sovereigns and Ministers no one can say what plans have been discussed or what the possibilities are of their realization. But indiscretions about the Kiel meeting allow us to hope that the German-Italian Alliance, after having assured one place on the Asiatic, may also push us forward on the Mediterranean Levant, causing us to place our feet upon *terra firma* if not upon the Archipelago. In conjunction with Germany Italy will do her best to postpone the liquidation of Asiatic Turkey to the most remote future possible. We are the last comers, above all things we have need of time. If the question of the Eastern Mediterranean was opened to-day, it would be opened prematurely for our aims, just as that of the Western Mediterranean in 1882."

The *Stampa* of Turin is an authoritative organ, and its speculations generally prove worth consideration. It may be gathered from this article that Italy is pledged to play the German game and resist the further disintegration of the Ottoman Empire as long as possible. Also that, if it ever comes to the breaking up of Asiatic Turkey, Italy and Germany are agreed as to the nature of their respective claims. There is nothing in such an agreement to cause surprise or, in view of the determination of Italy to delay its realization as long as possible, to cause any preoccupation. But this talk of an Asiatic policy puts a new complexion upon one or two facts which the writer of this article seems to think too little significant for mention. Chief among these is the present Italian occupation of Rhodes and other islands in the *Ægean*. We have been told that Italy occupies these islands under the Treaty of Lausanne—that, to-day, as a pledge for the fulfilment by the Turkish Government of promises made in regard to Gyrenia. The pledge furnished such natural stepping stones to what we now learn is the aim of the Italian Asiatic policy, that it is excusable to suspect that Turkish promises will be long in fulfilment.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

The *Stampa* in the same article pays a curiously grudging tribute to the value of the Triple to Italy. It is inclined to deplore that the alliance was renewed without any certain and definite preparation for the questions which almost immediately followed upon its renewal, and it suggests that the settlement of these questions in Italy's favour was due rather to chance and her own diplomacy than to the help of her allies. It was the concentration of her troops at Bari and Brindisi at one critical juncture rather than the colloquy at Pisa that persuaded Austria of the prevalence of Italian interests in South Albania. However, all is well that ends well, and so far Italy has had no reason to regret the renewal of the alliance from which apparently she only now asks help in gaining time. She has need of it, for the pace set by the *Stampa* is rather breathless.

Two years ago Italy was still content with purely negative assurances as to the future of the Adriatic coast and with what seemed to be very remote hopes of the Turkish succession in Tripoli. In that short time she has waged war and possessed herself by force of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. She has matched her diplomacy against that of her Austrian ally and saved the integrity of Montenegro and the neutrality of the Otranto Channel. She has secured the Austrian-Italian character of the Adriatic against the designs of Serbia, and baffled the attempts of Greece to become mistress of the Channel of Corfu. And now, according to the *Stampa*, she is looking more eastward yet. Is she to find a base for this new Eastern policy in the Triple, asks the Turin newspaper, or must she look for it elsewhere? The *Stampa* still seems to think that the question is an open one; at any rate it does not answer it definitely, though as far as the present Government is concerned, or for that matter, any Government in the immediate future, the official answer would be definitely in favour of the alliance. But it must be remembered that the alliance has for a citadel of mutual defence many conveniences; each of its defenders has his own drawbridge over which he can sally forth, parley with his friend, the enemy, and make any particular pact he likes.

Text of the Treaty of Bucharest.

The following is a translation of the text of the treaty of peace—

The King of Bulgaria on the one hand and the Kings of the Hellenes, Montenegro, Roumania and Serbia on the other, animated by the desire to put an end to the state of war at present existing between their five respective countries, and wishing in the interests of order to establish peace between their long-tired peoples, resolved to conclude a definite treaty of peace and named their plenipotentiaries (here follows a list of the delegates). An agreement having been happily reached it was decided—

Article 1. Peace and unity shall exist between the King of the Bulgarians and the other Sovereigns, as also between their heirs and successors.

Article 2. The Roumano-Bulgarian frontier, rectified in conformity with the annex of protocol 3, shall start from the Danube above Turtukai and terminate on the Black Sea to the south of Akramia. It is formally agreed that Bulgaria shall dismantle within two years the existing fortifications at Kustchuk and Shoula and in a zone of 20 kilometres round Balteuk. A mixed commission shall within a fortnight mark out on the spot the new frontier and preside at the partition of the property intersected by the new frontier. In cases of disagreement an arbitrator shall decide as a last resort.

Article 3. The Serbo-Bulgarian frontier, fixed in conformity with the annex of protocol 9, shall start from the old frontier at the Partarica mountain and follow the old Turco-Bulgarian frontier and the watershed between the Vardar and the Struma, with the exception that the upper valley of the Strumitza shall remain Serbian. The frontier shall terminate at the mountain of Belashitza, where it will join the Græco-Bulgarian frontier. A mixed Commission shall in a fortnight trace the new boundary and superintend the partition, under arbitration of the property intersected by the new frontier.

Article 4 is added as postscriptum. It provides that questions relating to the old Serbo-Bulgarian frontier shall be settled in accordance with agreements arrived at between the contracting parties in conformity with the annexed protocol.

Article 5. The Græco-Bulgarian frontier, fixed in conformity with protocol 9, shall start from the new Serbo-Bulgarian frontier on the crest of Belashitza and terminate at the mouth of the River Mesta, on the Ægean Sea. A mixed Commission, with arbitration, is provided for as in the previous article. It is formally agreed that Bulgaria henceforth waives all claim to the Island of Oros.

Article 6. The headquarters of the respective armies shall be informed of the signature of the treaty. The Bulgarian Government engages to begin demobilising on the day following the signature of peace. Troops the garrison of which is situated in the zone of

occupation of the belligerent armies shall be sent to some other point on the old Bulgarian territory and shall not return to their usual garrison until after the evacuation of the zone of occupation.

Article 7. The evacuation of Bulgarian territory shall begin immediately after the demobilisation of the Bulgarian army and shall be completed within a fortnight.

Article 8. During the occupation of Bulgarian territory the armies, while retaining the right of requisition in return for a payment in cash, shall have free use of the railways for transport and provisioning purposes without paying compensation to local authorities. Sick and wounded are to be under the protection of the above armies.

Article 9. As soon as possible prisoners of war shall be mutually surrendered. The Governments will present a statement of direct expense incurred in respect of care and maintenance of prisoners.

Article 10. The present treaty shall be ratified and ratifications exchanged at Bucharest within a fortnight, or sooner if possible.

The Future of Macedonia.

It is all too evident that this war has become one of sheer extermination on both sides. To justly apportion the universal execration and condemnation will never be possible; for where the Bulgar is in occupation a Greek (should such exist under him) dare not tell the truth, and *vice versa*. Could it only be done with adequate guarantees and under single-minded, honest European control, the best solution would be to give the whole country back to the Turk, for, failing a strong power to keep things in order, Macedonia and Thrace will become a perfect pandemonium—a "jannam."

The Greek solution of the question is now beginning to be developed, but whether the Powers will ever allow of its being fully carried out remains to be seen. As is now pretty well known, during the first few days of the present hostilities the town of Kilkish (almost purely Bulgarian) was, after being captured from the enemy burned and looted by the Greeks; and it is said the King has given orders that it is not to be rebuilt, as it was always a stronghold for Bulgarian marauding bands. Those villagers who escaped to the mountains are warned off, and not allowed to return, while nothing whatever is known of the fate of a very large number of the former inhabitants. However, the policy of the Greek Government is now said to be definitely fixed: a complete driving out from Macedonia and from all the territory occupied by the Greeks of every Bulgarian, Salonica itself to be the sole exception, as it is considered that any hostile element here can easily be kept in check. In fact, every Bulgarian, man, woman, and child, is to be expelled, while, to fill up the void so made, all Greeks in Bulgaria are to be notified that they must either come into Macedonia and settle or lose their nationality; and, if that be not sufficient, the Greeks in the Caucasus, where they are not too happily placed, are also to be brought here to make up the deficiency. This is said to be the official programme, while a local paper writes—

"No discussion can be allowed on the subject of the towns occupied by the Hellenic troops and it is impossible to think of the Bulgar again setting his foot in Thrace. All the regions occupied by Greece will remain Greek, while those which are not yet in her power, and perhaps will not be, must not remain under Bulgarian domination. No Greek to be under the Bulgar, is the order of the day, under the Turk, perhaps under a Chinese or Japanese suzerainty would be the same to us, but under the Bulgar—never." The Hellenic blood that has been shed puts an impassable frontier between Thrace and Bulgaria."

This is the usual tall writing for the gallery, but, nevertheless, nobody outside this country can in any way realise the fierce hatred that has been aroused between these two races, and it seems altogether impossible for them to live together in unity for generations to come—it even then—in this hatred is far more likely to become intensified until they are again ready to spring at each other's throats—*The Near East*.

British Repulse in Somaliland.

THE news of a disaster to the Somaliland Camel Corps is confirmed. Telegrams from the Administrator of the Protectorate report that a detachment which was reconnoitring between Berbera and Odweyn has been cut up by several thousand dervishes. Commandant Corfield killed, and about fifty of his men killed or wounded. The survivors, reinforced by the Administrator (Mr. G. F. Archer) and his escort of twenty Indian soldiers, have fallen back towards the coast.

Several facts remain to be explained, of which the chief is the advance of a British force 100 miles inland. In March 1910, the Government decided to withdraw from the interior and confine its administration entirely to the coast towns. Now it appears that troops have marched from the sea, over the high Gohis range, down on to the Hand plateau, and so on along the caravan route from Berbera to the south. The reconnaissance was pushed far. Burao, north-west of the scene of the engagement, and Sheikh, still nearer to the coast, and now held temporarily as the British outpost, had both been passed on the advance inland.

The country towards which the unfortunate reconnaissance was made was that of the famous Mad Mullah Mahommed bin Abdullah, a member of an Ogaden tribe, was a mulish who had gained much influence by several pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1899 he began raiding tribes friendly to Great Britain. He occupied Burao and declared himself the Mahdi. For several years the British forces waged war on him with varying success and in varying numbers, which were finally advanced to 7,000 fighting men. On two occasions they suffered heavily. In October, 1912, a British force was ambushed while marching through heavy bush and lost 102 killed and 85 wounded; in April, 1908, 200 Somalis and Sikhs under Lieutenant Colonel Plunket were overwhelmed. The British officers were amongst the killed, and of the whole force only 40 Somalis, 86 of them wounded, escaped. The operations were continued until in the early summer of 1905 the Mullah was driven a fugitive out of the British Protectorate. Four years later he was again raiding the friendly tribes. It was then that the Government ordered the evacuation of the interior.

The British troops now in Somaliland are the Indian contingent which garrisons the coast towns of Berbera, Bulhar, and Zaila, and the Camel Constabulary of 150 men, raised last year for use in suppressing intertribal looting. It was of this last force that Mr. Reginald Corfield was the commandant. Reinforcements are being sent from Aden.

The *Daily Mail's* Cape Town correspondent understands that a punitive expedition to Somaliland is being prepared and that possibly a contingent will go from the Cape.

Bulgarian Mistake Acknowledged.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN'S" CORRESPONDENT.)

THE presence of General Fitchett at the peace conference at Bucharest is due to something more than the desire to have a military expert to assist the negotiators. It is also an act of reparation on the part of the Bulgarian Government for the scant attention which it paid to his opinions at the beginning of the war. I have been told by persons likely to know that, after the manner of our own Sir William Butler, General Fitchett was not very enthusiastic about the war, and warned the Government against prolonging it unduly. "The war," he is alleged to have declared to King Ferdinand, "must be carried out and ended within one month, every single day beyond a month would place in our way enormous difficulties." It was in accordance with this advice that the astonishingly rapid action of the first phase of the war was carried out. Adrianople was not permitted to interrupt or to slacken the effort, and Kirk Kiliseh and Lule Burgas soon proved the soundness of General Fitchett's strategy. After Lule Burgas, however, General Fitchett advised the Government to stop and to make peace. The month was out, and General Fitchett argued that an attack on Tchataldja would prove too great a task for the exhausted army, and would jeopardise the successes already achieved. But General Savoff's opinion prevailed, and the Bulgarian army began the useless and wasteful action at the Tchataldja line. General Fitchett himself, as chief of the General Staff, had to draw up the plans for attacks in which he did not believe, and the results justified his warnings. The Bulgarian army could make no further progress, and the Government was now anxious to make peace. But, as previously General Savoff, so now Dr. Danoff took the bit into his mouth and seized the first opportunity to break off the peace negotiations against the instructions of his Government. Twice did the events justify General Fitchett's warning, and his present appointment shows that the Radoslavoff Cabinet has recognised that he was right.

The War in the Balkans.

COST IN LIFE AND TREASURE.

THE *Daily Express* gives the following estimate of the cost of the war in blood and treasure:—

TURKISH WAR.

	Dead.	Cost.
Turkey	100,000	£80,000,000
Bulgaria	80,000	80,000,000

Servia	...	30,000	32,000,000
Greece	...	10,000	14,000,000
Montenegro	...	8,000	800,000
Total	...	228,000	£186,800,000

WAR OF THE ALLIES.

	Dead	Cost.
Bulgaria	60,000	£36,000,000
Servia	40,000	20,000,000
Greece	30,000	10,000,000
Total	130,000	£66,000,000

The grand total represents 358,000 soldiers killed and a financial loss of £252,800,000. This takes into no account the thousands of wounded and sick. It is believed that half a million more lives have been lost by cholera and privation.

FUTURE POPULATIONS.

It is calculated, adds the *Times* correspondent, that the populations of the enlarged States of South-Eastern Europe will be as follows:—

Roumania	...	7,600,000
Bulgaria	...	5,000,000
Greece	...	4,500,000
Servia	...	4,000,000
Albania (about)	...	2,000,000
Montenegro	...	500,000

Persia and Tibet.

House of Lords.

SPEECH OF LORD CURZON.

Monday, July 28

EARL CURZON of Kedleston rose to call attention to the position of affairs in Persia and Tibet, to ask for information, and to move for papers. He said,—There is, I think, good reason for calling attention to the subject of Persia. It is now more than six months since we had anything like a detailed statement in the House and a much longer time since we had anything like a discussion.

SOUTHERN PERSIA.

On more than one occasion when I have raised this subject I have been accused of painting a somewhat gloomy and sombre picture of the condition of affairs in Persia. I have no desire to play the part of Cassandra, but nothing I have said as to the position of things in Southern Persia anything like approaches the revelations in the Blue-book placed in our hands a few weeks ago and which I spent a melancholy Sunday by the sea-side in examining. The picture delineated in this Blue-book of Southern Persia is a picture of a country in the throes of dissolution, given up to rapine and brigandage, where trade is at a standstill, where armed bands rove about the country doing as they please, where British officers are fired at and robbed, and in one particular unfortunate case an officer was killed; a country where the central Government is impotent and local government ignored. That is the picture of the country in the Blue-book up to February in the present year and I believe it is the description of the present state of affairs. Whether there has been any relief or change in the circumstances since then I do not know actually, but from such information as I have had I believe any change there may have been is due to exhaustion ensuing after a long period of anarchic violence or the inevitable cessation of hostilities during the hot season. On reading this Blue-book one cannot fail to be struck by the effect of the present condition of things when we find such a complete collapse of commercial activity that a sheet of tea from India has to be sent through the Suez Canal and by way of the Black Sea to the heart of Persia. It is a deplorable state of affairs.

NORTHERN PERSIA.

In Northern Persia—and I must discriminate between Northern and Southern Persia—the conditions are very different. I do not say there is no insecurity, but life and property are relatively safe in Northern Persia, and this is owing to the presence of an overwhelming force of Russian troops in that part of the country. Now we have been told many times that the number of Russian troops would presently be reduced, and the noble viscount made an impression in the course of debate by reading a categorical assurance, which he said the Russian Government desired to place on record, that such military measures as they were taking in Persia were of a purely provisional nature, and that they had no intention whatever of interfering with the conditions of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. "That," the noble viscount said, "justifies us in drawing our policy

on the assumption that that is theirs." That was read out to us in December, 1911. At that time the Russian troops in Northern Persia numbered 3,000: at present, according to such information as we have, they number 17,500. The Blue-book mentions that not a single Russian soldier was withdrawn in the past year. It will be seen by reference to page 284 that Sir E. Grey, naturally disturbed at the state of affairs, wrote to the Russian Government on the subject, and the reply on page 293 is to the effect that the Russian Government sincerely desires to recall the troops, but cannot at present diminish the number necessary for the protection of Russian subjects and Russian trade. I can well believe that the presence of this great Russian force is a guarantee of security, and I agree it may not be unwelcome to the Persian Government: but the point I wish to submit is this: Are not the numbers out of all proportion to the requirements of law and order in the northern portion of Persia? Can we be quite sure that their presence is in strict accordance with the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention? And still more, is it not the case that a military occupation of this description is quite inconsistent with the pretence of continued Persian independence? This is the country and these are the people whom his Majesty's Government set out in 1907, when they made their agreement with Russia, to resuscitate, safeguard, and preserve. Six years ago the Persian people had a Government, a Parliament, and a national existence. To-day it has none. I confess I think the contrast must cause grave qualms in the breasts of those who were responsible not merely for the agreement but for the glowing anticipations with which it was heralded.

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY AND PRESTIGE.

We in England cannot wash our hands of all responsibility for what is going on. We cannot view without apprehension this continued military occupation of a country whose independence we were always proclaiming, and I invite some expression of opinion on their part and, if possible, some intimation of their intention to pursue their efforts with a view to relaxing the conditions in Northern Persia to which I have referred. If an example were required we have it set by our own withdrawal from the southern part of the country. There were about 500 Indian cavalry sent to Shiraz and Isfahan. Why they were sent there no one in this country knows and no Minister has ever been able to explain. I have always myself believed that these Indian cavalry were the illogical and unhappy residuum of a much larger policy which at one time was contemplated to protect the trade routes and perhaps restore some measure of order, but the Government at the last moment shrank from the bigger policy and had recourse to this foolish and futile step. The despatch of the troops was a great mistake. They were cooped up at Shiraz. When they went out they and their officers were fired at, insulted, and robbed, and in one case killed. Their presence there was a perpetual offence to the Persians and, what is still more serious, the circumstances attending their presence a blow to British prestige. I am not a very warm advocate of evacuation, but I was never better pleased than when the Government took these troops away. It is almost the only act of their policy on which I offer them my entirely unreserved congratulations. The murder of Captain Eckford took place in December, 1912. Sir E. Grey spoke in the strongest terms about that outrage and demanded reparation. What has happened since? Seven months have passed and nothing has been done at all. First there was to be a punitive expedition to capture the offenders, and justice was to be done within a month. I think he would be a very sanguine man who believes to-day that the expedition will ever take place or, if it does, will be attended with any satisfactory results. Here again the facts alone are enough to make the most humiliating picture of the condition of affairs. I agree with the arguments which were used by Sir E. Grey. I do not know that I attach so much importance to the cost of the expedition or to the loss which might be involved, but I am inclined to think that it would have been very difficult to put any limit to the duties which might be imposed upon it, and it might have eventuated in something like a military occupation of Southern Persia. I mention the matter of the murder of Captain Eckford not to advocate military occupation by ourselves but to try and bring home to your lordships' House, first, the utter collapse of executive authority in Southern Persia, and, secondly, the terrible blow that must inevitably, if this outrage remains unpunished, be inflicted upon our prestige.

THE NECESSITY OF A CLEAR POLICY.

Further, I mention the case in order to point out the necessity to which I shall come back presently, that if we are not to undertake the preservation of law and order ourselves, it is essential that we should think out and adopt a policy which will do something to prevent the recurrence of these tragedies by preventing their cause. Perhaps the noble viscount will be good enough to tell us if he has any further information to communicate on the subject of this tragedy and if there is any prospect of a military expedition being sent, or reparation being exacted.

I come next to the question of the *Gendarmerie* under Swedish officers, a matter which has excited great interest. They have had to face many obstacles, they have had great difficulty in getting good recruits, and it is not clear from the Blue-book how far this force has been successful. I am not very sanguine about it myself, and my chief cause of apprehension is that the engagements of these Swedish officers terminate at the end of three years. I cannot imagine anything more regrettable than that these men, just at the moment when they have acquired their experience and got used to their work, disgusted as many of them will be with the result of their operations, will resign and leave the country. I am fearful that will happen. I am glad the Government are supporting them. My point is a rather different one. It is that no *Gendarmerie*, with Swedish officers or otherwise, can permanently secure the tranquillity or peace of the province of Fars. All they can do is to safeguard the few trade routes on which they may be posted. What you want is an armed force in the hands of the Persian Governor-General to control the country, collect the revenue, suppress disorder, and chastise the troublesome tribes. I am convinced that whether the Swedes succeed or fail you will have to recognize that the question is too big for *Gendarmerie* recruited as these men are recruited. When you have a force it must be officered by Europeans. We cannot help remembering that 200 miles away, in India, you have a Reserve of officers trained in this precise work, used to dealing with Muhammadans. I speak, of course, of the British officers in the Indian Army. Sooner or later I think you will have to contemplate employing them. Three years ago, when Sir Edward Grey issued his first ultimatum, he did contemplate employing them, and I cannot help thinking that there, and there alone, one aspect of the ultimate solution must lie.

THE POLICY OF DOLES.

I pass from that to what is really a much more vital matter, the policy of his Majesty's Government. If his Majesty's Government have not been successful as the patrons and preservers of Persia, they have been, at any rate, very generous and constant as paymasters. It is very difficult in this book to discover exactly how much they have found. We want to be sure, not merely as to the sum total, but as to the security for the payments. One thing is quite clear from the financial figures in this Blue-book, that we are pouring money into Persia, and that we are practically financing the Persian Government in the South of Persia. If you look at the Blue-book you find that British and Indian money is going to enable the Governor to start for his post, to pay *Gendarmerie*, to meet arrears of pay of civil and military officials, to conduct the Administration. It was actually discussed on one occasion, when there was a question of a punitive expedition to catch and punish the murderers of a British officer, whether we should not provide the money to pay for it, one of the most monstrous paradoxes which one could only find in an Asiatic country, which is always one of paradox and contrast. There are questions which must be put about this policy of doles—Where is it going to stop, how long is it going on, how long will the Persian revenues be able to meet these charges? Sir Edward Grey, in one of his despatches, says that the policy of his Government is one of unlimited patience. That may be so, but it is certainly one of unlimited payments, and we ought to be quite clear whether there are any limits to those payments. On this question of money doles are we not alter all pouring money into a sieve? Are these constant payments going to be effective for the re-establishment of Persian authority in the South or for the vindication of our prestige? I can only say, speaking hesitatingly about this matter, that I feel very doubtful about this policy of reiterated doles. Persia will go on sucking up your doles as you like to provide them. Really it is a stop-gap policy, a stationary policy, and if we are to contemplate any solution of this almost inextricable tangle we ought to look deeper into the causes of what is going on.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION.

It is a very dangerous thing for one who is not in the Government to assert because one is contributing ideas very likely without a proper basis of knowledge, but it seems to me that the crux of the whole position in Persia arises from the events of six years ago. In 1907 His Majesty's Government concluded the Anglo-Russian Convention. Under that Convention the country was divided into three parts. Russia had one, which was more than one-half, Great Britain had a sphere of about one-sixth, and the remaining one-third was constituted what is called a neutral reserve. There were many of us in this House who doubted the character of the bargain which had been made and drew attention to what we considered the inequity of this distribution. The answer was that his Majesty's Government, in reserving the British sphere had been actuated solely by special considerations. I think it will be seen that his Majesty's Ministers entirely forgot the political and commercial importance of the areas left in the neutral zone. I pointed out that it was in the neutral

zone that British trade existed; it was there the British telegraphs ran, and there really that our interests were concentrated. Six years have passed and we have based nothing about the British sphere, but the neutral sphere has been constantly and inevitably pushing itself forward, until now you are in the position of ignoring your own agreement. You have been acting, and you will go on acting, as if the neutral zone were the British zone. Take the evidence of this Blue-book. You find the British Government threatening to punish a Persian subject in the neutral sphere, and we have been sending Indian troops freely into the neutral sphere. It is the financial administration of the neutral sphere that we are now conducting, and it is *Gendarmerie* in the neutral zone which we are paying. It is for railways in the neutral sphere that we are pressing, I am glad to say successfully. Therefore for the last two years his Majesty's Government have been successfully demonstrating the futility of the arrangements they have concluded with Russia. The neutral zone has always been a diplomatic fiction. Lip service is paid to it from time to time by our people when we want to be civil with Russia. From time to time we are reminded of it by Russia when they want to be severe with us.

I want the Government to recognize the facts of the case. I venture to say we cannot go on perpetually acting as though this neutral zone was and was not a British sphere. We cannot go on vindicating British rights within the sphere when we find it convenient to us, and repudiating British responsibilities within the sphere when it is not convenient. I want the Government to work out a policy based on a recognition of the fact that the conditions have changed, and that so long as the neutral zone remains a neutral zone we have no right to be doing out British and Indian money as we have been doing. You may say, "All that is theoretically true, but what does it mean in practice?" It means, I think, that we ought to endeavour to support the authority of the Persian Government, not only in one corner of the neutral sphere, but over the whole of the neutral sphere; that we ought to enable them to raise a force that shall restore order and discharge the duties of government within the sphere; and that we ought energetically to pursue the policy of building railways within the sphere. We ought also to recognize the fact that in 1907, when we concluded the agreement with Russia, we made a mistake. I do not propose that you should take any action behind the back of Russia or without the co-operation of Russia. Russia has on many occasions shown her gratitude to us for the support we have extended to her, and it is only consistent with the close friendship existing between her and us that she should assist us in placing our position within the neutral zone, illogical as I have shown it to be, on a more stable footing.

RAILWAYS

I have referred to the necessity of the extension of railways within the neutral zone. We learn from the Blue-book that a concession for a railway was given to Russia in the north, and that the option of a concession for a railway was given to a British syndicate in the south. It is not quite clear from the Blue-book whether the option of a concession to the British syndicate carries with it the right of the construction of the railway after the surveys have been made. Presumably it does. But I do not see how this British railway is to be financed unless a guarantee is given by the British Government or the Indian Government. The policy of the Russian Government has been to find the money for her railway in the north; but that the British Government or the Indian Government will find the money for our railway in the south is doubtful. At any rate this railway is one of the few hopeful symptoms in the dark night of Persian conditions as I have described them.

There is a more important railway still in contemplation. That is the Trans-Persian Railway from Russian territory to the Indian Ocean in the direction of India. We had a debate on the matter a year ago. There were some of us who entertained the strongest possible objection to that railway on the ground that it was inconsistent with the security of India. In reply to my remarks on that occasion, the idea that British official encouragement had been given to that railway was strongly repudiated on behalf of his Majesty's Government. It was said that no pledge had been given. Moreover Sir Edward Grey promised in the House of Commons that a report on the proposed railway would be laid on the table of the House, and that no action would be taken until Parliament had been consulted. But what happened in the interval? A survey has been made on the Indian side by our engineers; and the Blue-book shows not only that Russia is greatly interested in the construction of that part of the railway, especially the part of it, but that she has been pressing the British Government to adopt a more committal attitude in regard to it. If I read aright the statements in the Blue-book regarding the railway, it appears to me that the reserve upon which so much was laid by his Majesty's Government a year ago has given way to active support, and that we are definitely com-

mitted to the construction of the Russian section of the line without that reference to Parliament which was promised by Sir Edward Grey. More than that, we are committed to participation in a grant of five or six millions sterling to Persia in connection with the construction of the railway. It seems to me that the Government have gone rather beyond their pledges to Parliament, and I apprehend that the Government will find it very difficult indeed to arrest their steps in the future and to avoid taking part in the construction of the line. Thus the Government have committed themselves to a policy which some of us regard with very grave apprehension, is not with dismay, and I await with interest any explanation they have to give.

Then there is the question of the Baghdad Railway. For a year his Majesty's Government have been discussing with the Turkish Government the future arrangements about its continuation south of Baghdad. The terms of the agreement with Turkey, as explained by Sir Edward Grey, are in the first place that the terminus of the line is to be Bursa.

THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY

Secondly, the line between Bursa and Baghdad is to be constructed. By whom? Will it be by the Baghdad Railway Company, and if so, will it be constructed under the same conditions as the Baghdad Railway itself? Will British capital be allowed to participate? The point is of great importance, because if this section of line is to be constructed by the Basra Baghdad Railway Company, which is mainly a German company, then it appears to me that that company will resume the rights which she resigned in January, 1911. For resigning those rights she received rights to construct a railway to Alexandretta and a harbour there, so that if she gets this railway as well she has done a good stroke of business for herself. But where any British advantage comes in is not quite so clear. The compensation which Great Britain is to get is two directors on the Baghdad Railway Board who are to watch the operations of the company and to see that it makes no preferential rates against us. Those gentlemen may be very useful, but as the board is a large one, 20 members I believe, whether the presence of these gentlemen there will be a safeguard to us I do not know. The security of the estuary and the Gulf is to be provided for by a board or committee on which British interests are to be secured, and on which there is to be a British chairman. I do not know if there is any further information on the point, but I wish to know whether that is to be a Turco-British board, and further, whether the port of Basra will be under its administration. I do not press the noble viscount for information, I simply ask whether such information is true, and wait for an answer to these questions before I give a verdict on the whole question. I wonder whether we could have some more papers as to Persia, carrying on the matter beyond February 15, and some further papers with regard to the Baghdad Railway.

MONGOLIA AND TIBET

With regard to Tibet the appeal for papers is still stronger, as I believe I am right in saying that we have not had any papers on Tibet since 1910. Your lordship will remember that the arrangement concluded by his Majesty's Government, both in China and Russia, on the subject of Tibet involved the recognition of the suzerainty of China over that country. I have no doubt that when his Majesty's Government took that step they thought that Chinese suzerainty in the future would be the same vague and impalpable thing which it had been in the past. They did not foresee the consequences of their act, which showed a want of precision on their part. The Chinese had very definite ideas on the subject and believed that they were bound to convert suzerainty into sovereignty, and they despatched an expedition to Tibet and compelled the Dalai Lama to flee the country and treated it as a province. For a time his Majesty's Government appear to have treated these proceedings with equanimity, and the noble viscount talked about the inadvisability of interfering with Tibet at all, and from his point of view I imagine that his Majesty's Government thought it had better acquiesce in these troubles rather than take any step. Anyway the change came from a very unexpected quarter. When the revolution broke out in China, the Chinese troops in Lhasa, who were revolutionary in spirit, rebelled and killed their officers and forced the local Chinese Governor to abdicate. Then the Dalai Lama returned to the country and made a sort of temporary arrangement. The next step also came from China. The Chinese Republic, in order to turn attention from home affairs, seemed to think it politic to indulge in an attitude of aggression abroad, and consequently lodged another expedition against Tibet with some vigour. Here again in the absence of Blue-books I am dependent on what appears in the Press; but I have seen it stated that in August last year, our Minister, Sir John Jordan, in Peking, addressed a formal note to the Chinese Government, in which the Government said that they could not acquiesce in the definite incorporation of Tibet in China and further expeditions to that country, and their recognition of the Chinese Republic must be

withheld until they have received satisfaction on these points. To that, too, the Chinese Government is alleged to be replied in December, 1912, and the terms of that reply are said to be that they declined their action and declined to see that there was any occasion for a new agreement. If these communications have passed we may reasonably ask to be allowed to see those documents and to be acquainted with what has been passing with regard to this very important matter. What is the present position at Lhasa? Is the Dalai Lama in power at Lhasa? Is the Chinese Resident there? Are there any Chinese soldiery in the place? Is the Chinese suzerainty in existence in any form and is there to be a conference or discussion between the British and Chinese representatives on the matter? I think those are fair questions to put, because it will be remembered that at the time of the Chinese revolution Mongolia proclaimed her independence, and Russia took advantage of that movement to make a treaty with Mongolia and claim a protectorate over her. At the same time negotiations are said to have been going on between Mongolia and Tibet, which are said to have terminated on January 18. The question I desire to ask with regard to this arises out of a statement in the well-known Russian newspaper the *Nova Vremya*, to the effect that Russian influence might now be established; that Mongolia and Tibet having become one Russia might extend her area of influence. In that statement, which may be true or entirely untrue, there is a definite assertion that a treaty was made between Tibet and Mongolia, and the inference is drawn from it that by virtue of this treaty Russia will be drawn to extend her influence over Tibet. Let me say frankly I do not believe it. I do not believe that Russia would be a party to any arrangement of that description, which would be so inconsistent with the terms to which she has set her hand about Tibet under the Anglo-Russian Convention. My reason for putting the question is to give the noble viscount the opportunity of a denial. My object in these remarks has been to place before your lordships the facts of the case involving British relations of a most important character over a large portion of the Asiatic continent, to invite information or an expression of opinion on many of these points from his Majesty's Government, and to ask them over all this great area, and more particularly in regard to Persia, to recognize facts as they are, and, instead of expecting that facts will be modified to suit their policy, to adjust their policy so as to meet the facts.

Viscount Morley, who was imperfectly heard and,—The noble earl has undoubtedly taken a very wide sweep with his net. I am afraid that the multitude of topics being so large my answer cannot pretend to be anything like exhaustive. I should like to begin with a word upon the Anglo-Russian Convention. On previous occasions the noble earl criticized that Convention very severely. While insisting that the state of things is worse since the Convention, he has said he does not at all mean to intimate that it is in consequence of the Convention. I do not know whether he still holds that view when he talks about facing facts. I think that a careful examination of the state of things in Persia will show that, bad as it is, it is not materially worse than it was before the Convention. While some critics here condemn the Convention on the ground that it was not regardful enough of British interests, there is a similar school in Russia which maintains that it has been unfair to Russian interests and endangers the power and influence of Russia. There is also a school in England, with which the noble earl has no affinity, who insist that the real way of dealing with Persia is to leave it alone—that Russian and British influence alike should vanish bag and baggage, and that Persia should be left to work out her own constitutional and social development by her own devices. Nobody who has any practical acquaintance with the matter can suppose such a thing is possible. Anyone who will turn to Mr Shuster's book called "The Strangling of Persia" will find there evidence enough of the huge difficulties that any Persian statesmen or rulers will have to meet in building up a constitutional fabric.

A COMMON POLICY.

I ask your lordships to consider what is the policy which I venture to say is as much the policy of noble lords opposite as of his Majesty's present Government. I will put that common policy in seven propositions—(1) maintaining the spirit and the letter of the Anglo-Russian Convention; (2) maintaining the independence of Persia and avoidance of partition and an approach to partition, economical, administrative, geographical, political; (3) while faithful to the stability of our present alliance and to our real engagements we are faithful also in an equal degree to the good of Persia; (4) to uphold some form of constitutional Government; (5) to lose no chance of easing the distracted situation in which the Persian Government now is, by counsel, attention, and such assistance as from time to time we may consider it prudent to give; (6) to enable Persia by money or otherwise to restore order on the southern roads; (7)—this, I think, is the language of the noble marquess sitting opposite—to avoid entangling ourselves in a policy of adventure in Southern Persia. I am inclined to add an eighth proposition—namely, that we must beware of being forced

into a position which would offend the opinion and sentiment of Mahomedans in India. At this moment there is among the Mahomedans all over the world, not excepting India, a feeling of soreness at the ill-fate which is befalling Mahomedian communities, and which might eventually become dangerous if it were strengthened in India by any transactions of an unfriendly kind, or which they might take as unfriendly, in the reconstitution of Persia. Probably no open sedition would occur, but we might silently diminish the capital of goodwill and loyalty that now happily exists among Indian Mahomedans. The noble marquess put the case quite truly and fairly some time at the beginning of this year—I think a little more fairly than the noble earl. The noble marquess said that we are in all Persian policy confronted by conflicting directions of thought and action and by different sets of considerations. There is the whole of the case. If you look at Persia in one way the story told by the noble earl may, of course, seem very disgraceful. But you must look at the other set of considerations as well.

PERSIAN TRADE.

The noble lord undoubtedly exaggerated the condition of trade. He said that trade had collapsed, I think he said it was dead. That is not the case.

Earl Curzon—I said Persian authority had collapsed and in many parts of the country Persian trade was at a standstill.

Viscount Morley.—It is a great mistake, according to the information we have, to suppose that there is not at this moment a very considerable volume of trade going on with Persia. The March report this year was that the condition of the road north of Shiraz was, generally speaking, satisfactory, the robberies reported were but few in number and unimportant in substance. According to the May report there were no robberies in that month on that road. To-day from Shiraz we are told that in the first three months of this year—the Persian year beginning in March—the southern Custom receipts exceeded those of the same period in 1912 by nearly £10,000. That is not a very large amount, but trade is not at a standstill. Just as the noble lord painted in too dark colours the condition of things in our zone, so he has painted in too favourable colours the condition of things in the Russian zone. Order is by no means preserved over the whole of Northern Persia. As to the number of British troops, there are 500 Rajputs at Dushire sent there to meet the requirements of the day, and this is the only British force now in Persia.

The murder of Captain Eckford was most deplorable, but it did not appear to be a murder committed on an officer *qua* British officer, but that did not make the demand for redress superfluous, and the Persian Government were at once addressed and committed themselves so far as they could to the discovery and summary punishment of the murderers. Success depends on development of the *Gendarmerie* under the Swedish officers, and I was glad to hear from the noble earl that he approved of the conduct of the Government in recognizing that it is more than doubtful whether we should be nearer success if we hastened to take the business out of the hands of the Persian Government. I think we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that the deterioration of Persia has been arrested at least. The colonel commanding the Swedish *Gendarmerie* has sent two detachments of about 450 men each to Shiraz, and he has himself made a lengthened tour during which he must have acquired a very considerable insight into the present requirements of the situation. During the summer no great manifestation on the part of his force was expected, but during the autumn its work may be effective. On the point of order and government in Persia the Regent has seen the Foreign Secretary in London and a Minister at St. Petersburg, and has expressed satisfaction with his interviews. He is now in Paris and next month will proceed to Teheran, where he will consult his Ministers as to the propriety of summoning the Majlis. I think when the Regent gets back to Teheran he will find a Cabinet more hopefully composed, more practical, clear sighted, and clean-handed than have been in power before. The noble earl suggests that we should send British officers to take command of Persian forces.

Earl Curzon explained that he referred to a proposal of three years ago that the Persian Government should be encouraged to create and maintain an armed force, for which European officers would be required, and he drew attention to the fact that British Indian officers were the most competent for this purpose.

Viscount Morley.—It is quite true there was such a proposal three years ago in contemplation, but further reflection showed its disadvantages. Such a force I understand the noble earl would have operate in the neutral zone, and to this there are obvious objections. With regard to the line from Basm down to Teheran, the Russian Government are discussing this question in a perfectly amicable way. We have expressed our willingness to assent to the

construction of a railway from the north-west to the south-east of Persia, and from Teheran to some point not yet fixed. At present there is no desire for a line beyond Teheran. There are proposals in the air for abolishing the neutral zone. All I can say is Great Britain and Russia are working in complete accord, and there is no change whatever in the status of the neutral sphere and no change is under discussion. The two Governments have advanced £400,000 for general purposes, not earmarked for particular objects. In addition His Majesty's Government have advanced £100,000 earmarked for the *Gendarmes* in the province of Fars.

CHINA AND TIBET

Early in 1912 there was a definite forward movement of the Chinese towards Tibet. The Tibetans resisted, and for a time there was fighting and universal turmoil and disorder. The Chinese and the Tibetans made an appeal to the Government of India to mediate. The Government of India refused these appeals on the ground that we were pledged to neutrality. Later on, the Chinese proceeded further to advance into what was indisputably Tibetan territory. There was a failure to achieve a decisive success on either side, and the result was a deadlock. On April 12 last year the President of the new Chinese Republic issued an order to his officers in Tibet saying that Tibet came within the sphere of Chinese internal administration, and that Tibet was to be regarded as on an equal footing with other provinces of China. This was boldly to say that Tibet was a Chinese province. A very vigorous protest was made at Peking against this, and on the 30th of last month the Chinese Government revoked this rather preposterous order and issued a proclamation to the generalissimo in the neighbourhood of Yunan, and it has been agreed with the British Government to appoint negotiators for the settlement of Tibetan affairs, and all troops stationed along the frontier must strictly adhere to their present positions and not advance pending a definite decision. We demurred to the proceedings of the last two years on the part of the Chinese Government, and we especially demurred to the order which has now been withdrawn. The House will be glad to know that there is going to be a conference under our auspices. The Chinese Government have accepted the principle that China is to have no right of active intervention in the internal administration of Tibet. Many points, however, are still open. The last thing His Majesty's Government desire is to intervene in the internal affairs of Tibet. Our political interest in that quarter is confined to the maintenance of friendly relations in the neighbouring State, and peace and security along the Indian frontier from Cashmere to Burma. In this conference China and Tibet will be the protagonists. We shall be honest broker, but an honest broker with these interests will keep his eye open. It will, in fact, be a tripartite conference, and we shall be parties both to the negotiations as they proceed and to the convention, which we hope will be the result. The Russian Government have been fully apprised of our action and intentions in all these transactions, and have received them with entire approval. We hope the conference will meet at Simla in about three weeks' time. The central point of the agreement between Great Britain and Turkey is that the Baghdad Railway shall not proceed beyond Bursa, and His Majesty's Government have waived any question of participation in the branch from Baghdad to Bursa. There will be two British directors, who will keep us informed of any action with regard to rates or control, so that, if necessary, we may make diplomatic representations.

Lord Newton said nobody could deny that the result of the Anglo-Russian Convention had been to destroy Persia as an independent nation. If anybody still believed in the notion of an independent Persia, he had only to study the Blue-book. An absent ruler, an empty treasure, and a suspended constitution were the outstanding features in the present situation. He did not dispute that the Persians were not capable of governing themselves, but, whether they were or not, they could complain legitimately that they had never been given the chance.

LORD LANSDOWNE'S SPEECH.

The Marquess of Lansdowne said—I venture to say that to any ordinary reader the Blue-book conveys a most depressing and most painful impression. But he will forgive me for saying that his best was a very indifferent best. We find Russia in occupation of Northern Persia; in Southern Persia chaos, and meanwhile the independence of Persia, to which we are committed as a policy, is gradually fading out of existence. The noble viscount opposite charged my noble friend Lord Curzon with persistently attacking the Russian Convention. I think my noble friend has never been opposed, any more than I have been, to a Convention with Russia, so far as the principle is concerned. I, certainly, have always been strongly of opinion that matters of this kind should form the subject of international agreements or understandings. It is impossible for us to go on squaring with our neighbours all over the world. Therefore, in principle, I welcomed the Convention. But

I have never concealed my opinion that the Convention was a very bad bargain for us, mainly because the sphere allotted to us has no real correspondence with the sphere of our actual interests. I do not think it fair to attribute the undoubted predominance of Russia in Persia entirely to the Anglo-Russian Convention. Her predominance there is due to factors that were in existence long before the Convention was concluded. She has a railway system which enables her to go right up to the Persian frontier. She has innumerable opportunities of exercising influence in Northern Persia which are denied to us in other parts of the country. What has happened in Northern Persia is what always happens when a strong and well-organized country finds itself cheek by jowl with a poor badly organized and weak country. But, on the other hand, it is undoubtedly the case that the Convention has had very embarrassing results for us, particularly in regard to the condition of things within the neutral zone. We find ourselves continually up against the neutral zone at moments when it is most desirable that we should not be hampered in this manner. Take the question of railway construction. We find that we cannot interest ourselves in lines of railway, perfectly legitimate and most necessary for the needs of the country, because they happen to fall within the neutral zone; and when my noble friend suggested that we might do in the case of Persia what we have done in other parts of the world, with very good results—that is, to lend British officers to organize a local force—the noble viscount says that is a course which presents insuperable difficulties, because we are dealing with the neutral zone.

THE PRESENT SITUATION INTOLERABLE.

I do not suggest that we should counterbalance the activity of Russia in Northern Persia by a corresponding activity in Southern Persia. None of us like to have 17,000 British troops in Southern Persia, or that we should spend our money, or, for that matter, the money of India, in a prodigal fashion in those regions. But the present situation has really become intolerable. Look at all the ultimatums we have sent which have passed unheeded. Look at the futile expedition to Shiraz, ending in the death of a British officer. And all the time we are really paying the salaries of Persian officers and Persian *Gendarmes* out of British or Indian funds. The noble viscount gave us a sketch of the objects to which our policy should be directed. So far I agree with every one of the propositions which he enumerated. But I venture to suggest to him that a policy based on those lines is absolutely inconsistent, just as inconsistent with the policy of a difference or retirement as it is with the policy of the partition of Persia, which I for one would greatly regret to see take place. The difficulty of the problem rises from this, that we have really to reconcile two different policies. We desire to maintain the integrity and independence of Persia on the one hand, and, on the other, we desire to uphold the Anglo-Russian Convention on which involves a dual tutelage over Persia by two Powers, a tutelage which in fact is hardly consistent with the independence of the Persian Government. I would venture to hope that so far as the neutral zone is concerned, we shall look the facts a little more courageously in the face than we have hitherto done. We are assuming responsibilities in the country and it seems to me that we do not quite sufficiently recognize that the exercise of those responsibilities involves the assertion of certain rights. I still told the opinion that has been attributed to me that nothing could be worse on the part of Persia than that we should embark on what I may call a policy of adventure, but there is something quite as bad, and that is a policy of drift, and I am afraid that it is on a policy of that kind that we shall involve ourselves if we are not careful.

COMMERCIAL RAILWAYS.

Of all the proposals for setting Persia on her legs again the most promising seems to me to be the construction of commercial railways, which are more likely to bring civilization and order in their train than any other changes contemplated, and I do not in the least grudge Russia the construction of commercial railways in North Persia for this reason, that activity in North Persia should be balanced by similar activity in the construction of commercial railways in Southern Persia. There are only three lines mentioned in the Blue-book and it is a little remarkable that two of those railways are at once ruled out on the ground that we cannot give them any encouragement because they fall into the neutral zone. It is laid down that when a line falls into the neutral zone it becomes a question for discussion and arrangement between the two Powers. With regard to the third line there appears to have been extraordinary procrastination on the part of the Persian Government, procrastination which stands out rather in relief against the action of Persia when dealing with the Russian lines. I do not wish to say a single word with regard to the much larger question of lines which are political or strategic in their character. As to that we want a little more information. The trans-Persian line certainly affects the question of Indian defence, and many of us would have been very glad if such a line could have been avoided, and if

India could have remained with her present desert frontier on the side of Persia. But I have always regarded the fact that I could not expect considerations of that kind to prevail for an indefinite time. Where a great national line is really required it is impossible for any Power merely on the ground that such a line does not suit its political convenience to oppose its construction. On the other hand it seems to me only reasonable in such a case that the Power interested should insist on such conditions as would render the construction of the line strategically and politically as advantageous to themselves as possible. With regard to the Baghdad Railway we should like to know whether we are to understand that under the arrangement which is now in contemplation the construction of the section between Busra and Baghdad will be referred to the German company.

The Marquess of Crewe, whose speech was not completely audible in the gallery, said.—Lord Newton spoke of the independence of Persia having altogether disappeared. I cannot help asking the noble lord what the position of Persia would have been to-day if no agreement had been come to between Russia and ourselves. The noble lord went on to say that he thought we had fatally missed our chance for the rehabilitation of Persia by not standing up in support of Mr. Shuster when he was dealing with Persian finances. The noble lord brought a charge against my noble friend which I am not altogether prepared to accept. I have no desire to go back in the whole career of Mr. Shuster in Persia, and certainly I have no desire to utter any adverse criticism on that very capable and energetic gentleman, except to say that he always seems to me to have placed himself in the position in which a European adviser—a Frenchman or a German—would have been if he had gone out to look after the financial affairs of one of the Central American Republics and had entirely ignored the existence of the United States as having any interest whatever in the American continent. So far as Mr. Shuster ignored existing facts, one of which was the great influence which the noble marquess so truly pointed out Russia had long possessed in Northern Persia, so far his action tended to make more difficult a task which I quite agree was carried out with the utmost honesty and good will.

Lord Newton.—All Mr. Shuster did was to endeavour to make people pay their taxes.

The Marquess of Crewe.—I have no doubt he endeavoured to make them pay their taxes, and I think he did some other things besides. Lord Newton, I am afraid, finds himself entertaining the depressing belief that things have almost come to the point in Southern Persia when there would be a choice simply between the extension of Russian influence into that quarter of the country or of something approaching a British occupation. I venture to hope things will not come to that pass. Although there is much to read in the Blue-book which is still depressing in regard to the condition of Persia, there are signs to a certain degree of improvement, which, I think, forbid me to despair altogether of the future. As to the question of making a large advance—of five or six millions, such as it is generally agreed that the resources of Persia would carry in order that more than a beginning may be made with putting the Government on a stable footing—it would be impossible to say at this moment that there is an immediate prospect of a large advance of that kind being made. But it is to be hoped that such an advance may be forthcoming in connexion with the railway enterprise of which the noble marquess opposite spoke towards the conclusion of his observations. The noble marquess spoke of the trans-Persian Railway, and he seemed to think that some marked advance had been made since my noble friend last described the position. I do not think it would be accurate to say that any such advance had been made. It still remains to be seen whether a railway from Russia to India or some point on the Persian Gulf can be regarded as a paying commercial proposition for which money could be found. We still remain in the position of maintaining that the alignment of such a railway wherever or whenever it is to be made must be an alignment which has our sanction and approval. There is a proposition for the making of a line to Teheran, the whole of which lies within the Russian sphere and the construction of which therefore is a matter for the Russian Government. Therefore I think I can disabuse the noble marquess of any fears which he may entertain that the project has reached a further stage in any sense dangerous to us or involving any admission or concessions on our part of which the noble marquess was not aware. We are no more committed than we were to anything which can be described as a trans-Persian railway. We cannot expect to secure the sole construction of railway, in the neutral zone, but there is no reason why an agreement should not be arrived at. I say candidly I would rather see a series of branch lines constructed than one central line.

With regard to the circumstantial account of the mission of M. D'Arbell to Russia from the Dalai Lama we are categorically informed that no permission was given to conduct such a mission.

The motion for papers was withdrawn.

The Wages of Hurry.

THE Wages of Sin, as we know from St. Paul, and an eminent lady novelist who has added her authority, is Death. There is another of the universe's economic principles, less frequently indicated by moralists, who leave the teaching thereof to the less august methods of every-day experience. The Wages of Hurry, I should sum it up, is Perfunctoriness. To which may be added that, as perfunctoriness implies unreality, it is, in so far, equivalent to failure. This connection is less obvious and less insisted on than that between death and sin, because the failure in question, though spelling inconvenience or disaster to someone else, is not necessarily failure in the eyes of the person who happens to be in a hurry. Since, in many cases, hurry aims merely at the relief of an emotional strain, and such relief is quite compatible with perfunctoriness, all that you need is the contrary emotion, and that can be set going by a word or a gesture quite as well as by efficient action, and a great deal quicker. It is notoriously a sign of man's superior position in the scale of beings, of his capacity for art, philosophy, morals, and indeed of his possession of a soul, that this emotion does not always deal with realities, but often with the idea, the name of them. The Revolutionaries who set the words "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité" on the Louvre and the basement of Notre Dame, felt the full zest of being free, equal, and united, although they were dealing in a free, equal, and united manner only with chisels and mallets, and there was not much freedom, equality, or fraternity in sundry other items, such as Committees of Public Safety and the Noyades.

Indeed, there was no little of any of those three desiderata for a good many years to come, that the necessity of a new inscription was felt in 1848 and 1870. But the emotion had been there. And that, as poets sing, when love has been and is no more, *that*, once it has been, nobody can ever take away.

As regards our own day and our own selves, we are all of us in a tremendous hurry, and perhaps just a trifle given to perfunctoriness on the subject of what used to be called Progress, but is now spoken of as Construction. The change of word answers to a change of gesture. Progress like the verb spelt in the same way though pronounced differently, is what old-fashioned grammars called intransitive; it does not imply anything that is done to, for instance, pushed or pulled and hustled along. It has a suspicious air of getting on by itself, whether you want it or not. Whereas Construction implies something which gets constructed, and a person who is the nominative to that accusative, who does the constructing—that is to say, acts, aims, and wills, all of these highly personal proceedings, and affording scope for that self-expression which is an essential factor in latter-day schemes for universal betterment. The world might conceivably progress without any such expression of our higher Self; in fact, what small improvement it has so far achieved shows little co-operation of the constructive sort of person, and, for obvious reasons, of you or me. But to construct the Future, or even as philosophy tries to, to reconstruct the Past, speaks for the possession of Free Will which shallow scepticism notoriously denies. Also there is a kind of forestalled personal immortality. Statutes, Reports, and Blue-Books. "Exegi Monumentum ære perennius." So sang the Vates, apparently foreseeing our case. And it is mere cavilling (and old-fashioned at that) to inquire, like cross-grained Herbert Spencer, whether the extremely durable construction shall continue for men's use and delight, or as their stumbling-block—perchance a yard or so additional of city wall shutting out air and light. Neither should we ask whether the monument thus constructed by our deliberate wisdom may not be usefully burnt for quicklime; or, with but little relinishing, make very proper pig-styes; or, again being reduced to a carefully excavated ground plan, serve as valuable evidence to the anthropologists of later ages.

Be this as it may, our present aversion from mere Progress, and preference for Construction, have reinforced the notion (itself a pendulum swing from theological acquiescence and pessimistic fatalism) that wherever there is suffering there must be mismanagement, and that every woe the flesh is, or rather is not, heir to, must be traceable to muddle-headedness. So far as this new attitude answers to the reality of things, enabling us to alter them, we may be glad it has replaced that faith in the decrees of Providence which made old-fashioned parents bury child after child instead of inventing vaccination. But as energetic and highly-responsible people are no less muddle-headed than their passive, irresponsible forefathers, this constructive conception of the earthly paradise fosters a fine output of hurry and perfunctoriness, and a loss, not only of temper but of some of our powers for improvement. For surely Time is an ingredient thereof; and you are wasting a good deal of that in your bustling attempts to dispense with it.

I have called this constructive view that of an earthly paradise. For to hear some of one's friends talk, or rather scold, one would conclude that Man had received the universe in charge on the Edges.

principle of tenure, but with freedom to opt his fill of knowledgeable apples; whereupon Man—or perhaps the other Man—had gone and muddled the whole business. I notice that the critic accepts only a slight collective share in this mismanagement, while showing, by his shrewd and fearless criticism, how little he shirks putting his own best brains and activity into setting things right again. Now, although the very existence of man, and particularly of man's sensibility to inconvenience and distress, is proof of the universe not being entirely hostile, but having a margin, so to speak, of goodwill in man's favor, yet, on the other hand, the existence of human difficulties and miseries shows that the universe is not arranged exclusively for man's benefit and delectation; therefore, that although we may gradually make our situation therein less uncomfortable, we need not scold ourselves, nor even our contemporaries and predecessors, for not having brought it nearer to perfection.

This bad business of the Wages of Hurry has haunted my half-hearted acquiescence and shamefaced silence whenever I have found myself in the presence of such ardent enthusiasm for progress, that, let us say, of Suffragists, Eugenists, and various brands of Socialists. But most particularly whenever I have been confronted by some of my excellent friend, Mr. H. G. Wells's, various philosophical avatars, whether the silk-robed, self-restraining Samurai of his earlier Utopian books, or that more modern and less Puritanic statesman who crossed the floor of the House for the speedier passing of his particular Human Regeneration Bill. How can you make such energetic enthusiasts understand (even if they wanted to) that disbelief in hurry is not necessarily disbelief in progress, nor scepticism about their construction equivalent to scepticism of the building instincts of the great human beaver kind? They want your vote or your subscription—at least your active sympathy; it is nothing to them that your belief in the infinitesimally small results of individual effort obliges you to add that infinitesimal contribution to the more and more effectual mass of similar ones. At the moment of reading their books and listening to their words, one is even disquieted by a secret fear: may it not be that I am no better than a futile dilettante, a self-complacent stick-in-the-mud? Perhaps some of my contemporaries have gone through similar self-searchings; secret, for these painful matters are kept to oneself, lest one be crowded over, or even quoted, by the Retrogrades, or, who knows? lest one blunderingly speech some fine young ardor. It is for the consolation of such silent disbelievers in haste that I have plucked heart of grace and set the above thoughts upon paper, having suddenly found encouragement in a most unexpected quarter. For this is what I have come across in a brand new novel—

"But it (Life) is ever too much of a scramble yet, and over too little of a dream. All our world . . . is full of the confusion and wreckage of premature realisation. . . . Old necessity has driven men so hard that they still rush with a wild urgency, though the goods no more. Greed and haste, and if, indeed, we seem to have a moment's breathing space, then the *Gandhaker* gets up, wringing his hands and screaming—'For Ghand's sake, let's do something now.'"

It is my friend, Mr. H. G. Wells, who has given that splendid paraphrase, "confusion and wreckage of premature realisation" for my poor shamefacedly clenched formula, *The Wages of Hurry is Perfunctoriness*. And such is the useful, though disconcerting, changeableness and contrariness of the literary temperament, mine and also his, that I feel half inclined to defend that "*Gandhaker*," and to say: Do not be too stern in refusing to do anything now, lest your refusal to do result merely in a refusal to feel and to think.

Vernon Lee.

—(The Nation.)

The Lowest Form of Inspiration.

MAN does not know much by instinct. Some men do not even know their own mind. It is one of the things no one can learn to know. It is a knowledge which comes naturally, or, to use an antithetic but in this case almost synonymous term, by inspiration. A vast number of people, as soon as they are grown up, plunge into the world, not knowing what they want out of it, just as many women plunge into shops. The good bargains of life are not for them. Does this place of gratuitous knowledge—the knowledge of what they want—imparted by Providence to about half one's acquaintance as a birthright, bring happiness or not? In the view of the present writer it is nearly impossible to say. Those who know what they want and get it are, in spite of the instructions of childhood, generally quite happy. Those who know and do not get it are often quite miserable. Those who do not know suffer the least. There can be no doubt of that. Unfortunately in this very strange world placed all the situations in life which preclude buffering are dull and partake of the nature of a passive disappointment.

Very often we find two children in one family, one born to know his own mind, and one born to be ignorant of what he wants. The latter, if he is an agreeable fellow, starts life with the most friends. The man who does not know what he wants stands in no temptation to grudge others. He is not ambitious and not obstinate, and he easily passes for sympathetic and for unselfish. Determination is a disagreeable quality before reason develops. The child who asks counsel because he does not know his own mind gets credit. One passport to popularity he usually lacks—he is not often in high spirits; not knowing what he wants he does not know when he has got it, and he does not rejoice over luck or attainment. In all the great crises of life, moreover, he is at a disadvantage. He must accept the career chosen for him by his parents or indicated by circumstances, and he will probably never feel much zest for his work, though he may be well fitted for it. Whenever his task disgusts or disappoints him he will blame those who set him to it. In love he may be lucky. The first suggestion of matrimony comes very often from the woman. He has not the power to choose well. He may have the good fortune to be well chosen, but he has less chance of a happy marriage than the man who knows his own mind. For one thing, this lowest of the inspirations has a great charm for women, and for another, while all men are in a measure at the mercy of their emotions where matrimony is concerned, the man who knew what he wanted before he fell in love carries a compass by means of which he may weather a very heavy emotional storm. Of course, the man who does not know his own mind never makes money and never makes himself conspicuous. This fact does not probably militate against his happiness. What does, however, greatly dim his pleasure in life is the want of that sense of discrimination, just as he is not sure what he wants so he is not sure whom he likes. His friends are a heterogeneous lot who fall away from him if he changes his domicile, and who are not comrades but company—he does not know what he wants in a friend. His reading, again, is equally indiscriminate, he is no critic, he is not sure what he enjoys. On the other hand, he is sure to have a name for wide toleration. "I like to know both sides," he says, whether he talks of politics or people. As a rule, that sentence means only "I do not know my own mind on the subject." All these are dull peculiarities, but the man who does not know his own mind has one most endearing peculiarity—he has no desire to alter someone else's. The passion to impart knowledge never destroys in him the power to receive it.

We have been speaking, of course, of the average man, of the kind who does not know his own mind. The type, like all other intellectual types, may approach both to idiocy and genius, and may be found among good and bad people. There are charming men whose failure to conclude means nothing but an increased facility to consider, and with whom the fact that their power of discrimination is small means only that their capacity for admiration knows no limits. They do not know very clearly what they want, therefore they ask for nothing, but are always giving. Their friends rest in them, and pay them that greatest of all tributes—turn to them when they know themselves to blame. In small matters and in great who has not taken untold comfort from time to time in the affection of persons who have no critical capacity, moral or otherwise? Needless to say, there are as many despicable as admirable people who do not know what they want. Actively bad men and women always know their own minds, but passively bad people do not, and they are often horribly inconvenient, though mercifully somewhat ineffective. They are surely those alluded to in Scripture as "the unthankful and the evil." Having no power to discriminate, they are incurably suspicious and ungrateful, and where suspicion dwells high-mindedness is impossible.

Two spirits attend the christening of the child born to know his own mind—they are the spirits of success and of despair. Before he is six years old he will be intimate with both. The joy of attainment is very keen in childhood, and who that knows his own mind does not remember the misery of crying for what he wanted and could not have, and the rage engendered by the Job's comforters who, at the sacrifice of all truth and reason, assured him that if he had it he would not like it! The man who knows his own mind is a man of the world. He knows what a perfectly delightful and perfectly detestable place it can be. He knows—or he thinks, he knows, which comes to the same thing—what angels and what devils inhabit it. He goes straight to his end, and as he uses his whole force he very often gets there; besides, his end is not always a very high or a very difficult one. A great many of those who know their own minds ask only the commonest blessings. If such an one fails he is done for, a broken man; but he does not often fail for certain till middle life, and a great many of us are broken by then, though, like the pitcher, we may still go backwards and forwards to the well for a great many years, and the flow does not always show from a distance. But suppose he succeeds, or, at any rate, that he has not yet inevitably failed, what pleasure he gets out of the little shows of life? He is

always judging, always exercising a faculty which it is a delight to exercise. From the highest to the lowest matter it is an intense pleasure to have a conviction. If we read a book and say to ourselves, "That is very good; quite certainly it is very good," what a happy hour that book has given us! Exactly the same thing is true of the arts. We may have ever such bad taste, but the mere fact of knowing one's own mind is in itself pleasurable. Such and such scenery is what delights us, we say, and a corner of paradise is open. The search is exhilarating; the attainment is absolute satisfaction. The new-fashioned tolerance-worshippers may say what they will, but the greatest amusement to be got out of acquaintance is the amusement of passing judgment. If acquaintances become friends our attitude of necessity changes, but the gossip of the past know what they were doing, and knew how to entertain themselves.

It is not too much to say that all intellectual conclusions are fraught with comfort to their possessors. Take the commonest subject of intellectual unrest—religion. The man of faith is happy. Sometimes we may think his happiness is self-righteous, but it is undeniable. The man a prey to doubt has always some inward agitation at the heart of his peace. The convinced materialist, on the other hand, is almost a cheerful soul—or perhaps we ought to say a cheerful body. There is just one thing which the man who knows his own mind hardly ever knows, and that is his limitations. This piece of knowledge is reserved for his ignorant brother. There are compensations in character. Perhaps endowments are not quite so unequal as the anti-Socialists would have us believe.—*The Spectator*

Massacre in the Balkans.

GHOSTLY TRACES OF BULGARIAN BARBARIC SLAUGHTER.

A woman and her child were, according to Commander Cardale, of the British Navy, crucified by Bulgarians, during their retreat from Doxato. Other frightful atrocities are laid to the charge of the Bulgarians. Commander Cardale was at Kavalla, and on hearing of the horrors committed by the Bulgarian troops at Doxato, left immediately for that place.

At the entrance to the town, he told the *Telegraph* correspondent, the first things that met his gaze were hands of dogs feeding on human remains. By the time he got to the place most of the bodies lying in the streets had been removed, but many, for want of grave-diggers, had been temporarily deposited at the entrance of the village, which explains the horrible sight just mentioned. In one courtyard about 120 women and children were massacred. The bodies of 30 of them were still there when Commander Cardale visited the place.

All the bodies had bayonet thrusts and born marks of unspeakable mutilations. The walls were splattered with blood to a height of six feet from the ground, and he accounts for this by the narrative given him by the surviving inhabitants, who say that the victims were not done to death at once, but were slowly brought to their end by bayonet thrusts.

In one corner of the courtyard, he saw huddled together the bodies of six little children. Into the courtyard of a rich Turk's house a similar flock of women and children were driven for slaughter by the Bulgarians, but before they had time to despatch them all some broke through the cordon of soldiers placed at the entrance and ran upstairs into the house of the Turk, seeking refuge under the carpets and divans of the place.

Commander Cardale found the cushions and carpets slashed by sword cuts and the walls reeking with human blood and baked remains. In one of the rooms there was a stove-pipe. Up this pipe he saw wedged in, a girl, 7 years of age, who had evidently tried to escape in this way, the murderers killing her by thrusts from bayonets from below. On the body of the little victim he counted four such bayonet wounds.

In another room he was shown the place, still besplattered with blood, where a woman and her child, as mentioned above, had been crucified on the wall. The impressions that the bodies had left were plainly visible, as were also the holes left by the nails driven through the outstretched hands and feet of the victims. Throughout the town he personally counted 600 bodies still left unburied, mostly of women and children.

In further circumstantial descriptions of the horrors perpetrated by the mauling Bulgarian soldiery, Captain Cardale related how he saw in a room numbers of corpses of children pierced with bayonet thrusts in such a way as to prove that the Bulgarians threw these innocent victims in the air and caught them on their bayonets.

Thirty Greek and one Turk sought refuge in the sanctuary of a Greek church while the massacre was going on outside. A squad of Bulgarian soldiers entered the church. To the Greek they said that if they had found them outside they would have killed

them all, but as they were Christians in a Christian church, they would spare their lives. But as to the Turk, he must die, and they killed the Moslem on the steps of the altar.

MEROILESS MASSACRE.

Further particulars were given in a Reuter message from Salonica on Thursday. Last week-end Bulgarian soldiers opened fire on Doxato with a view to entering and pillaging it, but they were repulsed by the militia. During Saturday night the Bulgarians employed four field guns, and most of the inhabitants, taking fright, began to flee along the road to Kavalla and towards the mountains. Suddenly the Bulgarian cavalry began to pursue the inhabitants, while from another side four hundred infantrymen entered the town. The cavalry was divided into two columns, commanded by Majors Deneff and Simeonoff.

Then began the massacres. Women, children and old men were slaughtered without pity, and all the women who had remained in Doxato were horribly treated by the soldiers and their officers. Mothers saw their children thrown out of the windows on to the bayonets of soldiers below. The massacre went on all day, and several officers took part in them, as well as several civilian officials, including a magistrate named Vasoff and Pristoff, the Chief of Police. Finally the Bulgarian troops, laden with booty, quitted the town, soldiers carrying babies six months old on their bayonets marching at their head.

The following are described by a Sofia despatch as typical examples of the methods employed by the Greek and Serbian armies: In the villages of Jakovo and Novoselo, say the despatches, Greek soldiers, accompanied by Bashibazouks (Turkish irregulars) and Mussalmans, collected all the inhabitants together and took away the youngest and prettiest of the women. Then turning on the men, they began cutting off arms, ears and noses, after which they placed their victims in barns and set fire to them.

In the course of operations against the Greeks a number of Bulgarian soldiers are declared to have been wounded by dum-dum bullets. The Bulgarians further allege that the Greeks finish off all the wounded—soldiers and officers—giving no quarter.

In a telegram from Constantinople on Thursday an official report is quoted from the officer in command of the division of Turkish troops which advanced from Bulair to Adrianople. He stated that all the houses of Mussalmans, without exception, have been destroyed in a number of villages. A large number of bodies, the report adds, of Mussalman victims of Bulgarian atrocities have been found in these villages and in the mosque at Mulgura human remains were found through which nails had been driven.

PRICE OF WAR.

The correspondent of the "Corriere della Sera" now in Macedonia, who has visited all the chief centres of the Balkan battleground, has sent to the newspaper he represents an approximate table of the losses in men and money up to the present, of the combatant nations. For the first war his estimate is as follows:—Bulgaria.—350,000 soldiers mobilised; 80,000 dead; £66,000,000 Serbia.—250,000 soldiers, 80,000 dead; £39,000,000. Greece.—10,000 dead out of 150,000, £14,000,000 Montenegro.—8,000 dead out of 30,000, £800,000 Turkey.—450,000, 10,000 dead; 80,000,000 For the second war, says the Rome correspondent of the *Standard*, his figures are.—Bulgaria.—60,000 dead; £36,000 Serbia.—40,000; £20,000,000 Greece.—30,000; £10,000,000 When the number of persons massacred and the victims of the cholera epidemics are added the totals it is reckoned that nearly 400,000 must have perished. The monetary loss all told is said to be £26,000,000. The Boer War cost England 20,000 dead and £200,000,000.

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Students of Thalib's Night School, through A. Qadir,								Hafiz Majid Khan, Esq.				6	0	0
Esq., Bangalore Cantonment				5	0	0		Shaikh Abdur Rahman, Esq.				5	0	0
Nizamuddin Ahmad, Esq., Raypatti				1	0	0		Messrs. Sikander and Habibullah				5	0	0
Abdul Majid, Esq., Begumpura				62	0	0		By sale of one Jugni				0	10	0
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Hassan Raza, Esq., Sitapur				0	8	0		Chowdhery Saifuddin, Esq., Sambhol Sarai				5	0	0
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Osman Khan, Esq., Hyderabad				200	0	0		Qazi Muhammad Mahmud, Loharpur				1	8	0
S. Hossain, Esq., Mahikanta				3	0	0		Hon. Secy., Red Crescent Society, Jamnagar, through						
Mir Abdul Hadi, Esq., Meerut				2	0	0		Z. A. S. Jamal				25	0	0
Muhammad Khan, Esq., Hyderabad Deccan				9	0	0		Mrs. Khadev Jang, Hyderabad				42	6	0
Fazle Haque, Esq., Buxi				7	8	0		Zamiruddin, Esq., Mahmudabad				95	0	0
Atam Rahman, Esq., Delhi				50	0	0		Sirajuddin, Esq., Delhi, to be sent to Chiraguddin,						
Asmatullah, Esq., Hospet				5	0	0		Member of the Mission				30	0	0
H. Khalilur Rahman, Esq., Malkahawa				5	0	0		Through Sabir Hossain, Esq., Tajpur—						
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Abdul Majid, Esq., Sealdah				10	0	0		Imam Baksh, Shaikh Palat, Muhammad						
Khadim Hossain, Esq., Lucknow				4	0	0		Karim Sahib, Shaikh Amper Sahib, and						
M. A. Azam Khan, Esq., Bhicompur				8	2	0		Shaikh Nabi Baksh Sahib, rupee one each				8	0	0
M. M. Brothers, Esq., Bilrampur				15	12	0		Messrs. Bhargloo Mian, Muhammad Jan, Hafiz						
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Osman Ali Khan's Sister, Rampore				2	0	0		and Chandoo Khalifa, annas eight each				3	0	0
Through Shahid Hossain, Esq., Lucknow				85	0	0		Amir, Esq.				0	12	0
Abdullah, Esq., Meerut				5	0	0		Messrs. Muhammad Yasin, Wazir Khalifa and						
Ghulam Hossain, Esq., Indore				25	0	0		Gulbadan				1	8	0
Abdus Samad Khan, Esq., Bhopal				7	0	0		Messrs. Abdur Rahman, Muhammad Ishaque,						
Wajid Ali, Esq., Aligarh				5	0	0		Abdur Shakoor, Ali Muhammad, Shaikh Nad						
S. Muhammad Ahmad, Esq., Sitapur				1	0	0		Ali. Abdur Rahman, Qamruddin, Hafiz Nabi						
Oh. Mohilullah, Esq., Sitapore				1	8	0		Baksh, Abdus Shakoor, Akbar Khalifa, Mu-						
Begum Saffor Ali, Esq., Orai				10	0	0		hammad Sadiq and Azhar Shah, annas four						
Shariat Ali, Esq., Unao				500	0	0		each				5	0	0
A. Ghani, Esq., Almorah				10	0	0		Messrs. Hafiz Abdul Wadood, Jomaratti, Mashooq,						
Through Dr. Sardar Khan, Ajmere—								"La Maloom," Wahid Ali, Gharibullah, Jan						
Collected in the Jam'i Masjid, through Moulvi								Ah, Tafazzul Hossain, Ali Baksh, Anuruddin,						
Moniruddin, Esq.				30	1	6		Najib Khan, Shaikh Wazir, Abdullah, Nabboo						
Jamal Khan, Esq.				55	0	0		Khan, Kelayat Hossain, and Abdul Rahman,						
Messrs. Harbustullah and Qamruddin				35	0	0		annas two each				2	0	0
Mushtaq Ahmad, Esq.				20	2	0		Muhammad Sadiq, Esq.				0	6	0
Halder Mirza, Esq.				15	0	0		Miscellaneous Collections				0	6	0
Nawab Khan, Esq.				18	14	0		Inayat Hossain, Esq., Kamalganj,				40	0	0
Mr. Misri Lal Sarogi				11	0	0		A. S. Kareem, B. A., Hyderabad				70	0	0
Abid Ali, Esq., Hamid Ali, Esq., Soofi Khan Sahib								Muhammad Hasan Khan, Esq., Saffpur				5	0	0
and Aslam Raza, Esq., rupees ten each				40	0	0		Hafiz Khalilur Rahman, Esq., Malkahawa				1	3	0
Buland Khan, Esq.				10	12	6		Yaseen Peer Sahib, Hospet				5	0	0
Ali Mirza, Esq.				6	0	0		Muhammad Abdul Aziz, Esq., Kheri				10	0	0
Messrs. Abdul Aziz, and Ismail Bhai, mother Dr								Abdullah, Esq., Meerut				6	0	0
A. Khaliqu; Messrs. Sardar Sham Singh, Radhay								Ziaul Hasan, Esq., Bareilly				10	0	0
Lal, Dr. Sardar Khan, Hafiz Sabir Ali and								M. Mobinullah, Esq., Fyzabad				1	5	0
Nourji, rupees five each				40	0	0		Munir Khan, Esq., Allahabad				10	0	0
Messrs. Ali Ahmad, Nawab Bahari, Moolchand, Ali								N. M. Khaja Mian, Esq., Trichnopoly				16	0	0
Mirza, Hakeem Nizamuddin and Ali Mirza,				12	0	0		Aminuddin, Esq., Delhi				20	0	0
rupees two each								Ataul Haque, Esq., Jullunder				8	0	0
Messrs. Kantwant, Sabir Khan, Habib Ahmad,								S. Hossain, Esq., Mahi Kanta				8	0	0
Mushtaq Ahmad, Syed Khurshaid, Muzaffar								Amount received from 19th June to August 5th 1918.				6,667	4	0
Mirza and Nodagar Lal, rupee one each				7	0	0		Less on account of Counterfeit				1	0	0
Abdur Rahman, Esq.				3	10	0		Less on account of Money Order				0	6	0
Abdul Jabbar, Esq.				4	0	0		Total				6,666	2	0
Messrs. Mistry Ali and Ramman				5	12	0		Amount previously acknowledged				3,98,255	0	0
Miscellaneous collections by sale				19	9	0		Grand Total				3,98,255	0	0
Mr. Ganga Ram, Wakil				1	0	9								
Mistry Ali, Esq.				6	4	0								
By sale of miscellaneous articles				2	0	0								
D. S. Hossain, Esq., Sarathi				4	0	0								

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10-11-18

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If a Subscriber fails to quote his Register Number, the office will not be responsible for the delay in the change of address.

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They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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No. 10.

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south of Adrianople, whence it passes to the west of the river, giving Adrianople sufficient ground for defensive purposes. Turkey makes important concessions on the frontier between Adrianople and the Black Sea while Bulgaria will allow Turkey to fortify the frontier.

The Porte maintains that Xanthi and other western ports have been occupied not by Turkish regulars, but by volunteers raised locally to defend the Mussalman populations.

London, Sept. 6.

Reuter wires from Vienna that it is stated that Count von Berchtold has made urgent representations to the Hungarian Government requesting it to bring pressure to bear on Hungarian banks in favour of Bulgaria's request for a loan of thirty million kronen, which the banks have hitherto been disinclined to entertain owing to the scarcity of money.

London, Sept. 7.

Constantinople. The first meeting of the Turkish and Bulgarian Delegates has been postponed until Monday afternoon, when the date of the real opening of business will be decided upon.

London, Sept. 8.

Constantinople. Although the Bulgarian delegates have stated in press interviews that they cannot yield on the question of Kirk Kiliseh, it is admitted in official and diplomatic circles that an agreement in principle in favour of Turkey has already been reached on that subject in the course of the preliminary *pourparlers*. It is, therefore, believed that the negotiations will progress expeditiously.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* pays a tribute to the impartiality of the Powers as contributing to the success of the Turco-Bulgarian understanding. The paper adds that all are animated by the desire to extinguish the last spark of Turco-Bulgarian hostility.

London, Sept. 9.

Durban: At a meeting held, under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, a resolution was passed protesting against the harsh working of the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1912, and asserting that it was contrary to the Government's promises as over 50 per cent. of the Indians, who were already domiciled, had been declared prohibited immigrants under the Act, while those with domicile certificates, who could have entered without difficulty under the old Act, were now put to unnecessary delay and trouble by the expense of finding a £25 deposit for prohibited immigrants to come ashore. The Resolution declared that the measure acted oppressively on several who were rightfully domiciled in South Africa, but were compelled to return to India because they did not possess this sum. It appealed to the Imperial and Indian Governments to advise the Crown to veto the measure within a year of promulgation.

London, Sept. 9.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that the conference between the Turkish and Bulgarian Delegates have opened in a most amicable spirit, but the standpoints of the two sides are widely divergent.

An message from Athens states that the Powers have not yet replied to the Greek Government's request to settle the question of

The Week.

The Balkan Crisis

London, Sept. 3.

A TELEGRAM from Athens states that the Government has decided to ask the Powers to settle the question of the occupation of Dedeagatch forthwith. The Commander of the Greek warships has asked for instructions, in view of the appearance of Turkish vessels in the Toffing. The fleet has been ordered to remain under steam, and the disbanding of reserves has been postponed ostensibly for sanitary reasons.

London, Sept. 4.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that the Bulgarian Commission arrived yesterday, and was received with military honours.

The first Turkish Dreadnought *Reshad-i-Hamit*, of the displacement of twenty-three thousand tons, was launched at Barrow yesterday. The Turkish Ambassador, speaking at a lunch in celebration of the occasion, said that Turkey wished to work peacefully to consolidate her east territories. This was not the first time they had appealed to Britain. Turkey had always regarded the English as her true friend.

London, Sept. 5.

Constantinople: It is understood that the British, Austrian and Russian Embassies have received instructions diplomatically to support the Bulgarian delegates in the negotiations which begin on Saturday. Talaat Bey and Mahmud Pasha, Ministers of the Interior and War, and Halil Bey, President of Council, will represent Turkey. Optimism prevails as to the outcome of the negotiations. Both sides are apparently animated with the most conciliatory spirit. Moreover, the way has been cleared by the semi-official negotiations at which, it is believed, an agreement was reached for the frontier starting at Enos and following the Maritza to a point

the occupation of Delage. The press is urging its evacuation without waiting for a reply.

London, Sept. 11.

The Turco-Bulgarian negotiations are progressing in a most friendly spirit and it is probable that a definite understanding will be reached at the next sitting to-day. The question of nationalities as settled in principle on the 9th instant. The Bulgarians refused to admit Turkish possession of Demotika, and the question has been left open. The question of Kirk Killaseh was not touched. A telegram from Sofia says that optimism is diminishing regarding the negotiations. Political circles declare that if Turkey maintains its exaggerated demands, Bulgaria will be forced to break off negotiations. The general belief is that the Powers, particularly Russia, will exert influence at the last moment in order to induce the Porte to formulate demands acceptable to Bulgaria.

Persia.

A TURKISH message, dated Sep. 4th, states that the Government is prepared to grant Salar-ed-Dowleh a pension of eight thousand toman and to restore to him his estates. He protests vehemently against being brought to Teheran or expelled from Persia. The doctor pronounces him to be consumptive.

Turkey.

The Aden Correspondent of the *Times of India*, who previously reported the decision of Turks to establish a blockade along the coast of Ghizan and Meedi, which are occupied by the Mahdi of Asir, Syed Mahomed Bin Edress and other places which supply him with provisions and firearms, now states that the Turkish gunboats *Tush*, *Koprow*, and *Beiroute* which recently arrived at Hodeida are now blockading Ghizan, Meedi and the adjacent places. These gunboats are already reported to have captured several *sumbooks* laden with tobacco and other goods in the Red Sea. It is said that some of the *sumbooks* belong to Aden merchants.



Our Constantinople Letter.

This week we have received the following brief letter from an Indian Mussalman, Mr. Mahmud Said by name, who writes from Constantinople under date of 19th August, 1913. It throws light upon the fact that the much-abused Turk is a true gentleman and the enthusiasm with which he receives those who have the least claim to his regard or affection should serve as an object-lesson for those who are never tired of stigmatising him as an anachronism, who must leave the sacred soil of Europe bag and baggage —

"This week Stamboul has had the honour and the pleasure of welcoming her old friend and admirer Pierre Loti the celebrated French author. Never was a guest more heartily welcomed, for Pierre Loti, though of different race and religion, has ever shown himself a steadfast friend of Turkey. But a short time ago when the political outlook was darkest and Turkey forsaken or oppressed by the different peoples of Europe, Pierre Loti stood bravely from out their midst to defend by his able pen his old friends, and spoke boldly and fearlessly in their favour; protested against the injustice shown to them, and in the name of justice and humanity demanded fairplay. Loti having lived among the Turks and studied them has undoubtedly a more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of their character and idiosyncrasies than most Europeans, and has therefore a better claim to be heard.

"Whatever faults the Turks may have, inhospitality and ingratitude are not among their number."

"The Ottoman National Defence League organised a most sincere 'Sefa Guldine' (Welcome) to Pierre Loti. Delegates from different clubs, universities and associations were all ranged in a most imposing manner along the quay to welcome the 'Phrygie' as she called into the port with Pierre Loti, his son, Samuel, and Mr. Osman Daney, Loti's Secretary, on board. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and H. I. H. the Crown Prince Youssef Izzedin Effendi sent their representatives to welcome the man who has so disinterestedly stood almost alone to defend Turkey in her hour of isolation and distress. On leaving the quay Pierre Loti became the guest of Conat Leon Ostrow, lawyer and correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, at whose villa a banquet was given in honour of the illustrious visitor.

"On visiting the different quarters of Stamboul Pierre Loti expressed his regret at the disappearance at Shahzadeh Hasi of the columns which till recently formed a remarkable feature on either side of the road-way and gave a semi-Oriental aspect to the locality and regretted that owing to the modernisation of the town much of its former beauty was being lost. He also missed the kindly glances of the street dogs who also owing to modern progress are a thing of the past. Whilst in Constantinople Loti has chosen for his residence the Mahammedan quarter of Sultan Solim, Stamboul, a quarter which in his novel 'Les Discrétantes' is the scene of many tender encounters."

TETE A TETE



HAZIQUEE MULK HAJIM MUHAMMAD AJMAL KHAN, President of the Anjuman-i-Tibbia, writes us to announce that at the request of the Anjuman-i-Tibbia, Delhi, his Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to agree to perform the Opening Ceremony of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College, Delhi, instead of laying the foundation-stone, while the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, Delhi Province, has at the request of the said body kindly expressed his willingness to perform the latter function, the date of which will be announced in due course.

THE HON. SECRETARY of the Committee for the Defence of the Cawnpore Mosque, after acknowledging with thanks individual subscriptions received by the Committee up to the 20th August, amounting to Rs. 2,589 writes to us as follows:—

"Lately we received an urgent telegraphic message from our representatives at Cawnpore asking us to remit to them at once a sum of Rs. 10,000. As the funds at hand did not exceed Rs. 2,000, and we were anxious to keep our representatives well supplied with money so as not to prejudice the defence in any way, we decided to raise the balance by loan. Accordingly 4 members of the Committee have borrowed from the Allahabad Bank Rs. 8,000, with interest at 7 per cent per annum, on their personal security and have remitted Rs. 10,000 to Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque who is the leading defence counsel at Cawnpore. Under these circumstances, the Committee desire to make a further appeal to the public for funds. The money borrowed from the Bank has to be paid up as soon as possible. The very great majority of persons under arrest are too poor to conduct their own defence, and it is needless to say that they have got a strong claim on Muslim Fraternity for pecuniary and legal assistance. Further we have got to provide for the needy dependants and relations of our martyrs and that in a manner worthy of our community. For all these objects we require a considerable sum of money, and we trust that our community will liberally respond to our appeal. We are glad to say that our last appeal has not been made in vain. We have been receiving subscriptions from remote parts of the country and there are also various centres where funds are being collected. There is every likelihood of a large sum of money being collected in course of time, but as our needs are pressing and immediate we request our people to be prompt in payment."

WE ARE glad to learn that the different reforms demanded by the Arabs, principally decentralisation, have at last been definitively accepted by the Ottoman Government. A deputation, composed of Arab notables, waited upon His Highness the Grand Vizier to express, on behalf of the Arab nation, thanks to the Government for the privileges accorded to them. His Highness assured the delegates of the sincere sympathy of the Ottoman Government and stated that the Government was well aware of the devotion of the Arabs. The Grand Vizier then continued that the strengthening of the bonds which unite Turks and Arabs is but the strengthening of the Empire and Islam. Sheikh Abdel Aziz Chawish Effendi eloquently addressed the Arab delegation, saying that Arabs and Turks were brothers and must work harmoniously together, and that the religious bond which unites them must cement them into one homogeneous whole. The Sheikh Chawish assured the Government of the Arab fidelity and added that to maintain good feeling between the two nations both must faithfully keep their vows. He went on to say that this day which consecrates the Turko-Arab *Entente* will be a date in history. The delegates were delighted with the receipt accorded to them by the Grand Vizier. The Arab notabilities gave a

honour of Tokrom in honour of H. H. Talat Bey, Minister of the Interior, and the members of the Central Committee of Union and Progress. We have every hope that the mischievous efforts that were and are being made to sow in discord between the Arab and the Turk would fail, and real brotherly Islamic feeling would prevail. The Arab cannot do without the Turks, nor the Turks without Arab. We wish everyone concerned will note that.

Foreign Trade of Persia.

Two latest figures of Persia's foreign trade have been issued by the Customs, and are regarded by critics in England as a welcome sign of the long-expected peaceful state of the country. The figures for the first three months of the Persian year show an increase of £41,247 over those for the corresponding period last year. We are unable to accept such statements on their face value, inasmuch as we learn from the latest Blue-Book on that afflicted land that the worst civil strife paralysed that part of the country. To crown it all, the notorious Salar-ud-Dowleh has been a fruitful source of trouble ever since he succeeded in escaping from the force of the Cossacks sent against him. Whatever the case, there is no denying the fact that the figures of British trade with Persia for the year ending March, 1913, show a decrease of £845,570, while the Russian figures show the enormous increase of nearly three million pounds. Well, to us this seems to be one of the results, though somewhat indirect, that are likely to flow from the Anglo-Russian Convention, of which the British Foreign Minister has been not unkindly speaking in highest terms. The above decrease is, however, said to have been due to the fact that there was a decrease of £1,212,959 in the amount of silver imported by the English into that country for the Mint. This in its turn is said to have been due to the very large importations of silver during the previous year, owing partly to the favourable prices ruling and to the attempt of the American-General to reorganise financial matters. Whatever the explanation, it is recognised on all hands that Northern and Western Persia, which is occupied by Russia, is far richer in point of land produce, whether mineral or agricultural, than Central and Southern parts of the land which form the British sphere of influence. The latter includes some sandy portion and is only rich in oil, while the former is unquestionably fertile, comprising the best, the richest, and the choicest soil in the whole of the country, besides producing large quantities of silver, copper, lead, and iron and boast of the Provinces of Azerbaijan with the gold-fields of the Kalu River. Such being the state of things, it is for time alone to decide who will be the winner in the race, for which the British and the Muscovite have agreed, as it were, to run shoulder to shoulder, but the fact is too patent to be controverted that so far the latter has been the gainer, financially as well as politically.

Anti-Mosquito Campaign.

WE HAVE received a communication from Mr. T. Hara, of Bombay, who writes to say that science has proved that malarial fever has its origin in malarial parasites which are borne and communicated to human beings by a species of mosquito known as the 'anopheles'. The fever though not fatal is like a slow poison undermining the physique of its victims. The destruction of malarial and other mosquitoes is, therefore, of paramount importance, for it ensures protection against the malarial fever. With a view to teach the public how to combat successfully with this scourge the gentleman has arranged for an anti-mosquito campaign which was to last from the 10th to the 24th September, 1913. Messrs. Tom Boyce Shokai have offered 53 prizes, the first being of Rs 50, to those who succeed in killing the greatest number of these insects. Those desirous of taking part in the campaign, and competing for one of the prizes, were requested to apply to Mr. T. Hara, No. 5, Taj Building, Hornby Road, Bombay, who was to supply them, free of charge, with a sheet of paper ruled and gummed specially for the purpose, on the receipt of a half-anna postage stamp to cover postage. The mosquitoes killed must be stuck on the sheet supplied by Mr. Hara, which will be accompanied by a small printed form to be filled by the competitor, with his name, address, number of mosquitoes killed, and submitted to a Justice of the Peace, a Medical man, or Municipal or District Health Officer, who will certify to the number of mosquitoes shown on the sheet as killed. A Committee of influential gentlemen consisting of merchants, editors, and medical men has been appointed, who, after carefully examining all the forms, will select the 53 prize-winners, showing the greatest number of mosquitoes killed. Whether many people put in their gruesome record of bloodshed for competition or not, we request all to kill as many mosquitoes as possible.

The Executive and Judicial Functions.

A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held last Saturday evening under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association to memorialise the Government of India on the question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions and on the situation created by the passing of the South African Immigration Act. It was of a representative character, and was attended by influential and responsible leaders of the various communities residing in that Presidency. The resolutions were carried in the midst of lusty cheers. The President Sir Pherozeshah Mehta made a remarkably stirring and eloquent speech, in the course of which he observed how distinguished Indian publicists of all classes and creeds had, within the course of the last hundred years, pressed the much-needed reform. He said that besides some of the prominent men of India, Lords and Commons in England, Indian Viceroy, High Court Judges, and Home Members had from time to time recognised its necessity and reasonableness. He referred to the remarkable, recent utterance of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, who exhorted the Indians to be patient in matters of political reforms at the hands of a conservatively characterised race like the English; but said he was sick of a patience which has failed to gain its ends in the course of full hundred years, inasmuch as "patience is a quality which has its limitations, and even in saints and angels it is an exhaustible virtue." He strongly protested against the action of the recent memorial of the Anglo-Indian Defence Association, which to his mind had been an aggressive association and its members were composed of Rip Van Winkles not only of twenty years but of hundred years. That Association urged the scheme was impracticable, but Sir Pherozeshah referred to the two schemes, one put forward by the late Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt and the other by himself on behalf of the Bombay Presidency. He alluded to the flimsy objections advanced by the opposers of that necessary administrative reform, out of which he admitted only one of additional expenses had some foundation and even that was untenable in case of the Bombay Presidency. But then we have to consider the imperviousness of the intelligence and conscience of the bureaucrat who is satisfied with nothing short of magisterial powers in a country where he has been sent to rule. The growing public opinion of the country has now reiterated the urgency of this most cherished reform stronger than ever, and the Government can no longer shilly-shally with it without much detriment to its popularity.

The South African Question.

As soon as the South African question, Sir Pherozeshah said that the passing of the South African Immigration Act had hurt the feeling and susceptibilities of Indians of all denominations, whose hearts had been deeply stirred by the treatment accorded to their countrymen by the Union Government. He dwelt at length upon the results that might naturally flow from such an unequal treatment of Indians and Englishmen who were fellow-citizens of the same Empire. With respect to the vindication of the action of the Union Government regarding the inability of the Imperial Government to interfere with the action of the self-governing colonies, he reminded the audience of the fact that when the Ordinance for the formation of the South African Government by His Majesty's Ministers was issued, it contained an explicit clause to the effect that the status of the coloured classes was not to be interfered with by the new legislature. In the words of the undaunted speaker, "that clause had somehow evaporated." Surely, no right-minded person can view the attitude of following "a policy of open door in Asia and closed doors in other parts" without denouncing the authors of such evil enactment. The new legislation has subjected our countrymen in that part of the Empire to more degrading and humiliating treatment than they had hitherto received. The situation cannot be better expressed than in the words of the *Pretoria News* which writes: "Young India seeking modern education and mechanical progress which is characteristic of Western civilization finds itself rebuffed and learns that in the numbers of colonies where British flag is flying an Asiatic is a pariah and an outcast, denied nearest rights of citizenship, forbidden to hold hand and not permitted to use side walks or the city. Young India remembers the past mutiny proclamation of Queen Victoria and wonders how solemn assurances, promises and undertakings of their first Empress can be so lightly disregarded by those who follow her." Of late, Indians have grown too sensitive to overlook any more wounds to their national self-respect, and the Imperial Government would be failing in its duty if it does not take adequate cognisance of the growing public opinion in this country before it is too late.

DURING the Balkan War, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society received subscriptions from different towns of India to be spent for the benefit of the wounded, sick, widows, orphans and refugees. Some of the subscribers did not let the Society have their

Full addresses and some others sent to it money-orders with insufficient addresses. Owing to this, the Society cannot send to the subscribers receipts for their subscriptions, and it has been found that receipts forwarded through the local post to senders of the money-orders, have been returned, because the addresses were not sufficient. The Society, anxious to have the public sympathy and confidence, requests us to publish in these columns the following list of addresses. We hope the persons concerned will let the Society know their full addresses, so that they may be sent the usual receipts.

LIST.

Name of the town.	Amount	No. of Money-Order.	Name of the Sender.
Katiwar	£ 30	93847	Mr. Abdul Aziz.
"	" 40	93846	" "
Azamgarh	" 40	90852	" Mirza Moh Salim.
Bhinwadi	" 40	86778	Unknown
Hajira	" 40	86740	Hakim Hassan Khan.
Bombay	" 40		Mudassar Hussain
Bensara	" 40		Nazim Ali
Bombay	" 0-1-0	...	Hajee Ismail.

In view of the grave perils with which the Trans-Persian Railway project is fraught, Mr. Dillon put a question to Sir Edward Grey in the British House of Commons on the 14th of August, 1913, to the effect whether the Foreign Secretary could promise not to commit India as well as England to an enormous increase of military expenditure consequent upon the change of the former from an insular to a continental country from the standpoint of the defence of her western frontiers.

The Trans-Persian Railway.

But the reply given by Sir Edward Grey amounted to a point-blank refusal to give any assurance to the above effect and was received with great dismay by all thoughtful members of the House. The fact that it is viewed with strong disfavour not only by some of the best English statesmen, but by the British public at large also cannot be better shown than by the comments thereon of papers of such varying opinion as the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Graphic*. The former publishes an ably written leading article, entitled "Secrecy in Foreign Policy," and the following extract from that will be read with interest:—"Everyone agrees that this railway raises perhaps the most important of all questions of Imperial defence. We have waged wars in the past to keep Russia, not out of India, but out of countries from which she might overlook India. For generations it has been one of the first principles of our defensive system to keep the desert and mountain frontiers of India inviolable, and now this principle is being attacked by a proposal to make a through railway across them from Russia to Karachi. Mr. Dillon asked yesterday for an assurance that the first principle of Indian defence should not be changed during the recess. Thanks to its magnificent natural frontiers, the Indian army is in size one appropriate to an island. Connect India by railway with Russia, and it becomes part of a continent, demanding the army appropriate to a continental nation. That might mean an enormous increase of military expenditure. What Mr. Dillon's request, therefore, came to was this: 'Will you promise not to commit us to great increases of military expenditure when our backs are turned?' This promise was not given." Again, the *Daily Graphic* remarks: "Sir Edward Grey's refusal to give an assurance that the Government would not commit itself to the Trans-Persian Railway scheme during the recess will be received with dismay by everybody who is in the least degree acquainted with the grave perils with which that project is fraught. A scheme which will bring the western frontiers of India within striking distance of a first-class military Power, and which must consequently involve India and the Motherland in tremendous expense for military precautions, if not in actual conscription, is obviously one on which the sense of the country should be taken before it is entertained in the slightest degree. Already the Government has gone much too far in this matter. The precise measure of encouragement it has extended to it is not known, but it has apparently been sufficient to justify the financiers in forming a 'Comite d'Etudes,' and in endowing it with very considerable funds. The railway may be inevitable in the fulness of time, but that is no reason why we should hasten to meet an Imperial disaster half-way. Let it be remembered that Russia carried a million of armed men into Manchuria on a single line of railway, and that the distance from the Caspian to Kurrachee is less than one-third the distance from Moscow to Mukden." Notice what a marked contrast the policy of Britain's Foreign Minister bears to the public opinion as mirrored

in these Journals of no mean repute! We do not know to what consequences the obstinacy of the Foreign Office will lead the Empire in the long run. But this we know full well that it is being pursued in total disregard of the saner counsels which at present have no opportunity of prevailing. It is certain that the scheme means large gains to the individual investors, but it is no less certain that it will be instrumental in bringing Russia (and she is a first-rate Military Power) within a striking distance of the Indian Empire. It was to avoid this situation that all the best intellects in England during the last fifty or sixty years had been working steadfastly. All that is changed now India and England will run this policy when the Muscovite a few years hence will enter through the open door of India by easy stages by the Railways which we have provided for his benefit. Poor Persia is doomed to-day! So will our India be to-morrow!"

In opening the Conference of Engineers at Simla on the 8th instant, the Hon'ble Mr. Russel made an important business-like speech, emphasising the splendid record of the Public Works Department in this country. At the very outset, he remarked that his standard to gauge the stage of advancement and development which a country had reached lay in the results the civil engineer had achieved in controlling and applying the forces of Nature for the benefit of man. According to this standard, the progress which India has witnessed during the last thirty years has been 'very striking,' and has remarkably contributed to the increased general wealth of the country and the happiness of the people. The improved communications, measures for affecting the health of the community, sanitary and water-works schemes, buildings of all kinds caused by the development of administrative agencies, and the spread of education are things which bear an eloquent testimony to the fact that the Public Works Department has admirably met the public demands which are natural to be felt in a state of material development. Of all the things to which reference has been made above, irrigation deserves the pointed attention of the readers, inasmuch as it has considerably reduced the chances of a famine with its characteristic evils which not infrequently infect a country like India, where rainfall is precarious in most parts of the country. In the words of the Hon Mr. Russel, "the degree of proficiency to which irrigation science has been brought in India, is probably not surpassed in any other country." Statistically speaking, twenty years ago there were in operation 66 major and minor works and the total capital outlay at the time was 19½ crores of rupees and they returned a net revenue of about one crore of rupees per annum. Twenty years later the number of works had increased to 124 and the capital outlay to 13½ crores. The net revenue per annum had risen to about 2½ crores. To day there are in operation 188 irrigation systems of the kind mentioned, having a capital value of 54½ crores and bringing in a net revenue of about 4 crores per annum. Ten years ago there were in operation over 43,000 miles of canals and distributaries. During the last ten years no less than 10,000 miles have been added to that total. But the best evidence to the fruits of the labour of the Irrigation officers is to be found in figures showing the irrigated areas annually. Thirty years ago, the area served by irrigation systems of all kinds amounted to about 11 million acres. Twenty years later this had been increased to about 19 millions, and the present area is about 23 millions which, when works now under construction are completed, it is confidently expected will rise to fully twenty-seven millions. Other long projects, under investigation, will not improbably add another 10 millions of acres to the total. The nucleus given to the cause of irrigation by the report of the Irrigation Commission of 1901-02, presided over by Colonel Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, is evidenced by the increased grants provided annually for works of this kind. The annual capital outlay has increased from 109 lakhs in 1902-03 to 296 lakhs in 1911-12, the last year for which full figures are available, the current year's grant being nearly 322 lakhs. As for the works which fall to the lot of the Buildings and Roads Branch fifteen years ago, the total length of roads of all kinds amounted to 152,000 miles. According to the latest information, this total has now been increased to 203,000. Again, apart from the expenditure on electrical undertakings, the annual outlay on Original Works and Repairs incurred by the Buildings and Roads Branch was, thirty years ago, about 274 lakhs. Ten years ago, this had increased to £415 lakhs, and in 1911-12 the total outlay was over 682 lakhs. Thus we see that the engineering skill has, directly as well as indirectly, not only lessened the distress of the people, but has positively increased the general well-being of the country. Again the things which are engaging the attention of the Department for the future may be summarised as the conserving of the monsoon rain supplies by dams, the draining of water on to the land by mechanical means, the application of electrical energy for the utilisation of subsoil water. In case these things are accomplished, we have no hesitation in saying that an era of extraordinary prosperity will dawn upon our motherland.

The Comrade.

A Moslem Mission to England.

THE sudden departure to England of Mr Syed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Moslem League, and Mr Mohamed Ali by 6th September's Mail Steamer has touched the imagination of the entire Moslem community. Both are well-known to the country and need no fresh introduction. The object of their mission can best be explained in their own words which they said to an Associated Press interviewer—

"Events of great moment and of a far reaching character, vitally affecting the Mussalmans, have been taking place in rapid succession during the last two or three years both in India and abroad, and it appears to our friends, as it appears to ourselves also, that a right understanding of the Moslem point of view is absolutely necessary in the interests of Government no less than in the interests of Mussalmans themselves. Our friends have, therefore, advised us, and we agree with them, that at the present juncture, it is necessary for us to go to England for the purpose of explaining the Indian Moslems' point of view and the salient feature of the true Moslem situation in India and abroad to His Majesty's Ministers, Members of Parliament and other influential men in Great Britain as well as the British nation at large through important organs of the press and by other suitable means and to convince them of the essential loyalty of the Moslem community to His Majesty's person and throne and of the justice of Moslem claims."

To some minds the nature of their mission may be enshrouded in mystery, but to us it is as clear as anything. Who among us is not conscious of the fact that the prestige of Islam has never been so low as during the last two or three years. The daring Italian brigandage upon Tripoli, the bloody French campaigns in Morocco, and the savage war of extermination in the Balkan Peninsula are events at which, not to speak of the Mussalmans who are directly concerned in them on account of their extra-territorial patriotism, even non-Moslem communities have shuddered. It is a pity that notwithstanding her position as the greatest Moslem Power Great Britain has throughout maintained an unfriendly, though not actually hostile, attitude to Moslem countries and did not lift its little finger to advocate the cause of the weak and the oppressed, so much so that even when Turkey by a favourable turn of the wheel of fortune re-captured Adrianople the British Ministers did not hesitate to wound the feelings of the Mussalman subjects of the Empire by their irresponsible and uncalled-for utterances. But the British Foreign Secretary has, though quite late in the day, shown some signs of understanding the Moslem attitude. In his speech in the House of Commons on the 12th of August, 1919, when he reviewed the situation regarding the Balkans, he was pleased to refer to Turkey and said "that no Minister could speak of these matters without remembering that the King had many millions of Muhammadan subjects. But we had absolute and entire responsibility only so far as seeing that inside British Dominions racial sentiment and the feeling of Muhammadan subject were respected and had full scope. We have fulfilled and will fulfil that duty. Moreover, I hold that our policy should never be one of intolerance or of wanton and unprovoked aggression against a Mussalman Power, but we cannot undertake to protect Mussalman Powers outside British dominions from the consequences of their action." In the above words we were assured, as we have often been before, that the fulfilment of the memorable Proclamation of Victoria the Good, was an imperative duty, which His Majesty's Government owes among others to their Moslem subjects, at least inside the British Dominions. But within the last few months events have happened in India proper, which—not to speak of other sections of the population—have deeply affected the Mussalmans of all classes and views. The tragedy enacted in and near the Machhli Bazar Mosque of Cawnpore has not only sent a thrill of horror and indignation into Moslem hearts, but has filled all the peace-loving and law-abiding classes throughout the length and breadth of the country with terror, leading to misgivings as to the safety of life in case of even purely constitutional opposition to any individual member of the bureaucracy. They have seen what a hollow mockery it was what passes under the name of local self-government. They have seen how men like Messrs. Sim and Tyler are able even at this stage of constitutionalism to carry their resolutions through, however opposed they may be to commonsense and policy, in the teeth of all opposition. They have seen how the highest authority of appeal in the Province is pleased, of course not without sorrow which, strange enough, is too strong to be, affected by the vigorous protests of the whole Moslem

India, to justify instead of rectifying the blunders of his subordinates.

Again, there is the question of the liberty of Press, which has of late been rising in the scale of public notice. The Press Act of 1910 has given a rude check to the progress of what is known in the West as the Fourth Estate, and has almost choked the mouth of the Indian Journalist who gasps at the freedom of writing which is practically enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian section of the Press in spite of the dreaded Act. The worst features of the Act have been signally brought to light by the judgment on the application of Mr Mohamed Ali, by a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court, against an order of the Bengal Government declaring, under Section 12 of the said Act, a perfectly harmless pamphlet entitled "Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us" forfeited to His Majesty. In the course of the judgment we have seen how the learned Judges have exposed the absurdity of Section 4, which condemns the printing and publishing of "any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by reference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise (the italics are ours) to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India."

Again, there is another momentous question of the treatment of Indians in self governing colonies, especially South Africa and Canada, where Indians are subjected to severest of all wounds to national self-respect. Both Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali have amply shown in their daily public life that they have not been unresponsive to the calls of duty. They gave eloquent expression of their feelings when they said in their interview at Bombay "But the object of our journey is by no means sectarian or exclusively communal. We firmly believe that the progress and well-being of the Mussalmans are bound up with the progress and well-being of the country in which they live. The present carries in its womb the hopes and fears common to every community in India, and we shall be fulfilling in our duty not only as Indians but as Mussalmans also if we do not strive during our sojourn in England to convert our tears into hopes and to materialize the hopes which we share with all our fellow-countrymen. The Hon'ble Mr Gokhale also is in England at the present moment and we hope to secure his sympathy and co-operation."

No doubt, as Moslems Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali being not cribbed, caged, and confined have to respond to the demands of extra-territorial patriotism, yet the fact is not to be lost sight of that the territorial patriotism is no cant with them. Two of their eminent co-religionists, Mr Jinnah and Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, are already in England and they look forward with hope to their hearty co-operation. Of course, His Highness the Aga Khan is also in Europe, and they are confident of obtaining every encouragement and assistance from him. Again, there is the Hon. Mr Gokhale, upon whose support they have reasons to calculate. There may be others—Indians, as well as Britishers,—who may be ready to champion the cause of right and justice irrespective of their religious or political views. They have sailed full of hope and of confidence in the goodness of their cause and in the desire as well as the ability of the great liberty-loving British nation to do them justice.

As for the results of their mission it will be premature to say anything at present. The *Bengalee* is of opinion that "with Sir John Hewett freshly appealing to the British democracy to believe the man on the spot and Mr. Montagu expressing his desire to give a *carte blanche* to the Indian Civil Service the voyage may not lead to any tangible result. But we Orientals are not given to worrying about the result. To us it is given only to work and the rest lies in the lap of the gods."

But our view is that though there are obvious difficulties in the way of our political missionaries, yet there is one consolation to look up to. The British instinct of justice though somewhat impaired in individual cases is yet unsurpassed among the nations of the world, and much may be expected on that account. In the meantime, we pray to the Granter of all blessings to give these Sons of Islam strength enough to cope with the difficulties in their way and bring them back in our midst laden with honour and glory. Whatsoever may be the result of their mission, we feel certain they will do their best.

شکست و فتح نبینونی می ولی ای میر
مقابله تودل ناتوان فی خوب کیا

(Victory and defeat are matters of luck; But, O Mir! thy year heart did make a good fight.)

Phantom Figures.

V.

POLICE SUPERINTENDENTS.

THE D.S.P.—for that familiar title sits uneasily on the shoulders of that recent creation, the Deputy Superintendent, and might with advantage have been allowed to retain its former signification—is a class of official of as varied characteristics as his immediate superior, the District Magistrate. He occupies an important place in station society and in a very influential unit in local administration. In most Provinces, he is known as the "Captain Sahib", a reminiscence of the time immediately following the Mutiny, when the Force was of a more purely military nature than is now the case and was officered by men selected from the large number of Ensigns and Cornets whose regiments had been false to their salt and consequently had disbanded themselves and disappeared from the Army List. Of course there was also a *harvest* of civilians, in search of Government appointment, and who—for the most part—were members of what is now styled the Domiciled Community. If the gazetted ranks of the Police were nowadays more freely opened to men of that class, it would—in the opinion of many people—be a step in the right direction. The young Army officer who abandoned a scarlet tunic for the blue and silver uniform then worn by the Police, had a remarkably pleasant career before him. His military promotion proceeded automatically until, after thirty or more years of work in a purely civil capacity, he retired with the rank of Colonel and on that satisfactory pension, called Colonels' Allowances. None of these warriors, who had never seen more active service than a March Past before some inspecting officer of the Department, and could scarcely have been trusted to march a small squad across the parade ground in accordance with the rules of the Drill Book, are now left. They have forsaken the scene of their labours and pass their remaining years of a well-spent life at Cheltenham, Sidmouth, Bath, or other quiet and cheap haven affected by retired Anglo-Indians. As a rule, they made excellent Police officers, as they received the respect always shown by Indians towards the man who is an *Ast Sahib*; did not stand in undue awe of the heaven-born Civilian, who was then much more inclined, and by regulations instructed, to meddle in matters of Police administration. Office work had not assumed the terrible proportions it now can boast of, and it was a golden age for the European officials, endowed with a reasonable amount of common sense and fond of the very interesting business of suppressing and detecting crime. The criminal classes had not developed the ingenuity and skill now shown by the perpetration of what might be termed professional offences. Dacoity and murder was as often brought to book as in the present days of a C.I.D. finger impressions, and the aid of photography and other scientific detective methods. Nor had the reign of the Pleader begun, so Court Inspectors were not called upon to encounter clever barristers and a magistracy more prone to see that the sections of a Code are followed to the letter, albeit justice suffers by such blind adherence to legal detail. A Thanadar of the old school knew many sure, if severe, ways of securing evidence, and regarded an acquittal as a stain on his personal character. An idea, it must be confessed, greatly encouraged by a system of judging Police work by the fallible statistical returns then in vogue. By his subordinates, the old Major, or Colonel, was dearly liked. He often furnished the widow of a Constable with funds from his private purse, should her husband have died while yet in the service. He would listen to complaints, however childish, and (told at great length, than many young Superintendents are patient enough to do in the present time, and being allowed to pour forth his tale of woe is a wonderful salutum for the majority of Indians. About twenty years ago—after one of the many Police Commissions inflicted on that much inquired-about Department—a wave of militarism swept over the constabulary in one, if not all, the Provinces. It yielded good fruit in the long run, but was productive of several annoying instances of excessive zeal. Men whose fathers had been in the army, but lacked means to send their sons into that honourable profession, were keen on imitating the ways of a regiment where drill and martial bomenclature were concerned. I have seen dockets headed as coming from the "Battalion Commander," instead of from the District Superintendent, Head Constables of the Civil Branch—for in the Province of which I have most personal knowledge the Force is wisely divided into Armed and Civil—found themselves transformed into Jamadars and Naiks, nor did that most unsuitably looking individual, the village chaudidar, escape the reforming energy of those embryo Wolsleys and Wellingtons. On one occasion, when a Lieutenant-Governor was marching through a district, he might have noticed on journeying from camp to camp, that the blue-coated gentlemen employed in keeping the road free from traffic, performed a strange motion with their lathis, bringing them upwards to start with and then waving

them in woid fashion in front of their bodies. This was supposed to be the novel piece of Drill, invented by a Superintendent for the special delectation of His Honour and described as "Presenting lathis." I am afraid his labour in having the chaudidars thus taught did not meet with the recognition it merited—on account of its novelty, if nothing else—but may serve as an example of the wish to copy military methods and to endeavour to convert good policemen into indifferent sepoy. It was the same Superintendent when making the annual note of a man's work and general conduct in the Character Roll kept for this object, wrote "Is a smart back at Hockey so should be promoted the next vacancy that occurs." Needless to point out, officers and men intended for the semi-military duties demanded from the Armed Police must be drilled and trained on different lines to a recruit meant for the Civil Branch, either as an Office hand or an ordinary Beat constable. This tendency to slavish imitation of Army drill has not died out, and some of the orders issued from an Inspector-General's office are calculated to decrease the real efficiency of the Armed Branch, since they are prepared by men unacquainted with the very dissimilar requirements of the regular soldier, and what are best suited for members of a Police Force, *par exemple*, to teach men skirmishing and loose order evolutions as if they—and the enemy they would be called on to face—were provided with rifles of precision, instead of converted Shaiders with a range of 180 yards (splendid weapons for dispersing a mob at near quarters), is the sort of change all true friends of the constabulary must deprecate. Next comes the Superintendent devoted to the use of his pen, great on the maintenance of countless registers and Forms, as if the burden of those authorised by Regulations was not more than heavy enough for the most industrious *inhurrit* to bear. A man of this type will pass hours at Office, listening to every Daily Diary from his Station; documents so unvarying in tone and contents that most Police Officers could repeat one off before his Reader begins intoning the record of change of sentries; arrival and departure of the Staff, advent of a prisoner; ditto of a band of chaudidars whose duty it is to report themselves to the "Darogha Sahib", the report of some petty theft or of a *marpit*; down to the closing entry in which the writer notes—with unfeigned pleasure one expects—that "the Diary is closed": sufficient for that day the evil thereof. Victims of this *cacothia scribendi* never seem to reflect that the time will come for their being "moved on", to be possibly succeeded by a Superintendent who prefers the Reserve Lines to the Office or one who—audacious in his unorthodoxy—declares that it is the business of a Policeman to be perpetually out in the district, getting in touch with the people and learning what he can of the men under his charge. Even the natural—if rather uncommon—love for leaving the ease of a Station Cupra for roadside bungalows or the questionable comfort of camping in the hot weather, may impair the utility of a Superintendent if carried to extremes. It is one thing for an European official to let those under him see that he has mastered the details of the work they have to perform, but quite another when he starts doing that work himself, thus lessening the responsibility of his subordinates and hurting their *amour propre*. An instance of this meddling zeal came to the notice of the writer when sharing a bungalow with a Police officer. My fellow lodger was absent on ten days' Casual Leave, when a visitor arrived early one morning and announced himself as D. S. P. of the adjoining district, come in hot pursuit of a gang of desperate dacoits. Pending the appearance of the Reserve Inspector—temporarily in command—I learnt his particulars of what my experience of India—without having the honour of belonging to the Force—seemed to savour of a wild-goose chase. Like most men who scorn to consult their Inspectors and Thanadars, the stranger relied on Informers for collecting news, and greedily swallowed whatever those gentry chose to relate. Now the *mukhtar* is often a necessary evil, employed by police all over the world, but requires most careful handling. Especially so in India, where the gentle art of lying and concocting fairy tales, with some personal enemy of the narrator in the rôle of leading villain, is constantly practised. The Indian policeman usually knows his man and to what extent he may be relied upon to tell the truth, also the real motives impelling him to come to the aid of justice seeking for a clue to crime. Unless a D. P. S. has exceptional powers of discernment and is thoroughly acquainted with his district, he runs a great risk of being converted into an instrument for the *mukhtar's* private ends. According to the story I heard this D. S. P. had got certain *thubber* of a gang of dacoits travelling by the Down Mail—luxurious dogs—on route to commit crime in the district under the charge of the friend who joined me in paying house rent. The proper course must have been to inform him by wire of the anticipated inroad, but that was too humdrum a method to suit the speaker. He had hurried to the junction station, placed armed constables at stated intervals along the permanent way all agog to pounce on the unsuspecting dacoits when they alighted to change for the branch line running through my district. The informer swagged about telling yarns of the daring ruffians about to be arrested and giving them the names of sundry notorious leaders, known throughout the Division. Regardless of expostulations from

the railway officials, the Mail was held up outside the station. A party of policemen hurriedly searched the carriages—awaking several European travellers who were not a little irate at being thus roused from their slumbers—and did not succeed in finding a single person who could by the utmost stretch of police imagination, be mistaken for a dacoit. The Informer was equal to the occasion (which indeed he expected), and soothed the D. S. P. by swearing that one passenger—whom he by an extraordinary stroke of luck knew for a *bulmash*,—confided to him that the gang had proceeded by an earlier train and must therefore be well on their way to the place they meant to loot. This spot, he said, was about twelve miles from our Sadr Station and near the borders of a Native State. Borrowing some huge maps of the district, the new-comer lay extended on the drawing-room floor, hunting for the village to be decoited that night. That discovered, he hurried off to the telegraph office to send a lot of messages to the I-G of Police, the Deputy Inspector-General in charge of his Range, and his own Magistrate. What tidings he conveyed to those big-wigs I did not bother to enquire, but as a method of advertising his zeal, all this “wiring” was probably a good move. I gave him breakfast and suggested his resting—it was the middle of May—till the afternoon, when he had resolved on taking his party out and catching the dacoits *in flagrante delicto*. The Reserve, also the Circle, Inspector came to meet this intruder from another district and I noticed that his actions were not regarded with favour by either of those officers, both men with long Service in the Force. While the impetuous Superintendent went to despatch his sheaf of telegrams, the former said that our—we began to feel a bond of union in the matter—D. S. P. would bitterly resent this invasion of his district by an outsider, and the latter ridiculed the idea of a dacoity taking place at a village where the richest inhabitant did not have an income of a hundred rupees per annum. However the opportunity of studying Police methods from the inside as it were, urged me to offer every assistance to my visitor, I gave him breakfast and again hinted at a brief siesta to have offers of repose ignored, though he would feel obliged by the loan of a nag to ride in the direction whence the dacoits had gone and study the face of the country. One would have imagined that he was a General anxious to find the best spot for giving battle to an enemy and what object would be achieved by his trotting along *kucha* roads at midday. I failed to conceive. Still the pony was ordered and when starting my own tools for the day, our gallant friend sallied forth clad in full uniform, to the astonishment of the Indian Inspector and to my intense amusement. The notion of shadowing dacoits by rendering yourself conspicuous to every villager one met, struck me as hardly a plan Sherlock Holmes would have recommended. Watson himself would not have been more obtuse. I agreed to come out in the evening and dine him at a Canal bungalow bringing the weapons of his men, who were ordered to march to the same spot and there await instructions. About 6 p.m. I procured a roomy landau with pair of veteran wakers in the shaft-vehicle and steeds being the property of one of those worthy citizens whose chief reason *à dire* lies in furnishing conveyances to Sahiba when necessary. The guns, rolled up in *fat*, were placed on and in the carriage, the basket with food and drink carefully deposited on the coachbox, and I drove away, to enter on my first piece of Police *kudam*—my first attempt to head the fierce dacoit on the waspath. Arrived at the Canal Rest House, I found the Superintendent there, looking rather tired after his long ride in the heat and without any tidings of the dacoits. Not—which was more vexatious—had his *mukhab* put in an appearance, though he had solemnly vowed to be at the rendezvous in proper time. Perhaps he was occupied in locating the gang and adopting measures for learning their exact plan of campaign. At all events his absence did not spoil my appetite for dinner, if it somewhat worried my companion, the possibility of being the victim of a clever scoundrel occurring to his brain for the first time. By nine o'clock a full moon arose to guide our future operations and my remark that these dacoits evidently preferred light, albeit their deeds were evil and better suited for a dark night, did not elicit reply from the D. S. P. Marshalling his dozen constables we tramped along the road, for a couple of miles, when the sound of a shot from some fields to our right galvanised the dormant activity of the Police officer. Shouting to a Head Constable to bring along his men as quickly as he could I was deserted on the highroad, while my late comrade darted at top speed across the plain, from the far side of which the shot had sounded. A moment's reflection reassured me on the subject of a dacoit attack, for I remembered that herds of *nulgar* used to graze on the crops and were only driven off by certain villages being granted firearms for that purpose. As a non-official I did not feel obliged to join in a hunt after shadows and tire myself scouring the countryside on a hot night in pursuit of evasive dacoits. In fact, I had long ere this realised that those marauders were figments of the fertile fancy of the Informer. Walking leisurely back towards the Rest House, a constable with me, we heard approaching steps on nearing the canal bridge, so halted on either side of the road to learn who might be abroad at so late an hour. When the wayfarer came opposite us, we sprang out in front of him in true “Stand and Deliver” style,

demanding his name and business. He was a sturdy Jat of the peasant class, with a countenance more knavish than simple. His tale of being in search of a strayed bullock, the sole support of himself and a large family, seemed a trifle too thin, since he had given as his home a place fifty miles distant—in the district whence hailed the Superintendent who is the hero of my narrative—and cattle seldom wander so far afield unless driven by their owners—or persons anxious to become so. Relying on the presence of the constable, I determined to take this individual back to the bungalow as he might be in league with the dacoits and could honestly be considered a suspicious character. Midnight came but no Superintendent, and I awoke next morning to find him asleep, not having got back till past 2 A.M. Nor had he seen or heard of a single dacoit. *Chotahazi* finished, I proudly mentioned the capture I had made “on my own” and asked if he would care to look at the seeker after lost bullocks. On my acquaintance of the previous night being shown into the room, he promptly saluted the D. S. P. and was greeted by the latter with the remark, “Hullo-Chattar Singh, where were you last night?” Unwittingly I had caught the precious Informer who—it must be said to his credit—lied so artistically that he convinced the Superintendent of the reality of the intended dacoity his own failure to appear was satisfactorily explained, and he had the impudence to suggest that warning had been sent to the gang by some of the local Police, allies of theirs and sharers of loot obtained. Directly my own D. S. P. returned from leave he waxed wroth about the whole affair, wrote a furious D.O. to his brother officer, and was inclined to blame me for regarding the hunt for imaginary dacoits in the light of a capital joke. What crowned his indignation was the receipt of a circular from the Commissioner—for whom one of those important telegrams must have been commending the spirited and active measures taken by Mr.—and requesting other D. S. P.'s to copy so brilliant an example of the smart Police officer. Except for credulity where Informers were concerned, this Superintendent was endowed with much worldly wisdom nor failed to perceive the manifold advantages of self-advertisement. His efforts in this direction have been rewarded by an appointment on the C. I. P., to a very responsible, and well paid, post, whereas the Reserve Inspector and his Indian colleague the Circle Inspector, who from the first declared the dacoity story to be rank humbug, are now retired on pension of a hundred rupees a month and, doubtless, a deep sentiment of gratitude for the munificent manner in which their services have been acknowledged by the Department. This has been a long, too long, digression, yet was necessary as affording an instance of what I meant in referring to the Superintendent of Police who is too zealous, and who has not learnt the wisdom of combining his superabundant energies to their proper sphere. Government does not pay out man for doing the business of another, and it would be as well if every official recognised the advice contained in old Latin proverb: “Ne sutor ultra crepidem.” I must allot yet another article to describing a few remaining types of D. S. P. the field of choice being—as was pointed out—a very wide one.

DROUGHT.



Bye-Ways of Thought.

I.

When the Call Comes.

There is only one Philosophy, although that one may be subdivided into many philosophies, almost as many as there are individual minds. No two persons think alike, no two minds are exactly the same any more than there are two blades of grass or two leaves exactly alike. Similarities exist but the differences are equally important. Yet the philosophies may be arranged in two great divisions, the Ontological and the Materialistic. Not clearly and cleanly cut by a sharp dividing line, for they meet and flow into each other, and overlap and twist and intertwine like the interwoven fabric, the warp and the weft of a rich and costly garment.

Mind is a part of the universe, a product of the interchanges that accompany the mutation of reality. Nothing exists alone or for itself it is a unit of the whole. The great ocean of thought flowing ever onward from the known into the unknown has many currents, many channels, yet no well defined banks between which the rivers flow, no laid out boundaries. The currents are ever mingling and clashing, rivers are lost in rivers, streams in streams, and brooks in brooks. New channels are born and disappear again for ever in the never ending flux. But the great ocean itself knows no diminution, it is ever broadening and broadening, washing down a barrier here and a barrier there and stretching ever outward and outward into the infinite. A myriad barks toss upon the bosom of the waters, bearing the banners of the peoples of the earth, the majority inconspicuous, but here and there more prominent than the others we behold the gonfalon of a higher intellect, an Aristotle or a

Plato, an ibu-Sina, or an ibu-Rohd, a Kant, a Hegel, a James, or a Cayne—yet all part and parcel of the argonies borne upon the bosom of the ocean.

Where those banners float the current is the stranger and the surface more tempestuous than in the nearly stagnant surrounding deeps where the barbs of the world's homuncule ride. There are the strong voices calling, calling on the sons of men, each pointing out what he considers to be the true path leading to the hidden chambers of the Infinite where secrets of yet unsolved mysteries of the universe may be unravelled and explained.

Many other voices call and mingle their accents with the currents as they flow. Voices of different spheres of thought and feelings, some of a cadence more sublime and of beats more rhythmic in their roll, some short, sweet and gentle; some long, flowing and canorous, Hafiz and Jami, bards divine; Jellal-ed-din, Goethe, Schiller, Shakespeare, Shelley, Tennyson, Swinburne, sovereign singers of their time. They, too, call, and many worship at their shrines.

Philosophy is the highest utterance of the human soul, its supreme aspiration in an attempt to solve the world-order, and deduce from it the laws of conduct or morality; it contains the noblest ideals of the mind, and is revealed in every passing cloud and every wave of feeling; in the thunder and in the lightning flash even as in the musical march of words, the rhythmic beat of language and the throbbing of the pulsant ocean when it breaks in storm-wrack on a rocky shore.

I have heard those voices calling, and drank in their philosophy on the bosom of the Atlantic when the tropic sun beat down, when the sea was placid as a lake of molten glass and the porpoises sported on the surface of its waters. The call has come amid the trackless sand and the great salt marshes when all was still, and when the mirage turned the miles on miles of sand into a sea that seemed dotted here and there with trees and shrubs, and which ever receded as you approached it. Ah! the call of the silence and the solitude is a deep one, the call of the waste and the desert to its child. Free, free, free! There can the soul, unhampered, uncurbed, rise in thought beyond the fringes of cloudland and the border of the stars. There it can see visions and dream—dreams no mortal ever dared to see or dream before. There it is one with nature and akin to the divine. Is it to be wondered at that those Arabs born upon the desert reaches, evolved a language, full, rich, sonorous, a poetry redolent and radiant with satire, metaphor and imagery, and love and passion, and a philosophy deep and mystical.

Philosophy blossoms everywhere, amid wastes and solitudes, amid rocks and thorns and jungle, and in the seeking haunts of cities, tintured always by its environment, by the surroundings wherein it grew, the quality of the soil whereon it was nurtured. To every one who thinks the voices speak and the call comes, either faint or strong. He who hears not the call is asleep, asleep in corridors filled with shouting and in valleys filled with sound. The world is rich in mind-stuff, but, like a seed, the stuff must be quickened into life else it is but the marble of Praxiteles, beautiful in its form, and its outlines, but, cold, dead stone. In peace it comes, or on the red, red field of war. The call of humanity, religious or social, or the call of love! The great Moutrose, bred in the lap of battle, poured forth to his lady love strains no other cavalier has ever surpassed. —

"And if no faithless action stain
Thy name and constant word,
I'll make thee famous by my pen
And honoured with my sword."

Here we have philosophy, the philosophy of love, eye and feeling higher than the heavens and diviner than the stars. When the poet is red-hot on his subject all else is oblivion, the world of things is forgotten, they are as if they had no existence. When the call comes it is the all in all, the rest is blank. When the call comes even the weakest, even the worst of us rise and obey.

The Marseillaise was not a thing of beauty, it was not poetry of a high quality nor music of a grand order. Neither was "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave." Yet they kindled the passions of over fifty million people, and drenched a nation and a continent in blood, and were responsible for the lives of thousands in the "times that tried men's souls." When the call comes we can no more refuse to obey than the stream can refuse to run down hill, or the water find its level, or planets of a system seek a common plane. When the call comes man, in the cause he believes to be the true, the right, will march onward, "ret-wat shod" to victory, to glory or to death. You cannot stop ideas either with steel, cannon or musket ball. When the call came those Americans and Frenchmen rose, determined, ferocious, desperate and valiant, and rushed unheeding over fields carnage-stained, lead swept and iron torn.

The call came to the Arabs in the seventh century at the voice of Arabia's greatest son and they swept from their desert homes in a strong religious fervour into the titling lists of Asia, Africa and Europe, through three continents in martial glory. Nations and Empires hoary with age and honours bowed before and the greatest of the earth paid tribute to their power. They founded cities famed for their art, riches, magnificence and learning, kept aloft the flame of Reason and handed on a noble record and a priceless heritage to their scions and to humanity at large.

I have heard the voices calling beneath an eastern and an Indian sun, where trooping palm-trees cast a slender and a wayward shade, and where the golden pinnacle and jewelled canopy of the towering pagoda looked down over city and jungle and lake and swamp. When over two thousand years before the call came to Buddha, it sent him forth with words of healing on his lips and with tidings of salvation and deliverance for the people, and set him to work in the cause of humanity for the elevation and emancipation of others.

"Weep not, Ananda, sorrow not!
Have I not said ere this to thee
That from all things which man most loves,
From these, Ananda, man must flee?"

Those teachers who devoted their lives to the good of their fellow-men deserve well of us, even though we may in some things think they were mistaken, they were sweet and gentle souls filled with compassion and charity and love and they left down laws and taught grand truths we might all obey and uphold with profit to ourselves and others. What says the disciple of this eastern teacher using his leader's words —

"Look on this life and meditate!
Herein are birth and growth's decay,
Atoms combine and separate.
Nought lasts. All things must pass away."

Again: —

"Ye who for riches vainly yearn,
Take of the treasure He will give,
Ye who the mighty Truth discern,
The birthless, deathless, life will live."

Now the master speaks himself —

"Karma, inexorable reigns!
E'en though you fly from star to star,
The past on you imprest remains,
And what you were is what you are!"

Karma! What a wealth of ideas, what a world of meaning, all the sciences and histories and literatures and poeties, and all the philosophies and genealogies are written on its endless scroll—written by the hand of the Eternal in the characters of the Infinite.

YENYA-KN-NABIK PARKINSON.



Verse.

"All on Account of the Baby."

Aw ache in the back and an ache in the arms,
All on account of the baby.
A fear and a fright and a thousand alarms,
All on account of the baby.
And rattles and rattles and whistles and rings,
From cellar to attic a clutter of things,
From morning to night and to morning again
More fuss and more fume than an army of men,
And a head that is stupid for lack of its sleep,
And a heart where a flood of anxieties leap—
All on account of the baby
A joy in the heart and a light in the eyes,
All on account of the baby.
A growing content and a growing surprise,
All on account of the baby
And patience that conquers a myriad frets,
And a sunshiny song that another begets,
And pareness of soul as a baby is pure,
And sureness of faith as the children are sure,
And a glory of love between husband and wife,
And a saner and happier outlook on life,
All on account of the baby

To a Gold Beauty!

Of all the hearts that you have won,
Of none you are possessed;
Because in keeping whole your own,
You've broken all the rest.

CORRESPONDENCE



Ecclesiastical Expenditure in India

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Will you kindly oblige by publishing in your widely read paper a few remarks I should like to make on the question of ecclesiastical expenditure in India? The question is one that affects all classes of tax-payers and I think deserves some ventilating. In the Census for 1911 it was shown that the total Christian population of India was 3,877,000. Of this number 1,904,000 were members of the Roman Catholic Church, 492,300 were Anglicans, 181,000 Presbyterians, and 9614,400 Protestants of other persuasions, and 398,200 were Non-Catholic Orientals. The Government salaries paid to the Clergy of these various bodies in 1909-1910 amounted to Rs. 18,27,720. Out of this amount the Anglican Clergy who ministered to 492,300 persons received no less than Rs. 16,78,569, while the Roman Catholic Priests whose flock numbered 1,904,000 souls were paid Rs. 37,481. These figures do not include Military Chaplains' allowances, and are taken from the Civil Estimates for 1909-1910 as quoted by a writer in the *Catholic Herald of India*. Does this seem quite as it should be? Does it not look as if there is a good deal of favouritism somewhere?

In this connection there is another matter which more nearly concerns the general tax-paying public of India. The following extract will illustrate what I mean.—"*Presidency* The Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Rs. 45,980, his visitation and travelling allowance, Rs. 4,500; his telegram and Service Postage charges, Rs. 150, his miscellaneous, Rs. 100, his Domestic Chaplain, Rs. 5,000, Chaplains *vis.* and travelling allowances, Rs. 2,000, Secretary and Registrar, Rs. 3,500, Registrar's house-rent and office allowance, Rs. 4,200, Rents, rates and taxes, Rs. 1,680, Clerks, Rs. 3,360, Servants, Rs. 620, and Exchange compensation allowance Rs. 980. There was, in the year under estimate, no compensation for *dearness of provisions*."

(The italics are mine. The whole of the last sentence is absolutely delicious)

From the above statement we find that His Lordship the Most Rev. the Bishop of Calcutta alone received in one year no less than Rs. 72,620, nearly twice as much as all the Roman Catholic Archbishops, Bishops and Priests put together, not including of course Military Chaplains' allowances.

Now, Sir, is it fair, I ask, that so much money out of the income derived from taxes levied on citizens of all races and creeds, should be paid to a Bishop of one of the very smallest religious bodies in India? The Queen's Proclamation clearly laid down the rule that "none (should) be favoured in any way." Is this not favouritism, what is it? It is a matter that concerns all the various religious bodies in India and it is one that our Indian Members of the Legislative Council should take up, and that immediately.

Yours, etc.,

TAX-PAYER

The Adjective Law of Indian Criminal Courts.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—The feeling is fast gaining ground that the present administration of justice by Criminal Courts is anything but satisfactory. do not go so far as to say that the imperfect legal knowledge of Magistrates is alone responsible for the present dissatisfaction of the Indian community. The anomalies which characterise the trial of offenders have been the outcome of the following.

The number of Criminal Courts is extremely small. Trials have, therefore, to be unduly prolonged. Persons charged with an offence

have to remain in custody for months before the case is finally disposed of. The Moghal Courts have been sometimes condemned as primitive and unprincipled. But in fairness to them, it must be conceded that they had at least one good point. Their trials were concluded within a few hours and still justice was never sacrificed to despatch.

Secondly, in cases which are triable by a Court of Sessions or a High Court, there seems to be a tendency on the part of the Magistrate to commit every accused person to the competent court without paying any serious attention to the fact whether a particular charge has been substantiated or not. This is very deplorable. The modern courts of justice should start with the presumption that the accused is innocent, not that he is guilty.

There is another point which I cannot help commenting on. The number of non-bailable offences is nearly one-third of the whole. Even in case of offences which are bailable, courts are very strict in admitting the accused to bail. Does it not in some cases turn out that he had done nothing to deserve handcuffs and fetters? If a thief were to be punished with death that will evoke little pity. But surely a mere accused being treated with as much rigour as a convict is a sad reflection on the ethics of a political society. No matter if hundred and one offenders abscond. But it should be the duty of every good government to see that no innocent person is roughly handled and persecuted.

The present code of Criminal Procedure is going to be shortly amended. It will be consistent with the demands of justice if the number of non-bailable offences is reduced. Further it should be fully considered whether the number of Criminal Courts can be increased. If the financial difficulties of the Government of India render it impossible, as they will probably do, the number of Honorary Magistrates be quite safely doubled.

ALTAF-UH-RAHMAN RIZVI,

BASTI.

B. A., L.L. B., Vakil,

11th August, 1913

High Court of N.-W. P.



Reforms In Armenia.

A DEPUTATION, introduced by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M. P., and Mr. Annan Bryce, M. P., waited on Sir Edward Grey on the 14th ultimo on behalf of the Armenia Committee, and presented the following Memorial in support of reforms in Armenia:—

"We desire to call the attention of our fellow-countrymen and of His Majesty's Government to the duty which Europe owes to Armenia. The people of the Armenian race have long suffered as cruelly as any of the hitherto subject races of European Turkey and it is the action of the Great Powers, and especially of Great Britain, which has caused them to remain under Turkish misgovernment for the last 30 years and more. In 1878 Russia occupied the Armenian provinces, and proposed to hold them until Turkey had established a tolerable government. The Berlin Treaty forced Russia to evacuate them, and the Powers accepted promises of reform which Turkey has never carried out. Great Britain in particular, by the Cyprus Convention, took pledges from Turkey for such good government, undertook to defend the Turkish territories in Asia Minor, and received Cyprus as a basis to enable her to carry out her obligations. From that day to this no real reforms have been carried out. Experience has shown that the only guarantee for the better government of any subject population in the dominions of Turkey lies in effective European control.

"That the Turkish Government may demur to such European control is possible, but its immediate financial necessities will require a loan, or an increase of Customs duties, or both, and for these it must look to the goodwill of the Great Powers. These have, therefore, ready to hand a means whereby they can secure the only real guarantee for reforms. But if Turkey has learned any wisdom from all her troubles she will need no compulsion, but will welcome European aid and control without which she can do nothing. It is evident that nothing but good government in Armenia and in Asiatic Turkey generally can save that country from early dissolution. That such a break-up of Asiatic Turkey would be of the greatest danger to the peace of Europe is another reason why the Great Powers should take the present opportunity of Ambassadorial and Financial Conferences to fulfil their long-neglected duty. We urge that the British Government, as it bears historically the greatest responsibility, shall be first among them to see that this most urgent question is not left unsolved."

The signatures to the Memorial include 14 dignitaries of the Church of England, four leading Nonconformist Divines, five peers, 24 members of the House of Commons, and a number of other prominent personages.—*The Times*.

The Cawnpore Case.

Cawnpore, Sept. 5.

The Lower Court hearing of the charges against four injured accused, alleged to be concerned in the Cawnpore riot of August 3rd, was concluded to-day before Mr. H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate. The hearing was of a more or less formal nature and resulted in all four being committed to take their trial in the Sessions Court on charges framed under Section 333, I. P. C.

It will be remembered that the charges against the injured accused were postponed as two of the prisoners were too ill to stand their trial. The Crown counsel thought it advisable to continue in the cases of the four who had recovered.

To-day a fifth accused was brought into Court, but the Prosecution asked for his discharge, as they did not wish for a repetition of evidence.

Possibly, owing to the threatening state of the weather, there was a marked decrease in the numbers of the crowd which usually gathered at the entrance to the rifle barracks, and for the same reason the gallery of the Court was better filled. Armed police lined the route from the jail to the Court-house, and, as usual, the *gharries* containing the accused were escorted by *sowars*.

A repetition of the principal evidence given in the case of the committed 101 accused was necessary, and brief statements were made by Mr. Dodd, the District Superintendent of Police, and Mr. Tyler, the District Magistrate.

Mr. Dodd, District Superintendent of Police, said he went to the scene of riot with the District Magistrate who rode towards the crowd alone and attempted parley with rioters. He was stoned and driven back. He gave witness instructions to fire, but before witness could give the order the policemen fired and so started a volley, mounted men also assisted, and the mob was cleared away and the mosque surrounded. Witness gave instructions to cease fire and after this only three or four shots were fired. He did not see any wounded except in the immediate neighbourhood of the riot. Round the edge of the demolished wall bricks had been piled, and both inside and outside this erection were loose bricks. The piled-up bricks reached a height of about 18 inches or two feet.

Mr. Tyler, District Magistrate said he gave Mr. Dodd order to fire, but the firing was ineffective, because police did not take aim, showers of bricks became thicker and police were driven back. Intermittent firing by armed police and charge by mounted men dislodged the mob. The crowd's last stand was at the mosque. Replying to Crown counsel, witness said police were scattered about, but they obeyed an order to cease fire as quickly as men could hear and understand. He did not see or hear any firing which was not part of advance on mosque, and there were no wounded in the line of advance.

As stated, all four accused were committed for trial. The Magisterial hearing was also concluded in case of Abdul Qadir Azad Sobhani, Principal of the Muhammadan Theological College who is charged with offences under Section 124A (8 edition), I. P. C.

The evidence was very brief the following order was made:

I, H. M. Smith, hereby charge Abdul Qadir Azad Sobhani as follows:—"That you on the 3rd day August, 1916, at the *Idgah* at Cawnpore by the words there spoken by you, the tenor of which the transcript of a shorthand report (Exhibit 2) substantially reproduces, did bring or attempt to bring into hatred or contempt or did attempt to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India and thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 124A, I. P. C., and within the cognisance the Court of Sessions, and I hereby direct that you be tried by the said Court on the said charge." (Sd.) H. M. Smith, Additional District Magistrate.

Mr. Haque, the leading counsel for the defence pointed out that the order did not mention any specific ground.

Counsel asked what was meant by Government should be stated.

Crown Counsel: I did give the matter attention but I thought it an important point.

Magistrate: I think we can leave it at that.

Our Special Correspondent writes that the defence intend to move the Sessions Court for an order to summon Sir James Weston, the Lieutenant Governor, as witness on behalf of the accused. In the list of witnesses presented to the Magistrate a few days ago the name of Sir James headed the list, but the Magistrate declined to make an order to summon him. In all probability the Sessions' hearing will begin on October 18th.

Cawnpore, Sept. 6.

The Court sat at 12 noon to-day. Syed Nabi Ullah, Barrister-at Law, Lucknow, was also present on behalf of the accused. The

defence filed a list of witnesses on behalf of the accused. In the case of the four injured accused a list of 37 defence witnesses was put in, while in the case of Moulvi Abdul Qadir Azad Sobhani, who is charged with making a seditious speech, a list of 205 witnesses who, it was alleged, had heard the speech in question, was put in. Counsel for the defence intimated that the case of Moulvi Azad Sobhani was likely to last from ten to fifteen days. The Magistrate then intimated that he had passed formal orders committing the accused to the Sessions Court. The Court enquired from Mr. Boys what was to be done in the case of these accused whom the police reported to be absconding. Mr. Boys replied that he understood warrants were out against them and he had no other instructions regarding them. This brought the hearing for the day to a conclusion.

CAWNPORE MOSQUE DEFENCE FUND.

Muhammad Nisat Elahi, Esq., Sihore, Bhopal	8	0	0
"A Sympathiser," Calcutta	5	0	0
Ahmeduddin Nisa Begum Sahib, through Asghar Husain, Esq., Jhajar	50	0	0
Syed Azmatullah, Esq., Hospet	5	0	0
Nasiruddin Khan, Esq., Aligarh	5	0	0
Jalaluddin Ansari, Esq., Bhopal	79	8	0
M. Kee-Kee Bhai, Esq., Raigoon	1	0	0
Mother of Ishaq Ahmad, through S. Mohamed Ali, Esq., Strong	0	7	0
A. Hakim, Esq., Rampore	10	0	0
Abdul Aziz, Esq., Aligarh	10	0	0
M. Aon Jafary, Esq., Machlishaher	15	0	0
Muhammad Abdul Wahab Khan, Esq., Aligarh	27	1	0
Abu Khalil through Muhammad Rafi, Esq., Delhi	2,150	0	0
Shahid Ehsan Habi Sahib, through Muhammad Rah Sahib, Delhi	100	0	0
Rashid, Ahmed Sahib, Delhi	50	0	0
Alvida Collection at Janna Masjid, Delhi	338	4	0
Abdul Aziz Sahib Ansari, Esq., Ghazipur	111	5	3
Muhammad Yusuf Sahib, Delhi	21	11	0
Through Muhammad Wazir Khan Sahib, Delhi	27	9	0
S. Hadi Hasan Sahib, Rusta	20	12	0
Nawab Ali Sahib Yakti Barabanki	36	4	0
Muhammad Hasan Sahib Faruqi, Indore	50	0	0
Murtaza Husain Sahib, Benares	50	0	0
Muhammad Siddiq and Muhammad Ismail Sahib, Delhi	98	0	0
Youngmen's Moslem Association, Delhi	215	9	2
Maulvi Abdulla Sahib, Ghazipur at present Delhi	6	0	0
Muhammad Abdul Aziz Khan Sahib, Quetta	20	0	0
Muhammad Anees Sahib, Aligarh	2	0	0
Muhammad Abdul Haque Sahib, Delhi	4	0	0
Abdul Rab Sahib, Bessim	1	0	0
Through Sheikh Atta-ul-Rahman Sahib, Delhi	50	0	0
Asghar Ali Khan, Hydrabad and Achhan Sahib, Delhi	10	0	0
Haji Kallan Sahib, Delhi	1	0	0
Abdul Majid Sahib, Hyderabad (Deccan)	16	2	0
Nawab Ali Sahib, Barabanki	35	0	0
Mrs. Muhammad Ali Khan Sahib, Delhi	4	0	0
Mrs. Hashmat Ali Khan Sahib	1	0	0
Fatehpuri Mosque Collection, through Haji Fazlur Sheikh Rahman Sahib and Ehsan Habi Sahib, Delhi	46	12	0
From Hawah Hussamuddin Hader through Messrs Haji Fazlur Rahman Sahib and Sheikh Ehsan Habi Sahib, Delhi	151	4	9
Nasiruddin Ahmad Sahib, Delhi	25	8	0
Nawab Iqbal-ul-Molk Bahadur, Hyderabad Deccan	50	0	0
Through H. Ajmal Khan Sahib, Delhi	184	8	3
Through H. Ajmal Khan Sahib, Delhi	2	0	0
Hakim Naim Sahib, Delhi	2	11	0
"Handard" Office, Delhi	5	0	0
Idgah and Janna Masjid Collection, Delhi	602	1	0
Moinul Haq, Esq., Calcutta	5	0	0
Muslims of Isthawan (through) Sheikh Moinuddin	30	0	0
S. Nizamuddin Hasan, his wife and Sister, Patna	39	11	0
"A Mussalman," Bhopal	50	0	0
Syed Masud Ali, Esq., Ganeshpur, Baku	80	0	0
Hafiz Sikandar Ali, Esq., Delhi	17	8	0
Through Abdul Salau, Esq., Delhi	34	10	6
Abdul Sattar, Esq., Delhi	6	1	8
Latif Bukhari, Esq., Delhi	11	8	0
Through Nizamuddin	1	8	9
Mrs. Muhammad Ali, Esq., Delhi	5	0	0
Mrs. Fasihuddin, Esq., Delhi	8	0	0
Through "A Mussalman," Delhi	4	8	0
A Mussalman	7	8	9
Kabiruddin, Esq., Delhi	5	0	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
Tufail Muhammad, Esq., Delhi ...	2	0	0
Abdul Majid, Esq., Ajmer ...	5	0	0
F. S. Chishti, Esq., Delhi ...	3	0	0
Through Iftikhar Hussain, Esq., Delhi ...	8	0	0
Karamatullah, Esq., Khairatabad ...	25	3	0
"A Mussalman" ...	1	0	0
Muhammed Mustafa Khan, Esq., Amroli ...	10	0	0
S. Muhammad Hassan, Esq., Jhind ...	15	0	0
S. Zafar Hussain, Esq., Ludhiana ...	1	0	0
Lala Sri Ram, Esq., Talwai ...	1	0	0
"A Mussalman," Rampur ...	10	0	0
M. Nafis, Esq., Bhopal ...	1	0	0
S. A. Shah, Esq., Jhind ...	5	7	0
S. Muhammad Shah, Esq., Mhow ...	2	0	0
Muhammad Meher Ali, Esq., Hindawn ...	52	4	0
M. A. Rab, Esq., Ujyaghat ...	50	0	0
Ahmad Hasan, Esq., Delhi ...	0	8	0
Through Attul-Rahman, Esq., Delhi ...	11	8	0
Through Aminuddin, Esq., Delhi ...	5	0	0
H. Muhammad Ashfaq, Esq., Ramzanpur ...	231	0	0
Mazhar Muhammad, Esq., Delhi ...	3	13	0
Jamaluddin Sahib, Delhi ...	1	0	0
Amount received up to 8th September 1913 ...	5,319	9	9
Amount previously acknowledged ...	3,011	4	3
Total ...	8,360	14	0



British Policy In The Near East.

Sir E. Grey's Speech.

THE ALBANIAN AND AEGEAN AGREEMENTS

SIR EDWARD GREY, speaking in the House of Commons on the 14th of August, 1913, made an important statement on the condition of affairs in the Near East and the policy of the European Concert. The House listened to all that he said with the closest attention and was not sparing in expressing approval. In one of the earlier passages of his speech Sir E. Grey made it clear that there was no justification whatever for drawing ill-omened inferences as to the relations of the Great Powers because the Ambassadors who had attended the meetings in London had adjourned "We have," he said, "reached a stage at which the Concert of Europe is very firmly established." There was nothing in the existing relations between the Powers to give rise to any apprehensions. Though between the Powers there was not unanimity on all points, they showed no tendency to division into opposing camps. After calling attention to the success which had attended the efforts made to localize the war, he referred to the agreement which had been arrived at with reference to Albania and the Aegean Islands. An International Commission of control was to be established for Albania, with a *Gendarmerie* under officers selected from one of the smaller neutral Powers, the object being to set up eventually an autonomous State under a Prince chosen by the Powers. He pointed out that if the integrity of Asiatic Turkey was not to be menaced it was essential that none of the Aegean Islands should be used as a base for interference on the mainland, and that our interests in the Mediterranean demanded that none of them should be claimed and retained by one of the Great Powers. There had been agreement that the destiny of the islands, including those temporarily occupied by Italy, must be settled by the Powers, and that no Great Power was to retain any island for itself. It was a great thing that this principle had been laid down.

ADRIANOPLE

He spoke with deep regret of the war between the Balkan States, which had drenched Macedonia with blood, but he refused to select any particular State for blame and to raise a hue and cry against it, and members showed by their cheers that they thought this attitude was wise. With regard to the Turkish reoccupation of Adrianople, the Powers had made representations at Constantinople that the Enos-Midia line ought to be respected, but they were willing to take into consideration points that Turkey regarded as absolutely indispensable for the defence of Constantinople and her frontiers. Having outlined our policy for the welfare of Turkey, he stated that it depended for its effect on the good will and consent of the Powers, and that this good will could not be secured if their views regarding Adrianople and Thrace were not respected. If those views were disregarded the consequences to Turkey, Sir E. Grey said, very impressively, would sooner or later be disastrous.

The Powers would probably require more time to examine the situation created by the reoccupation of Thrace by Turkey and the Treaty of Bucharest. He did not declare himself definitely opposed to all revision of the Treaty. He was prepared to acquiesce in any decision that commanded the assent of the Powers; but it

was evident that he hoped the Treaty would be accepted as it stood. He warned Turkey and the Balkan States that they must not suppose because the Powers had not intervened during the last few months that none of them would intervene if sufficient provocation were given. He ended by assuring the House that, if a question involving British interests were to arise, or if it should be proposed to commit the country to any new engagement, the Government would take Parliament into their confidence.

MR. BONAR LAW'S CONGRATULATIONS

Mr Bonar Law congratulated Sir E. Grey on the success which had attended his efforts to limit the area of conflict and to prevent a European war. He was struck by two things, one was that the grouping of the Great Powers in alliances, while not guaranteeing peace, made for peace; and the other was that no Great Power desired war, for, had any Power desired it, there would have been no difficulty in bringing it about. In the transactions in which Sir E. Grey had taken the leading part he had spoken not for one party, but for the British nation, and he had received from the country probably greater support than had ever before been given to a Foreign Secretary. These were great advantages, of which his reputation for candour and straightforwardness had enabled him to make the most. Mr Law's high praise was endorsed by the House with general cheers. He agreed with Sir E. Grey that the best hope for Turkey lay in the consolidation of the great territories that she would retain and also that this consolidation could only be effected with the good will of the Powers. To secure that good will it was necessary that Turkey should pay some regard to the wishes of the Concert.

The Balkan Failure.

IT IS A commonplace that the British people do not understand foreign policy, and there could be no better proof of it than the discriminate eulogy showered on Sir Edward Grey. The Foreign Secretary's case is that the Ambassadors' Conference came into existence to prevent a war between the Great Powers. Its proceedings must be judged by its object. What matter that the work of the Conference can be criticised, what matter that its adjournment leaves awkward questions still unsettled, provided it has accomplished its chief aim? The preservation of European peace is a fine sounding phrase, especially to Radical ears, but we are not convinced that the Conference was formed to preserve it. It is not yet a twelvemonth since Europe adopted a very different tone. When the war broke out the Powers declared that they would permit no territorial changes in the Near East, and it is only to cover up their failure that they have invented the new formula of which the Foreign Secretary is so proud. But even this formula has not been adhered to. According to the latest version, the Powers discovered that they need not fight unless the area of conflict spread to the Straits, Constantinople, and Asiatic Turkey. When was this discovery made? Again we would remind Sir Edward Grey of his past. He himself told the House of Commons that the Albanian settlement was reached just in time to prevent a European war, yet now with amazing inconsistency he assures us that this was a subsidiary matter and that the true danger point lay further East. We are thus quite in the dark as to what the Conference proposed to do, but if the latest statement of its object is to be taken as correct, it is abundantly clear that the Conference did nothing at all. What steps did the Powers take to prevent the spread of the war to Constantinople and beyond? The real crisis, we now learn, came late last November, when the Bulgarian troops were moving on Tchataldja. Did the Powers forbid an attack on Tchataldja? On the contrary an attack was made, and the reason that the Bulgarians did not reach Constantinople was not that the Powers prevented them, but that the Turks stood firm. To our minds Sir Edward Grey's story utterly fails to hang together. It is plainly untrue that the Concert of Europe never had any aim but the maintenance of peace among its members, the view that there was no danger so long as the war was kept west of the Dardanelles is contradicted by Sir Edward Grey's own previous declaration, and if it were sound the Conference is convicted of shameful apathy at the moment of crisis.

The three particular questions with which the Conference has been concerned are Albania, the Aegean Islands, and Adrianople. On none of these has a settlement been reached. It is true that in regard to Albania a paper arrangement has been written out. Details have not yet been given, but we know enough to be sure that the plan cannot succeed. You cannot create a nation by drawing lines on a map, and Albania is only a geographical expression. Can any serious man suppose that a collection of unruly tribes with no political sense can be unified by an international Commission disciplined by Swedes ignorant of their language and, finally, handed over as loyal subjects to a foreign Prince, in whose selection they have had no voice? Nor can it be pretended that the arrangement as to the Aegean Islands is satisfactory. When Turkey has evacuated Cyrenaica, Italy will hand

the islands over to the Powers. There is no question of Italy's good faith, but the plan may quite well establish the Italians in the Aegean as firmly as the British are established in Egypt. Even if Turkey wishes to evacuate Cyrenaica the process must be long. The Turks are in the hinterland out of the reach of Constantinople; the Italians are still on the coast, and their progress inland depends on the rate of railway construction; and in the interval the islands remain Italian. Both the Albanian and the Aegean settlements are in fact paper compromises; there is nothing stable or final about them. The question of Adrianople cannot be separated from the terms of the Peace of Bucharest. The Turks claim that they can hold their own against the now demoralised Bulgarian troops, but the Peace evades the issue by insisting on the immediate demobilisation of the Bulgarian army. Sir Edward Grey disclaims all responsibility for the Peace of Bucharest, though twice over he groans and preaches over the events that led up to it. For those events we hold the Conference to be largely responsible. It cannot be said with absolute certainty that if Greece and Serbia had been allowed a free hand in Albania, there would have been no squabble over the Macedonian spoils; but it can be said that the action of the Powers in Albania made the second war inevitable. The Peace of Bucharest is indeed the only real result of the work of the Conference. It is a bad peace, but the Powers cannot even claim credit for its signature. The end of a war which had become a nuisance is due to the action of Germany in assuring Rumania that she could dictate terms without fear of European interference.

The peace satisfies nobody, except, perhaps, Rumania but it cannot endure at all unless the Bulgars get the Enos-Midia line. And here we reach the final break-down of the Conference policy. If Britain could not enter the European Concert without weakening her credit as an Imperial Power, she should have stayed outside. By lack of foresight Sir Edward Grey has set in motion a train of events which leave this country in a sad dilemma. If we put pressure on the Turks to leave Adrianople, we shall be told that our principle that a Balkan State can keep what it is strong enough to hold applies to Christian nations only and that in abandoning it we are false to the Moslems of Egypt and India. If we leave the Turk alone, we help to tear up the treaty whose signature we procured and we run the risk of a new Balkan war as soon as ever Bulgaria has managed to pull herself together again. The real condemnation of Sir Edward Grey's policy is that this dilemma is not one of those accidents which no diplomatist can reasonably be expected to foresee. On the contrary it is the direct and natural outcome of our policy during the last twelve months. That policy has been to keep peace between the Great Powers. It is a policy which must be watched with very critical eyes. A statesman who finds two Great Powers nearing a deadlock and comes forward with a solution absolutely satisfactory to both does indeed render a service to humanity. Such opportunities rarely occur, but the work of the French Government at the time of the North Sea incident between Britain and Russia may serve as an example of what can be done. Here an episode which brought two great Powers to the verge of war was dealt with in a way that left no bitter memories behind. But a statesman who, out of reverence for paper peace, concocts a plan for postponing the trouble is a danger, as weakness always is. Sir Edward Grey has not overcome any of the antagonisms which have revealed themselves in European policy. He has simply put them off in circumstances which make it certain that they will be all the sharper when they reappear. And since Britain's action has been shaped all along with a view to postponement and not to solution, she may find herself in the end in a position which makes it dishonourable for her to act with decision either way.

Adrianople is a case in point. Sir Edward Grey formulated his Albanian compromise in vain, without thinking how it would react on the relations of the Allies. Rumania has cut that knot, but has left the contradiction between the Peace of Bucharest and the Treaty of London, and Sir Edward Grey cannot honourably do anything to overcome that contradiction, because he forgot the first maxim of diplomacy—think of the day after to-morrow. Hence the humbug about the strategic advantage to Turkey of delivering a magnificent base to her nearest enemy. Count Aehrenthal knew better when, on his death-bed, he cautioned his successor against a policy of prestige. For Austria a policy of prestige means interference in every Balkan issue to keep up her reputation at the moment, without thought of hopeless entanglements the day after to-morrow. For Britain a policy of prestige is summed up in the catch phrase "The greatest of British interests is peace." Sir Edward Grey has pursued that policy and now gets the thanks of those as short-sighted as himself. But it was not by such a policy of prestige that Palmerston and Disraeli and Lord Salisbury won renown as foreign Ministers. Palmerston kept his country at peace in the 'sixties by standing firm over Italy, not by giving way, and it was the policy of prestige over Denmark which brought him humiliation. Disraeli and Lord Salisbury used splendid isolation as the instrument of a strong extra-European policy and were ready to fight for it. That is why they succeeded, and it would be better for Unionism now if its leaders remembered

their traditions instead of helping Sir Edward Grey to throw dust in the eyes of the public.—*The Saturday Review*.

Great Britain's Trade With Turkey.

According to the Board of Trade returns for the month of July 1913, the total trade of enumerated articles between the two countries amounted to £276,248 during July, 1913, as compared with £218,892 during the corresponding month of 1912, and £669,426 in 1911, which is a better showing than last month, and is above the average for the first seven months of the present year. The total enumerated imports from Turkey into Great Britain during the month of July 1913, were slightly greater than during the previous month and amounted to £125,945, as compared with £178,068, during the corresponding month of 1912, and £20,782 during the same month in 1911. Although the prohibition against the shipment of cereals has been partially removed, there has not been time for these to show any recovery in the returns under consideration, and the total shipments of cereals during the month was represented by £5,977 of barley alone. The shipments of mohair were still heavy, although slightly less than during the corresponding month of the previous year and amounted to £90,300, as compared with £117,120 during July, 1912, and £14,006 in 1911. The shipments of wool amounted to £16,138, as compared with £7,632 during the month of July, 1912, and £18,413 in 1911. The shipments of raisins were £13,631, as against insignificant amounts during the month of July of the two preceding years.

As regards the enumerated export to Turkey during the month of July, 1913 while these were considerably in excess of the previous month, and amounted £550,263, they compared less favourably with the corresponding month in 1912, when they amounted to £740,831, and with the same month in 1911, when they were £588,694. With the exception of unwrought tin, all the enumerated exports showed decreases. The shipments of cotton piece goods amounted to £133,121 during the month of July, 1913, as compared with £564,050 during the corresponding month of the previous year, but were almost identical with those during the same month in 1911. The shipments of cotton yarns amounted to £93,896 during the month of July 1913, as compared with £65,814 in 1912 and £22,126 in 1911. The shipments of woollen and worsted tissues amounted to £31,109 between them, as compared with £56,926 during the month of July, 1912, and £66,628 during the same month in 1911.

A survey of the total enumerated exchanges during the first seven months ended July, 1913, gives the following results:—To July, 1913, £1,914,187, as compared with £1,758,547 to the same month in 1912, and £1,887,114 in 1911. The total enumerated exports amounted to £3,946,041, and are £568,000 less than during the same period in 1912, and are over a million less than during 1911. The total exports of cotton piece goods to date amount to £2,477,773 and while only £200,000 less than during 1912 to the same date, are just over £700,000 less than during 1911. The exports of cotton yarns to July, 1913, amount to £250,833, and while slightly in excess of the same period in 1911, are about £130,000 less than during 1912. With the exception of tin, the exports of which amount to £29,680 during 1913 to date, and are about £5,000 in excess of the two preceding years, all the remaining exports show marked decreases. The exports of coal amount to £88,506 to July, 1913, as compared with £166,890 to the same date in 1912, and £207,462 in 1911. The shipments of woollen and worsted tissues to date amount to £166,000 between them, as compared with £290,000 in 1912, and £343,000 in 1911.

The enumerated imports from Turkey into Great Britain during the first seven months of 1913, amount to £898,146, as compared with £1,144,632 in 1912 and £775,007 in 1911. The shipments of barley during this period amount to £260,416, and, while holding their own as compared with 1911, are £350,000 less than during the same period of last year. The shipments of mohair to date show a very considerable increase compared with the two previous years, and amount to £421,863, as against £284,300 in 1912, and £173,541 in 1911. The shipments of wool during the period ended July, 1913, amount to £111,831, as compared with £97,866 during the same period in 1912, but are £45,000 less than during 1911. The shipments of raisins amount to £100,414 during 1913, as compared with £32,801 in 1912, and £87,107 in 1911.

The total value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom exported to Turkey during the first two quarters ended June, 1913, are now given as £3,398,982, as compared with £3,884,281 during the corresponding period in 1912, and £4,685,972 in 1911. The total value of the imports from Turkey into the United Kingdom during the first two quarters ended June, 1913, amounted to £2,075,898, as compared with £3,374,818 in 1912, and £1,304,471 in 1911.

Mineral Wealth of Persia.

GOLD, COPPER AND OIL

THE following particulars concerning the mineral wealth of Persia have been placed at our disposal by M. Charles Brouard, mining engineer, who spent many years prospecting and travelling in the Shah's domains. Having established his headquarters at Tabriz, M. Brouard's prospecting was more exhaustive in Northern and Western Persia, but his observations in Central Persia and in the South—more particularly in regard to oil—will be read with interest. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that, in the expert's opinion, Persia will be one of the great oil-producing countries of the future. Apart from this it will produce large quantities of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron. The Province of Azerbaijan, with the goldfields of the Kalu River, seems to be indicated as the richest in mineral wealth, but geological considerations seem to point to Luristan as equally worthy of the attention of European capital. Moreover it must be borne in mind that the geological features of Persia are of a more regular character than those of the Caucasus, and are therefore certainly worthy of serious and complete investigation. Needless to say the same remarks apply to Turkish territory situated immediately beyond the western frontier of Persia.

GEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Kuh Jahak (near Barmird, and about 100 miles south of Hamadan), lined with beds of different coloured clays and gypsum, presents a strongly pronounced asymmetrical inflexional structure. This range forms a geological divide, as it were, between Northern and Southern Persia. It can be said that whereas the north including the Elburz and Karadagh Mountains, are chiefly Jurassic the whole of the south and south-west, including the Zagros range are mostly of Tertiary age, with traces of Cretaceous, Triassic, and Permian. The volcanic forces of the country have had a general direction N N W. S S E, but the volcanic zone can be limited to the north, as far south as 100 miles beyond Hamadan where the naphtha zone, including the Kuh Jahak, begins and runs south to the Persian Gulf.

THE MINERALS DESCRIBED

Gold—Thirty miles west of Astaneh, near Sultanabad, I located alluvial and reef gold in workable quantities. A concession for the exploitation of this field was granted to some Persians in 1910, but has since been lost by the concessionaires.

In the neighbourhood of Taoriz and Zanjan, in the Kuh Sefid there are gold-bearing pyrites, yielding as much as 16 ozs. to the ton. The cyanide process of extraction is recommended.

The richest gold-producing district is along the Kalu River in Western Azerbaijan. The district is roughly 120 miles in length and 80 miles in width. The ore is derived from gravel masses or deposits belonging to the Miocene period. The nuggets or dust found in the Kalu gravel are quite rounded and have the normal characteristics pertaining to alluvial gold. Dredging is indicated. I also found nuggets between Bana and Sakiz.

To the east of the Kalu River, on the Jagaru River, and in the vicinity of Miandoab near Lake Urmia, I located an important field (bonch claims), the ore seeming to be derived from the disintegration of a dark conglomerate compound of heavy magnetic iron grains and nodules of pyrites cemented with earth. The gold found in the gravel is little worn by abrasion. The average pan gives from 8-15 grains of gold dust. The San Karsh Mountains in this neighbourhood are rich in gold and other minerals.

Near Hamadan, in the Alvand Kuh, alluvial gold has been washed by Jews from time immemorial. Reef gold has been traced in quartz. Owing to the opposition of the natives I was, however, unable to follow up this claim.

Copper—Copper ore is frequently met with. The most frequent forms are chalcopyrites, malachite, azurite, and chalcosine.

In the Shehran Kuh, about six miles to the north of Teheran, quantities of copper are to be found. In the same neighbourhood are shafts of a copper mine worked centuries ago.

The Karadagh Mountains, on the frontier between Russia and Persia, are rich in copper ore. A feature of Persian copper is that it is generally gold-bearing.

Zinjan, on the route from Teheran to Tabriz, and Maindoab are also situated in copper districts; in the first-named locality the native ore is found in large reefs. As a matter of fact, though copper is to be found in most districts, native copper seems to be restricted to the Persian sandstone of the Zinjan district.

I have also encountered tennantite in small quantities in the province of Aragh, near Sultanabad.

Galena—This is to be found practically everywhere and the ore is very rich. The largest deposits are situated in the northern slopes of

the Elburz Mountains, to the south of Resht. At Ardebil, west of Astara, I have discovered native silver nuggets.

On the road from Teheran to Ispahan I located quantities of galena in a large stretch of Tertiary (middle and upper Eocene) rock. The vein stuff is quartz with a little heavy spar. The ore is rich (14 ozs. to the ton), and the same quartz is to a certain extent, gold-bearing. The outcropping shows some crocoisite.

I am told that large deposits of galena are found in Eastern Persia near the Afghan frontier (Khorassan), but I had no opportunity of verifying the report.

Iron—In Northern Persia is situated an extensive iron ore body. It lies between Kazvin and Teheran, and contains as much as 70 per cent of metal with hardly a trace of sulphur and phosphorus.

The most frequent iron ores are hematite, magnetite, and limonite. The latter, in the above-named district, hardly shows a trace of hydrates.

Manganese—I discovered a very extensive manganese ore body in the vicinity of Kerman.

On the whole, the manganese group is represented by better ore than that found in the Caucasus. The pyrolusite has a calcareous casing, contains lime, practically no phosphorus, and yields an average of 40 per cent metal.

Gems—These are poorly represented. A few rubies have been found in the gold-bearing sands of the Red Khane Sefid, near Resht.

Turquoise—In 1909 I made an interesting discovery of a rich new turquoise bearing ground in an old red sandstone formation near Savah, with close by a formation of gypsum and heavy spar containing quantities of sulphides of arsenic. The site of this discovery is on the old road from Teheran to Hamadan. The only other known turquoise deposit is in Khorassan (Nishapur).

Mercury—South of Zinjan native mercury and cinnabar have been found, close to the alluvial gold deposits already mentioned.

Borax—Located near Kerman.

Asbestos—Located near Kerman.

Antimony—I found native antimony in Aragh between Sultanabad and Barmird.

Bitumen—An interesting discovery was a four mile deposit of bitumen which I made along the Top e Khazab, in the Kuh Jahak. The rocks here were dripping bitumen from all their cracks. The bitumen itself lay as a soft bed 2-3 ft. deep at the bottom of the ravine. As a rough analysis showed me its purity is nearly equal to that of Utah. Its nearly complete solubility in sulphide of carbon and by distillation denoted the presence of a large quantity of fluid hydrocarbons, not many gaseous products, and only a negligible quantity of sulphur, its specific gravity was 1.25.

Rock Salt—Slightly to the north-east of Tabriz is an important formation of rock salt exposed to the air. It is mixed with red sand, and as such finds its way to the Tabriz market. It could easily be purified.

Lignite—Fifteen miles south-west of Hamadan I found an extensive bed of lignite which gave on analysis 28 per cent water and 56 per cent carbon.

Another important bed of lignite is also to be found in the immediate vicinity of Tabriz.

Coal—It is found in sufficient quantities to permit of profitable exploitation.

A large coalfield, for instance, is located between Kazvin and Teheran, in the immediate neighbourhood of the iron body previously alluded to.

Another important coalfield with a great future before it is located in the Gissakun Kuh, about 40 miles from Bushire. English coal sells at that port at from 40s. to 45s. per ton, and it would be possible to sell Persian coal at one-half the price and yet make a profit out of the transaction.

Oil—There are two distinct petroliferous areas in Persia. The first is in the extreme north of Azerbaijan, along the Russian frontier, the general trend being from the north-west of Tabriz to Astara. I consider it to be of far greater value than the Trans Caucasian fields of the Baku district proper. The second area is from, and including, the Kuh Jahak in a south-easterly direction to the Persian Gulf. This field has immense possibilities.

The northern area follows the trend of a mountain chain (Karadagh) offering the distinctive characteristic of a violent upheaval of volcanic origin. Immediately to the east of Tabriz dysymmetrical folds are prominent. In the Serab region traces of liquid petroleum become visible. The oil-bearing stratum is seemingly of a dark, loose sandstone, which when bored to a depth of a few feet, gives off petroleum. This area is large. The water near the oil emanations are impregnated with sulphates (sodium, calcium, and magnesium).

To the east of Sornb are the first mud volcanoes and gas vents. Where oil reaches the surface, the characteristics of a paraffin base oil are found, viz., a coating of a red-dish-brown, soft, greasy substance like vaseline.

Further to the east, towards Ahar, another change in the formation takes place, the general characteristics being clay, with gypsum and rock-salt, and bituminous shale. The structure presents a large number of faults, seemingly sealed with oxydised asphalt. Still further east, in the direction of the volcanic Savalan Kuh (near Ardabil), the clay gives way to a Pleistocene formation, with signs of glacial action. Here again are mud volcanoes and other indications of the presence of oil. Taken as a whole, the surface indications of the likely spots for the accumulation of oil tend to show that they can be reached at a depth of from 600 to 1,000 ft.

The nearest station on the west to the oil field will be Marand, on the Julfa-Tabriz railway (under construction), and to the east, Astara, on the proposed Abat-Astara line.

If the geological formation of Kuh Janak and thence southward to the Gulf can be taken as a surface indication, it denotes the presence of naphtha deposits. Natives reported to me that at a place between Jander and Khorramabad, to the west of the bitumen deposit mentioned above, natural gases escaped at several points from the earth. Though I had no opportunity to control the report, I have every reason to believe it not only possible but probable. The actual oil wells of southern Persia are found under porous and sedimentary folds overlying a gypsum structure. In all probability the petroliferous area, the southern extremity of which is now being tapped by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, reaches northward as far as the Kuh Jahak.—The Near East

The Treaty of Bucharest.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Near East* writes from Odessa under date 17th of August:—

"The warning conveyed to Turkey in the statement made to the House of Commons by Sir Edward Grey on Tuesday last does not appear to carry much conviction to the Russian political journals which comment upon it. It is recalled that a month ago Mr. Asquith addressed a similar warning to the Porte in terms equally emphatic and explicit, but the only effect of that ministerial utterance of the British Premier was to incite Turkey to renewed and successful efforts to concentrate an army of 160,000 troops of all arms in Thrace. The unanticipated reappearance of the 'Honest Broker' of the Wilhelmstrasse in the arena of Balkan politics has, undoubtedly, changed the situation. The Kaiser, it is now evident, played a leading rôle in the formulation of the Treaty of Bucharest, and he has declared it to be definitive. Even the Russian Pan-Slav organs regard that dictum as final, and the demand on the part of Russia and Austria for a revision of the Treaty will not, they say, be persisted in. Once more the dissensions in the councils of the Great Powers are the salvation of Turkey. No individual member of the Concert is prepared to employ force for the expulsion of the Turk from Adrianople, and it becomes daily more apparent that, despite her anger at the Bucharest *dénouement*, Russia will not proceed to extreme measures to coerce Turkey.

"England, it is pointed out by the Russian political publicists, has no direct, or even indirect, interests in the Balkans, but she has a direct interest, as a Muhammadan Power, in avoiding any course that might inflame religious race-war in India, and if there were no such reason, it is added, the British Government has not the slightest intention of playing the part of the policeman of Europe in the Balkans. As a matter of fact, the European policeman is already there, figuratively speaking, and at the behest of the Wilhelmstrasse. A little time will heal the asperities of the moment, and the Treaty of Bucharest will be accepted without further demur. The Greeks will retain Kavalla and the Enos-Midia line will be replaced by the Maritsa frontier. That, at least, is the opinion of the leading organs of the Russian Press to-day. Roumania's astute policy of placing herself at the head of a quadruple or quintuple Balkan confederation promises to be successfully consummated with the invaluable aid of the Wilhelmstrasse, and then will arise the vital question to this country whether that confederation is to become a prop to the Central League or retain a neutral independence. The former trust of the Balkan Slav States in the 'Motherland' has been rudely shaken and partially shattered by recent events, a fact of which the 'Honest Broker' is likely to take advantage."

History of the Press Legislation in India.

I propose, in this article, to trace the history of the Press legislation in India from its beginning down to the year 1910 when the New Press Act was enacted.

The state of legislation with regard to the Press in any civilized country is a matter of great public interest and importance, since such legislation cannot but affect the position and fortune of an institution, which, on the whole, had come to be a potent instrument of national education and advancement. The Press is a great factor in the progress of nations in the modern world. Nobody indeed, contends that every sheet exercises influence, much less wholesome influence, on the advancement of a city; and no doubt the commonplace maxim "There are black sheep in every fold" would apply to the Press no less than to other institutions. In every country that has a Press worth the name, there will be found a few papers which are conducted more with the commercial spirit than with the honest desire of advancing truth, and educating the people on public affairs, and which, therefore, at times do more harm than good by pandering to popular prejudices and generally playing to the gallery. But, there is no institution in the world that cannot be prostituted to base ends. Even religion, the greatest force that has appeared in the world and raised mankind from barbarism to civilization, has been debased to evil purposes. But from this, no sane man concludes that religion is not a noble institution, though the horrors committed in its name and for the supposed furtherance of its ends in ancient times have led some impatient spirits to question its value as a civilizing agency. In the same way, it would be sheer injustice to judge of the merits and results of such a wide institution as the Press from the character of a small section of it. Every institution must be judged after the fullest and most dispassionate consideration of the points that may be urged in favour and against it, and if the Press is judged in this way, there can be no doubt that the verdict will be that it is an institution that has, on the whole, exercised very beneficial influence upon social advancement in every region of the world. Some European critics who have their own axes to grind, are in the habit particularly in times of political excitement and agitation, of depicting the young institution of the Press in Oriental countries, in the darkest colours possible, not only branding its conductors as a set of raw, half-educated youths who have adopted this profession from their incompetence to practice any other, but ascribing to it every evil that may afflict the body politic. The abuse that is sometimes heaped upon the Indian Press, for instance, would lead a stranger not acquainted with the real facts to suppose that it is an utterly monstrous institution, the wonder about which is that it is still allowed to exist. But even in India and other countries of the Orient, none but those whose judgment is clouded by passion and prejudice would deny that the Press has produced a vast preponderance of good in promoting popular education, teaching the people their duties as citizens, evoking their patriotism, arousing their self-consciousness, broadening their outlook, liberalizing their ideas, and, in general, making them much better and more useful members of society. Such being the influence, actual as well as potential, of the Press, it becomes a matter of great moment to understand the attitude of the Government towards it and the consequences of that attitude upon its future development.

(Of course, there is a world of difference between the position of the Press in advanced Europe and America, and its position in comparatively backward countries like India—backward, I mean, from the point of view of modern civilization. In western countries with their representative institutions and responsible government, the Press has become an immense power which the authorities have always to reckon with, and can never defy; it has attained to a position of secure eminence from which there is not the remotest possibility of its being ever dislodged. It has become an essential element in their body politic. The Freedom of the Press has come to be recognised as one of the fundamental rights, and any attempt to curtail it has become almost an impossibility, thanks to the growth of a strong, vigilant public opinion. So long ago as in 1858, John Stuart Mill could say with perfect truth that the "time is gone by, when any defence would be necessary of the liberty of the Press as a security against corrupt or tyrannical Government." And what was true in 1858 holds with still greater force in 1912. Even in Japan which did not know what a newspaper was until after the Restoration, the freedom of the Press has already come to be recognised as an essential and useful element in their national life. Article 89 of the Japanese Constitution provides that "Japanese subjects shall within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations."

In India, however, the Press is still in a state of transition. Though an exotic, it has won its way into the hearts of the people, and become a deeply rooted institution in our national life. It has exercised considerable influence upon our national progress, and that influence would have been still greater if the extension of education had kept pace with it. Considering that, according to the census of 1901, more than 94 per cent of the population are still illiterate, the progress of the Indian Press is truly wonderful. But though the Press has thus grown in influence and importance, the attitude of the Government towards it is still one of suspicion and distrust. It is still far from receiving that generous and sym-

pathetic treatment which from the good work it has been doing, is its due. Its liberty is insecure and the Government had not failed to tail it whenever they wished to do so. In justice to the Government however, it must be said, as this article will show, that their policy towards it has never been one of unmixd and continuous repression; it has alternated between freedom and repression, the restrictions placed upon the Press by one Viceroy have been removed by his successor; and moreover whenever a repressive act was enacted it was sought to be defended as being required by the peculiar circumstances of the time, and not on the ground of principle. But the unfortunate thing is that the Indian people have no control over their own liberties, which are at the mercy of the Government, liable to be suspended or destroyed whenever they may think it necessary or desirable to do so.

The history of the Press Legislation in India extends over a period of a hundred years. That legislation was at first directed against the Anglo-Indian Press. During the first half of the 19th century, the Indian Press was practically non-existent. The few papers that were published had a very small circulation, not exceeding 300 copies, and exercised very little influence over the people or the Government. The Press that really counted was the Anglo-Indian Press. Of course, it did not represent the interests of the Indian people, but of the small non-official Anglo-Indian community. As John Stuart Mill said

"The English newspaper press in India is the organ only of the English society, and chiefly that part of it unconnected with the Government. It has little to do with the natives and with the great interests of India."

It was in a state of constant antagonism to the Government and severely criticized its policy and measures. Nowadays the Anglo-Indian Press is the staunchest supporter of the Government and the bureaucrats, the virulent attacks made by some of the Anglo-Indian dailies in Calcutta upon H. E. Lord Hardinge for the transfer of the capital to Delhi and the modification of the partition of Bengal, are an exception, and can only be paralleled within the last generation by similar attacks made upon Lord Ripon for his liberal policy. But in the early days of British Rule, the Anglo-Indian papers were often the severest critics of the Government. They strongly opposed every measure of reform such as the wider employment of the Indian people in the Civil Service.

The early policy of the Government towards the Press was characterised by extreme severity. In 1793, Lord Wellesley passed some regulations for the better control of the Press. Every paper was to be inspected by a censor before publication, and immediate deportation to Europe was the penalty for offending against the regulations. The Marquis of Hastings altered these regulations a little, but the general policy towards the Press remains unchanged. The Press was still prohibited from publishing "animadversions" on public measures and "discussions" tending to alarm the Indian people. Many Anglo-Indian defied these regulations and suffered punishment for their opinions. We may not approve of their views and methods, but certainly they deserve a word of praise for being the first martyrs to the cause of the liberty of the Press in India.

It was, however, in 1822 that the question of the freedom of the Press in India came to the front. In that year, Sir Thomas Munro, who was then Governor of Madras, wrote his memorable minute on the subject under the heading "Danger of a Free Press in India." Sir Thomas Munro was a statesman of liberal ideas and principles. He was in favour of giving the people of India an increasing share in the administration, and had very liberal notions about their future. He, however, was strongly of opinion that a free Press in India was a serious danger to British rule. "The minute is so important and has exercised such influence upon the Government whenever they desired to undertake anti-press legislation that it deserves to be carefully read by every educated Indian. I, therefore, make no apology for quoting the following extracts" therefrom.

"I cannot view the question of a free press in this country without feeling that the tenure with which we hold our power over has been and never can be (1) the liberties of the people. I therefore consider it as essential to the tranquillity of the country and the maintenance of our Government that all the present restrictions should be continued. Were the people all our own countrymen, I would prefer the utmost freedom of the press, but as they are, nothing could be more dangerous than such freedom. In place of spreading useful knowledge among the people, and tending to their better government, it would generate insubordination, insurrection and anarchy.

"Those who speak of the press being free in this country have looked at only one part of the subject. They have looked to its freedom among the natives, to be by them employed for whatever they also may consider to be for their own benefit and that of their countrymen. A free press and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and which cannot long exist together. For what is the first duty of a free press? It is to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, and to sacrifice to this one great object every meaner consideration, and if we make the press really free to the natives as well as to Europeans, it must inevitably lead to this result. We might wish that the press should be used to convey moral and religious instruction to the natives, and that its efforts should go no further. They might be satisfied with this for a time, but would soon learn to apply it to political purposes, to compare their own situation and ours and to overthrow our power.

"The advocates of a free press seek, they say, the improvement of our system of Indian Government, and of the minds and the condition of the natives, but these desirable ends are I am convinced, quite unattainable by the means they propose. There are two important points which should always be kept in view in our administration of affairs here. The first is that our sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest possible period, the second is, that whenever we are obliged to resign it, we should leave the natives so far improved from their connection with us as to be capable of maintaining a free or at least, a regular government among themselves. If these objects can ever be accomplished, it can only be under a restricted press. A free one, so far from facilitating, would render their attainment utterly impracticable, for by attempting to precipitate improvement it would frustrate all the benefits which might have been derived from a more cautious and temperate proceeding.

"We cannot have a monopoly of the freedom of the press. We cannot confine it to Europeans only. There is no device or contrivance by which this can be done, and if it be made really free, it must in time produce nearly the same consequences here which it does everywhere else. It must spread among the people the principles of liberty, and stimulate them to expel the strangers who rule over them and to establish a national government.

"Were we sure that the press would act only through the masses of the people after the great body of them should have imbibed the spirit of freedom, the danger would be seen at a distance and there would be ample time to guard against it. But from our peculiar situation in this country this is not what would take place, for the danger would come upon us from our native army, not from the peoples. In countries not under a foreign government the spirit of freedom usually grows up with the gradual progress of early education and knowledge among the body of the people. This is its natural origin, and were it to arise in this way in this country while under our rule, its course would be quiet and uniform, unattended by any sudden commotion, and the change in the character and opinions of the people might be met by suitable changes in the form of our government. But we cannot with any reason expect this silent and tranquil revolution. For owing to the unnatural state in which India will be placed under a foreign government with a free press and a native army, the spirit of independence will spring up in this army long before it is ever thought of among the people. The army will not wait for the slow operation of the instruction of the people and the growth of liberty among them but will hasten to execute their own schemes for the overthrow of the Government and the recovery of their national independence, which they will soon learn from the press it is their duty to accomplish.

"The high opinion entertained of us by the natives and the defence and respect for authority which have hitherto prevailed among ourselves have been the main cause of our success in this country, but when these principles shall be shaken or swept away by a free press, encouraged by our juries to become a licentious one, the change will soon reach and pervade the whole native army. The native troops are the only body of natives who are always mixed with the Europeans, and they will therefore be the first to learn the doctrines circulated among them by the newspapers, for as these doctrines will become the frequent subject of discussion among the European officers, it will not be long before they are known to the native officers and troops. These men will probably not trouble themselves much about distinctions regarding the rights of the people and forms of government, but they will learn from what they hear, to consider what immediately concerns themselves, and for which they require but little prompting.

"I do not apprehend any immediate danger from the press. It would require many years before it could produce much effect on our native army. But though the danger be distant, it is not the less certain, and will inevitably overtake us if the press become free. The liberty of the press and a foreign yoke are already stated to be quite incompatible, we cannot leave it free with any regard to our own safety. . . . The Press must be restrained either by a censor, or by the power of sending home at once the publisher

* The minute is published in extenso in Vol. II of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot's selections from the minutes and other official writings of Sir Thomas Munro. The more important passages will be found quoted in "The Statute on the Law of Sedition and other Cognate Offences in British India" by Walter Donogh, Bar-at-Law, and also in his biography.

of any libellous or inflammatory paper at the responsibility of Government, without the Supreme Court having authority on any plea whatever, to detain him for a single day.

"Such restrictions as those proposed will not hinder the progress of knowledge among the natives, but rather insure it, by leaving it to follow its natural course, and protecting it against military violence and anarchy. Its natural course is not the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets among the natives immediately connected with Europeans, but education gradually spreading among the body of the people, and diffusing moral and religious instruction through every class of the community. The desire of independence and of governing themselves, which in every country follows the progress of knowledge, ought to spring up and become general among the people before it reaches the army; and there can be no doubt that it will become general in India, if we do not prevent it by ill-judged precipitation in seeking to effect in a few years changes which must be the work of generations. By mild and equitable government, by promoting the dissemination of useful books among the natives without attacking their religions, by protecting their own numerous schools, by encouraging by honorary or pecuniary marks of distinction those where the best system of education prevails, by occasional allowances from the public revenue to such as stand in need of this aid, and above all, by making it worth the while of the natives to cultivate their minds, by giving them a greater share in the civil administration of the country, and holding out the prospect of filling places of rank and emolument as inducements to the attainment of knowledge we shall by degrees banish superstition, and introduce among the natives of India all enlightened opinions and doctrines which prevail in our own country.

"If we take a contrary course—if we, for the sole benefit of a few European editors of newspapers, permit a licentious press to undermine among the natives all respect for the European character and authority, we shall scatter the seeds of discontent among our native troops and never be secure from insurrection. . . . We are trying an experiment never yet tried in the world—maintaining a foreign dominion by means of a native army, and teaching that army, through a free Press, that they ought to expel us and deliver their country. As far as Europeans only, whether in or out of the service, are concerned, the freedom or restriction of the Press could do little good or harm, and would hardly deserve any serious attention. It is only as regards the natives that the Press can be viewed with apprehension, and it is only when it comes to agitate our native army that its terrible effects will be felt. Many people both in this country and England, will probably go on admiring the efforts of the Indian Press, and fondly anticipating the rapid extension of knowledge among the natives, while a tremendous revolution, originating in this very Press, is preparing, which will, by the premature and violent overthrow of our power, disappoint all these hopes, and throw India back into a state more hopeless of improvement than when we first found her."

It is impossible not to admire the refreshing candour with which Sir Thomas Munro has expressed his views on the subject. There can be no abler and more outspoken defence of the policy of restricting the freedom of the Press in India than what is contained in this remarkable minute. This is not the proper occasion for considering how far Munro's arguments are sound, but it may be pointed out that the premises from which he draws his conclusions, viz., that it is the first duty of a free Press to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, and that the Indian Press, if free, can not fail to work for this object, whatever force they may have in countries where the people are imbued with a strong sense of nationality, cannot apply to a country like India where the love for a free national existence is so weak that journalists as a class, like other leaders of thought, deem it their first duty not to countenance any extravagant views or measures, but to promote gradual progress in every direction, so that whatever national improvement may be brought about, may rest on a sound, enduring basis and not be liable to any serious set-back or reverse. Even in the abstract, the proposition that the first duty of a free press is to strive for national independence cannot be accepted without qualifications. Whatever that may be, as a matter of fact, there is no general desire among us for anything more than self-government under the British flag, such as exists in the British Colonies.

Munro's views, however, commended themselves to the Court of Directors. They wrote:—

"A free press is a fit associate and necessary appendage of a representative constitution. . . . But in no sense of the terms can the Government of India be called a free, a representative or a popular government: the people had no voice in its establishment, nor have they any control over its acts. The Government in India exercises a delegated authority, derived from the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The Government of India resides in this country (England), and is, of course, responsible to the English public, in common with the Government of England.

It is in this country, therefore, and not in India that its measures ought to be discussed." (The italics are mine.)

The views of Raja Rammohun Ray on this point are worth quoting. He says:—

"Men in power hostile to the liberty of the Press which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine that it might in some possible contingency afford the means of combination against the Government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable. Your Majesty is well aware that a free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the Supreme Government and thus get them redressed, the ground of discontent that excite revolution are removed; whereas where no freedom of the Press existed and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe or if prevented by the armed force of the Government the people continued ready for insurrection."

Again—

"It is well-known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever attends the exercise of tyranny and oppression, and the argument they constantly resort to is that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since as a people become enlightened they will discover that by a unity of effort the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization, anarchy and revolution are most prevalent, while on the other hand in nations the most enlightened any revolt against Governments which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare and that the resistance of the people advanced in knowledge has ever been not against the existence but against the abuses of the governing power. Canada during the late war with America afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabitants of that Colony finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complaints listened to, and their grievances redressed by the British Government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact it may be fearlessly averred that the more enlightened a people become the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power as long as it is exercised with Justice tempered with mercy and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion."

But the views of Sir Thomas Munro prevailed, and on 5th April 1823, a regulation was passed called "A Regulation for preventing the establishment of printing-presses without license, and for restraining under certain circumstances the circulation of printed books and papers." This regulation applied to Bengal only, and, therefore, in January 1827, a similar regulation was passed by the Bombay Government.

The principal provisions of these regulations were:—

- (1) No printing-press was to be established, and no book or paper to be printed without a license from Government.
- (2) All books and papers printed under license were to be submitted to the Government for inspection.
- (3) The circulation of any newspaper or book might be prohibited by notice in the Government Gazette.

We learn from the *Mir-at-Akhbar*, the Persian newspaper published by Raja Rammohun Ray, that

"The eminently learned Dr. Bryce, the head minister of the new Scotch Church, having accepted the situation of clerk of the stationery belonging to the Honourable Company, Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the [Calcutta] Journal, observed directly as well as indirectly that it was unbecoming of the character of the minister to accept a situation like this, upon which the Governor-General, in consideration of his disrespectful expression, passed an order that Mr. Buckingham should leave India for England within the period of two months from the date of the receipt of this order, and that after the expiration of that period he is not allowed to remain a single day in India."

Miss S. D. Collet, the biographer of Raja Rammohun Ray, continues the story as follows:—

"The Journal was suppressed, and at the close of 1823, Mr. Arnot, Mr. Buckingham's assistant editor, was arrested and put on board a home-going ship. The notice expelling Mr. Buckingham was followed up, suddenly and without notice, on March 14th, by

* This paragraph is quoted from Mr. Dutt's "India in the Victorian Age." It is rather strange that Mr. Dutt, while tracing the history of the Press in India has nothing to say about Munro's historic minute.

a rigorous Press Ordinance from the Acting Governor-General in Council. * * * The Ordinance prescribed that henceforth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary. Before this regulation could come into force, the law required it to be fixed up in the Supreme Court for twenty days, and then if not disallowed, registered. It was accordingly entered on March 15th. On the 17th Council moved the Court to allow parties feeling themselves aggrieved by the new regulation to be heard. Sir Francis Macnaghten, the Sole Acting Judge, fixed the 31st for the hearing of objections, but suggested that in the meanwhile the objections would do well to state their plea in a memorial to Government. Foremost among these objections was Ram Mohun Ray. He and his friends set about promoting the suggested petition. . . . Another memorial of the same tenour was hastily drawn up next day, signed by Rammohun and five other distinguished native gentlemen, and by counsel submitted to the Supreme Court. This memorial was attributed by its opponents to an English author but was really, as was generally acknowledged later, the work of Rammohun. It may be regarded as the Aroopagita of Indian History. Ahika in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East. * * * On this memorial being read, its prayer was supported by the speeches of Counsel, Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Turton. But Sir Francis Macnaghten gave his decision in favour of the Press Ordinance. * * * There was but one resource left to the defenders of a free Press, and of that resource Rammohun did not hesitate to avail himself. He and his co-adjutors appealed to the King in Council. The Appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought recall the eloquence of the great orators of a century ago. In a language and style forever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British History."

This memorial, too, proved unavailing. The Privy Council declined to comply with the petition.

It will be seen from the above that these regulations introduced licensing as well as censorship of the Press.

These restrictions on the Press continued in force till 15th September 1835. In that year, they were repealed and replaced by a new Act, viz., Act XI of 1835.

The way for the removal of these restrictions and making the Press free had already been paved by Lord William Bentinck. Though himself violently attacked by the Anglo-Indian Press for his liberal policy towards the people of India, he treated it with perfect toleration instituting not a single prosecution, and allowing the regulation to remain practically a dead letter. He retired in 1835 and was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe as acting-Governor-General. Sir Charles Metcalfe's appointment was purely provisional, nevertheless he had the courage to signalize his brief administration by repealing the regulations and granting perfect freedom to the Press. In this noble work, he was ably and loyally supported by Lord (then Mr.) Macaulay, the Law Member.

The new Act, viz., Act XI of 1835, which was substituted for the old regulations was quite an innocent measure, its object being simply to make printers and publishers "accessible to the laws of the land." It was drafted by Macaulay on the lines of a corresponding English statute, and was the first Press Act enacted for the whole of India. It abolished censorship and the system of licenses, and introduced in their place a system of registration. Every owner of a press and every printer and publisher of any book or periodical work was obliged, under a penalty, to sign and file before a magistrate a declaration setting forth "a true and precise account of the premises wherein his printing or publishing was carried on."

Sir Charles Metcalfe's press policy was not approved of by the Court of Directors. They remonstrated with him and condemned it as opposed to their own views and sentiments. And they suggested that the old restrictions would have to be reimposed after the arrival of the new Governor-General, Lord Auckland. Probably, Sir Charles Metcalfe would have been confirmed in his office, had he not incurred the displeasure of the Directors by his press policy. Be it said to Lord Auckland's credit, however, he made no attempt to reverse that policy.

The Charter of Freedom thus granted to the Indian Press by Sir Charles Metcalfe remained in existence for about 22 years. In 1857, the Mutiny broke out with all its horrors, and naturally the Government feared that a free Press would take advantage of the rebellious state of the country and add fuel to the fire. On 13th June 1857, a bill was introduced for the better control of the Press and passed on the same day. It is known as Act XV of 1857.

This Act applied to the whole of British India and re-enacted some of the provisions of the regulation of 1835. At the same

time, the provisions of Act XI of 1835 were expressly maintained. It thus restored the old system of licenses without at the same time disturbing the later system of registration then in vogue. In one respect, the new Act was more liberal than the old Regulation. There was to be no censorship of the press.

One of the most important provisions of the Act was that it was to have effect only for one year; and it deserves to be noted that though the public excitement caused by the Mutiny had not quite subsided, it was not renewed at the end of the period.

The next step in Press Legislation was Act XXV of 1867. It is still in force as amended by Act XX of 1890. It repealed and re-enacted with slight changes, the provisions of the Act XI of 1835. It had been originally intended to provide rules for the preservation and registration of books only, for which no provision had hitherto existed, but at a later stage, the bill was amended so as to include the provision of Act XI of 1835.

We now come to the year 1870. In that year, the famous section 124A, dealing with the offence of sedition, as it stood before its amendment in 1898, was embodied in the Penal Code. The draft Penal Code was framed by Macaulay in 1837, but the Code itself was not enacted till 1860. The section dealing with sedition originally stood as Sec 711A of the draft Code, but it came somehow to be omitted when the Code was passed. This omission has not been satisfactorily explained.

Neither the Act XXV of 1867, nor the inclusion of the sedition section in the ordinary penal law of the land interfered with the legitimate freedom of the Press. The sedition section was drafted on the lines of its English prototype and though in later years, particularly in the memorable Tilak trial of 1897, it received a very strict interpretation from the Bombay High Court, the section itself evoked no opposition when it was embodied in the Penal Code. So with the exception of one single year, viz., that of the Mutiny, the freedom conferred upon the Indian Press by Sir Charles Metcalfe, continued to be enjoyed by it till 1878, when it was again partially suspended by the Vernacular Press Act.

That Act, as its name indicates, applied only to the Vernacular Press, the English papers whether published by Indians or Anglo-Indians being exempted from its operation. At this distance of time it seems rather difficult to understand why it was then thought necessary to gag the Vernacular Press, but a crisis in the relations of the Government of India with Afghanistan was approaching, and indeed a war soon broke out between India and Afghanistan; and probably the Government of Lord Lytton wanted to take precautionary measures with a view to prevent the people, particularly the Mahomedans, from giving expression to their inmost feelings in the event of war. At that time there were no elected members either in the Imperial or the Provincial Legislative Councils, and in fact, there was only one Indian member present in the Council when the Vernacular Press Act was passed—the Hon. Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore. He candidly admitted that he was not in a position to judge whether the ordinary penal law was or was not sufficient to put down any abuse of the freedom of the Press, but he loyally accepted the view of the Government on this point and voted in favour of the measure. The Act was passed in hot haste in one sitting without a single dissentient vote.

The object of the Act was stated by the Hon. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, who introduced the Bill, to be of a two-fold nature:—

(1) To repress seditious writings in the Vernacular newspapers and (2) to check the system of extortion to which, it was alleged, Native Feudatories and Native employees were at times subjected by unscrupulous native editors. No evidence was given by the mover of the Bill in support of the existence of this system, and on reading the debate in the Council, one is painfully struck with the unquestioning ease with which this serious charge against the Vernacular Press was accepted by the honourable members.

The principal provisions of the act were as follows—

(1) The Magistrate may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government require the printer or publisher of any such paper to enter into a bond binding himself not to print or publish in such newspaper anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government, or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions or sects and not to use such paper for purposes of extortion. The Magistrate may further require the amount of this bond to be deposited in money or securities.

(2) If any newspaper (whether a bond has been taken in respect of it or not) at any time contains any matter of the description just mentioned or is used for purposes of extortion, the Local Government may warn such newspaper by a notification in the Gazette; and if in spite of such warning, the offence is repeated, the Local Government may then issue its warrant to seize the plant,

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 &c., of such newspapers, and when any deposit has been made, may declare such deposit forfeited.

(B) As the provisions regarding the deposit of security and the forfeiture of the deposit would perhaps be found to press unduly on some of the less wealthy newspaper proprietors, clauses have been inserted enabling the publisher of a newspaper to take his paper out of the operation of this portion of the Act for such time as he pleases, by undertaking to submit his proofs to an officer appointed by the Government before publication, and to publish nothing which such officer objects to.

Any publisher may, if he chooses, do this at the time when he is called upon to deposit security, and if he does so, no security can be demanded from him.

Again, if he does not choose to avail himself of this provision at that stage, he may subsequently in the event of a warning being issued against him, offer such an undertaking, and if the Magistrate accepts it, the proceedings are at an end.

The Act also empowered the Local Government to seize seditious books, pamphlets, &c., published in British India, as also those published out of British India, but circulated there. With regard to the latter class of publications, the Governor-General in Council (but not the local governments) was also empowered to prohibit their importation altogether. The Act barred all judicial action and an appeal lay only to the Governor-General in Council against anything done under the act by Local Government or any inferior authority.

The Vernacular Press Act was an enabling one. It was to take effect only in those parts of India to which they might be especially extended by the Governor-General in Council. Moreover the application of its chief provisions was permissive and depended upon the discretion of the Executive Government.

As was to be expected, the Act evoked a good deal of hostile criticism not only in India but also in England. It met with the emphatic disapproval of three distinguished members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and it was condemned in Parliament by a large minority amounting to over 150 members. The late Mr. Gladstone who was then the leader of the opposition, made a very fine speech strongly opposing it. He said:

"They (the people of India) have or think they have plenty of causes of complaint. I am sorry to say, I regard this Press Act as one of the most salient among them; but as I observe most of all from reading extracts sent home in order to make a case for the Act, all these complaints in India appear to me to be particular complaints. They complain of the errors of Government just as we complain of them in this country.

With regard to the hot haste with which the Act was passed he said:

"I think, if one thing is more obvious than another it is that whatever we do give, we should not retract, and that when we have communicated to India the benefit which is perhaps the greatest of all those that we enjoy under our own institutions, viz. the publicity of proceedings in which the nation is interested, and the allowance of sufficient time to consider them at their several stages, to afford securities against wrong and error—it is deplorable in a case like this in India that the utmost haste should have been observed not in amending or altering, but in completely overhauling so far as the Press was concerned, a cardinal part of the legislation of the country."

In according sanction to the Vernacular Press Bill the Secretary of State expressed an opinion that the clause providing for censorship was liable to abuse and requested the Government not to act upon it, leaving it to their judgment to decide whether the clause should be left in abeyance, or be altogether repealed. Accordingly, on 16th October 1878, a bill was introduced called "The Vernacular Press Act Amendment Bill" and all provisions relating to censorship were removed from the Act.

The Vernacular Press Act was in operation for a little over three years. It is, however, bare justice to say that the Act was kept on the Statute-book without being enforced. Only in one instance, was action taken under the Act, and that action, too, did not go beyond giving a warning. Lord Lytton was succeeded by the Marquis of Ripon, and on 7th December 1881, his Government introduced a bill to repeal the Act. The reasons for this measure were stated to be that "in the opinion of the present Government, circumstances no longer justified the existence of the Act."

In defence of the repeal Sir William Hunter made a speech characterised by such statesmanlike breadth of views that it deserves to be carefully studied by every friend of the Press in India. Particularly, his advice to the Vernacular Press might well be laid to heart by our journalists. He said:

"Any one who examined the materials for the early history of the Indian Press would be compelled to the conclusion that the Anglo-Indian journalist occupied, for some time, a larger position, in the

public mind and in the official imagination, than he was entitled to, either by his talents or his integrity. Yet during that very time, and indeed for more than fifty years, the Anglo-Indian journalist did his daily work under the terrors of confiscation, fine, imprisonment and deportation. More than one of the pioneers of British Journalism in India edited his paper from within the walls of a jail. Even after these rigours had fallen into disuse, the Anglo-Indian Press still remained disaffected so long as the repressive regulations remained unrepealed. It was not until Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1835, gave the sanction of law to the liberty of the Press, that Anglo-Indian journalism became loyal.

The Council could not reasonably expect from the Vernacular Press a higher standard of moderation or of public spirit than was found in British and in Anglo-Indian journalism at the same early stage of their development. The experience of many countries proved, that, before journalists realised their responsibility, they were apt to write a good deal that was foolish and hurtful. But experience also proved that in Great Britain and her dependencies this state of things could not now be met by repressive regulations. It was well worth while to bear with the wild growth of immature journalism for the sake of its ripened fruits. When that wild growth led to offences against individuals or the State, the Penal Code was strong enough to vindicate private reputations and the public honour. But in dealing with Vernacular Press there were three influences which the Council could invoke, more powerful, because more continuous in their action, than any punitive laws. There was, in the first place, a large intelligent section of the Vernacular Press itself. The editors of such journals knew perfectly well that they were the chief sufferers, both in reputation and pocket, from a low tone among their contemporaries. It was their interest, alike from a political and a pecuniary point of view, to raise the standard of the whole Vernacular Press. If they set a high example, their less instructed brethren would sooner or later follow their lead. For nothing was more contagious among the members of a profession than respectability. The native Press had an opportunity now which it had never before. For, after all, it was the chief organ of representation in India, and never before was so serious a desire evinced by the Government to give representative institutions a fair trial. The Indian Press was a Parliament always in session, and to which every native was eligible who had anything to say that was worthy of being heard. The Vernacular journalists should realize two things. If they now used their liberty aright they would strengthen the hands of those who wished to foster the popular element in the administration. But if they abused their liberty, they would furnish a most powerful argument for postponing the further development of representative institutions in India.

Another influence from which the Council might hope much was to be found among the powerful body of native journalists who conducted their paper not in the Vernacular dialects but in the English tongue. The Anglo-Native journals formed the advance guard of the Native Press, but their effective power largely depended upon the conduct and discipline of the main Vernacular body behind. They knew that the approval of the Press was, in England, one of the chief incentives to public virtue and its legitimate reward. The leading Anglo-Native journals could do much to bring about a similar state of public opinion in the country; but they could only do so by insisting upon a high standard among their Vernacular brethren. For a national Press must first purify its own springs before it could become the fountain of honour.

But while the Vernacular Press could do much, and the Anglo-Native journals could do more, the Government could also do something to ensure good results from the Bill which the Council would pass today. The preamble to Act IX of 1874 set forth the ignorance of the people as a ground for obtaining repressive regulations against the Press. And whereas, it said, "such publications are read by and disseminated among large bodies of ignorant and unintelligent persons, and are thus likely to have an influence which they otherwise would not possess," and so forth. The Council would observe that it was not the inherent character of the publications that was alone complained of, but the special effect of such publications upon ignorant men. Now it could not be denied that the action of a free Press among densely ignorant masses was attended with some peril. But the only true remedy for the dangers of popular ignorance was the spread of popular education. If therefore in finally emancipating the Press, the Government could also see its way to more widely educate the people, it would send forth liberty not alone upon her travel, but liberty and sincerity hand in hand. A great work had already been done in public instruction upon the basis of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1851. But a still further extension of Vernacular Schools would form the true complement of the now perfected freedom of the Vernacular Press.

The repeal of the Vernacular Press Act was a highly statesman-like measure and greatly contributed to the popularity of Lord Ripon and his government.—The Modern Review.

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—Morris.

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The Week.

Balkan Crisis

London, Sept. 13.

CONSTANTINOPLE: The Turkish and Bulgarian delegates met this afternoon. It was subsequently announced that an examination of the proposals of both sides affords grounds for hoping that a satisfactory settlement is approaching.

London, Sept. 16.

CONSTANTINOPLE: According to an official communication, Turkish and Bulgarian delegates yesterday arrived at an agreement on the principal points connected with the frontier question. The final negotiations will be reached at the next meeting of delegates on Wednesday.

Although the officials refuse to give details, it is understood that Bulgaria has accepted the main Turkish demands including the question of Adrianople and Demotika, in return for minor concessions. This changed attitude of Bulgaria is attributed to her failure to secure the support of the Powers, the strength of the Turkish forces in Thrace and the rapid successful revolution of the inhabitants in the districts round Gumuldjina, where Moslems and Greeks have mustered a force of twenty thousand, which Bulgaria would find difficult to subdue without the support of the Turkish Government.

London, Sept. 17.

CONSTANTINOPLE: The Turkish and Bulgarian delegates meet again today. The discussions will be chiefly concerned with the possession of Demotika. The demarcation of the frontier, which has been fixed by military engineers, is as follows:—Starting at the Enos Line, it follows the course of the Maritsa and then turns west in order to enclose Kavala; then northward via Edirne and Hadjimbaki, it turns south to the south of Mustafa Pasha and passes south of Kirk

Kiliseh, ending at San Stefanos on the Black Sea. It is understood that the agreement will be referred to the Hague Court.

London, Sept. 18.

Turkish and Bulgarian delegates at Constantinople settled frontier question yesterday. It is expected that the protocol will be signed to-day.

The Bulgarians offered to build at their own expense railway between Adrianople and Baba Esaki in exchange for Demotika. The Turks declined and Demotika was awarded to Turkey, practically all of whose demands have been conceded.

Albania.

The new provisional Government in Albania is already confronted with an insurrection headed by Essad Pasha, the defender of Scutari, and its Minister of Interior, who is reported to have seized public funds at Durazzo, where he is establishing a government of his own.

In the meantime the Greeks and Servians declare that Albania is drifting into anarchy and that there is no security for life or property. The Servian Government announces that in defence to the wishes of the Powers, Servia is withdrawing her troops from various points assigned to Albania, but warns the Powers of the probable consequences.

An Austro-Italian Commission has started for Scutari to delimit the northern boundary. The commission is escorted by 100 Austrian troops and 100 Italian troops. Another commission composed of representatives of the five Great Powers has started for Monastir to delimit the southern frontier.

The Albanian situation is now complicated by sanguinary encounters between Albanians, Servians and Montenegrins in the north-west. Forty wounded have been taken to Belgrade.

Servia is strongly reinforcing her troops and has addressed the Powers, contending that it is their duty to prevent Albanian incursions into new Servian territory and urging the speedy organisation of a gendarmery to maintain order.

It is believed in Vienna that Essad Pasha, who revolted against the provisional Government, is possibly intriguing against the appointment of a foreign Prince as ruler.

Tripoli.

Rome: Italian troops, commanded by General Toselli, were pursuing rebels from the abandoned position at Gsur, midway between Benghazi and Derna, when they encountered the enemy in a broken wooded country. After a stubborn engagement, the enemy were beaten off with the help of timely reinforcements. General Toselli died in the forefront of the battle. The Italians lost 3 officers and 18 men killed, and three officers and 70 men wounded. The rebels had heavy losses including important chiefs.

Morocco.

A Renter's message states that the Spaniards are again severely pressed around Ceuta. Raisuli who is noted for his antagonism to French has assumed the leadership of enemy. Strong reinforcements are leaving.

Home Rule.

THE Home Rule Council announced that it is rapidly completing arrangements for an extensive campaign in the Autumn in England in conjunction with Liberal associations. Mr. Redmond and other Nationalists will tour the country and will be supported by Liberal M. P's. The Council asserts that the campaign will convince the electorate that in the absence of an alternative proposal it is the interests of the Empire that the Home Rule Bill should be passed promptly. It adds that it is disposed to agree with Sir Edward Carson's view that Lord Loreburn's proposal is impracticable.

Attempts, pathetic enough seeing how short the time which separates us from the catastrophe, are being made by Lord Dunraven, Mr. William O'Brien and the middle party to bring about a conference out of which might spring a Home Rule Act "by consent." The "All for Ireland" League, at its recent conference at Cork, called on the Premier to advise the King to bring together a small body representing all shades of British and Irish opinion with this end. Admittedly Sir E. Carson and the extremists on one side would not be satisfied, nor be it added would the Hibernians on the other, but Mr. O'Brien holds that the moderate sections could, and without them the extremists would be powerless. Perhaps, but Mr. Redmond will have nothing to say to any conference, his answer is an intimation that Home Rule will be law next June. He has spoken, the thing is finished, the Government is his slave, the country is throttled. So we drift. A slight foretaste of the future is provided by the state of Londonderry, where police drafted in to preserve order are accused of deliberately favouring the Nationalists, and the Municipality has asked for a sworn enquiry into the facts. One need form no judgment on evidence yet unknown, the one thing clear is that Liberals at any rate will form theirs on Mr. Redmond's orders.

Afghanistan.

THE Pioneer's frontier correspondent states: A Wooden Factory was opened at Kabul last month, Mr. Miller being in charge.

The Amir is increasing the number of Indian Medical men in his service. Doctor Allah Jawaya, now on leave at Lahore, is taking four qualified men back with him to Kabul.

McCormick Case.

It is understood that Mr. Channing Arnold's appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against the sentence in the *Burma Critic* defamation case will not be heard before the end of November.

Lord Hardinge's Resignation.

THE *Capital* of the 11th instant states: "The report has been revived in London that Lord Hardinge will resign the Viceroyalty of India next spring. This confirms what we have said more than once. If it were not true, Lord Hardinge would hardly allow the people of Bihar to start collecting money for statues of himself and his wife to be erected in a park at Bankipore."

Cricket in Bombay.

THE game in the Quadrangular Competition was not started till 1.30 p.m. on September 18th, the ground being in a very wet condition owing to a smart shower of rain that fell at 11.30 this morning. His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by Major Graig, Military Secretary, arrived at the Gymkhana Pavilion at about 12.45, being received by Mr. Nicholson, President of the Gymkhana. His Excellency was conducted to the balcony which was made gay with pretty naive draperies (Lady Wellington's favourite colours). The members of both the Hindu and Mahomedan teams were presented to His Excellency, who afterwards lunched with the teams.

With four wickets in hand and 50 runs behind the Hindus' first innings, the over-night newcomers, Patel and Shaik Mahmood, resumed their venture on rather a wet wicket which was considered eminently a bowler's wicket. Chanda Rana and Sampre took the bowling. The Mahomedan batsmen started confidently, hitting freely. The century was up after twenty minutes' play. Many changes of bowling were tried. At lunch time the total Mahomedan score stood at 114, of which Patel contributed 21 and Mahmood 22, both still batting. Resuming after lunch, Patel was held by Deodhar of Sampre. Nazir Hussain now partnered Shaikh Mahmood. The same lively play resulted in the score mounting up fast to 151 when Mahmood fell to Chanda Rana. The same bowler soon after scattered the wickets of Abdul Aziz (161-9-7) Peer Mahmood, the last man, was nicely held by Mehta (182-10-1), Nazir Hussain not out, 23. This brought the Mahomedans' first innings to a close, with five runs behind the Hindus' first innings.

The Hindus commenced their second innings shortly before 4 p.m., Diveker and Vithal opening to the attack of Shaikh Aziz and Feross Khan. Thirty runs were signalled after twenty minutes' play. At 50, Diveker was stumped, Deodhar filled the gap

and again gave a splendid display of cricket, the score mounting fast to a century of which Vithal put up fifty amidst great applause. Frequent changes in bowling were tried without effect. When the stumps were drawn for the day the pair were still batting, Vithal not out, 62, and Deodhar not out, 32; extras, 5; total 110 runs for one wicket.

Lady Wellington arrived in the afternoon. Their Excellencies paid visits to the Mahomedan, Parsi and Hindu Gymkhana tents, which were filled with spectators of the respective communities. Their Excellencies were garlanded at each tent and received a great ovation from the huge crowd assembled.

On Sept. 16 the Mahomedans closed their first innings, only five runs behind the total of their opponents, but before the day was out, the Hindus had regained a grip on the game and this morning they resumed their second innings with a total of 121 runs, and nine wickets in hand. Another big and enthusiastic crowd witnessed the game. The weather was bright and cheerful. The pitch having dried, was in excellent condition.

The start was made punctually at 1.35. The last evenings not-outs, Vithal and Deodhar, faced Shaikh Aziz and Ali. At 133, the partnership was dissolved Deodhar being out l.b.w. when he had made 36. Talpade next partnered Vithal. Plucky and vigorous hitting followed, when the latter fell to an easy catch by Patel. Vithal made 78 runs, of which nine were boundary-hits. (156-3-78) Mehta then partnered Talpade. The latter sent Abdul Aziz over the Parsi gymkhana tent to the great joy of the spectators, this being the first over-the-boundary hit in the tournament. The score rose from 156 to 199, when Talpade was clean bowled by S. Aziz, having made forty-one runs in forty-five minutes. Mehta played cautiously, and returned with 25 to his credit. Bharwa and Baloo fell in quick succession; Pai and Sampre made a good stand. The former was held at 204 by Abdul Aziz. The Hindus at this stage declared their innings closed.

The Mahomedans started on their second venture after lunch. With two hundred and sixty runs to win and with only three hours to do it in, there was much speculation on game and the enormous crowd which gathered round the ground followed the fortunes of both teams with the keenest interest. Before the second wicket fell of the Mahomedans the score had reached fifty, and their chances looked very promising. The next two wickets, however, fell in quick time. Feroze Khan and Yousuf Beg soon improved the situation and despite several changes in bowling, they raised the score to a century in fine style amid much enthusiasm. Both batsmen indulged in free cricket, as a result of which 150 was signalled, and at a quarter to six, the partnership accounted for one hundred runs. During the last ten minutes of the game, these two batsmen, who rendered most invaluable service to their side, had apparently made up their minds to force the game more vigorously, and runs came in rapidly. Feroze Khan paid the penalty shortly after by being bowled. His 42 was most excellent.

The game ended in a draw. The Mahomedan scores 2nd innings was one hundred and seventy-five for five wickets.



Relief Work At Adrianople.

MAJOR L. L. R. SAMSON, British Consul at Adrianople, sends us the following letter with a statement of expenditure of sums distributed through the Consulate for the relief of distress:—

Adrianople, June 21.

I have the honour to forward herewith a statement showing the expenditure of the sums entrusted to this Consulate for distribution to necessitous Moslems of this town and district. It has been examined by Mr. Albert Mitran, chartered accountant, a British subject, of whose services I have been able to avail myself during his stay in Adrianople. This statement does not include the sum of £5,000 from the Imperial Ottoman Finance Department or that of £3,000 from the Ottoman National Defence Committee, particulars as to the distribution of which have been forwarded separately to the Departments concerned. The distribution of the funds sent by the British Red Crescent Society which was undertaken by Lieutenant-General Broadwood is being separately reported on to the Society itself by that officer. The funds now dealt with have been administered by General Broadwood and myself with the assistance of a Committee of Turkish notables. The Moslem population of Adrianople is composed of the following classes:— (a) Civil officials. (b) Officers of the Garrison. (c) Pensioned officials and officers. (d) Tradesmen. (e) Working classes.

The town having passed into Bulgarian hands the first three of these classes who are dependant entirely on their monthly pay or pensions were soon reduced to great want which was enhanced by the fact that most of their houses had been pillaged during the days of disorder which followed the capture of the town. The small

tradesmen who had been for the most part living on their capital during the siege were reduced to a similar state. These four classes suffered almost more than the working class who are accustomed to live under very simple conditions. In addition to these classes the refugees of the surrounding villages had flocked into the town during the siege and the problem presented by their poverty stricken circumstances was a very serious one.

The Committee decided that the most practical form of dealing with the distress amongst the poorer classes would be the distribution of bread. For the purpose of this distribution the Mcalem quarters of the town were divided into twelve districts, each of which was placed in charge of a sub-committee of Moslem notables working under the direction of the General Committee. The number of loaves distributed commenced at 6,000 per diem, but it was found that this was wholly insufficient to meet the needs of the people. It was, therefore, increased to 22,000 loaves daily. Separate Committees were also formed for distributing temporary relief to officers' wives and families, civil employes and pensioners. Lack of funds, however, brought the bread distribution to a close on the 19th May, by which date funds had arrived from the Finance Minister at Constantinople for distribution. Pecuniary relief was given from these to officers' families and to the very poor. The Committee did not consider it advisable to continue the distribution of bread since by the date in question the Bulgarian Military Authorities had commenced to allow the return of refugees to their villages, and it was found that a continuance of bread distribution inclined these people to remain in the town where they felt their food was assured. The remainder of the funds at the disposal of the Consulate were therefore devoted to helping the refugees who were encouraged to return to their villages by a promise that a distribution of three leva per head would be made to them on their return, this sum being supplemented by the British Red Crescent Society's fund which as already mentioned was distributed by General Broadwood. The distribution commenced on the 18th May and by the 16th June 95 villages of 22,000 inhabitants had been dealt with, leaving 18 villages of 16,000 who were assisted from other funds. These villages were all within a 25-mile radius from Adrianople, outside which it was not found practicable to go.

Whilst the emigrants were thus being assisted, relief was afforded to prisoners' wives and families and to the poor, whilst civil employes and pensioners were assisted from the same source. The total amount distributed in the town from British funds and other sources is £22,000 and the immediate needs of the population have been met though the problem of the future is a serious one.

As will be seen from the enclosed statement the sum of \$1,000 has within the last few days arrived from the Egyptian Relief Committee. This sum has with the consent of the donors been handed over to a Committee of four Moslem notables with the Mufti as President, Dr. Marwan Bey of the Egyptian Red Crescent Mission and Mr. Khatibian, Secretary to the Consulate, being also members.

Statement of Expenditure of sums distributed by H. M. Consulate, Adrianople, for the relief of distress in the town and district.

RECEIPTS	£tp	EXPENDITURE	£tp
Friends' War Victims Fund ...	2891.54	Distribution of bread ...	7021 06
Mr. H. M. Wallis ...	629.51	Relief to Villagers ...	3586.85
Egyptian Red Crescent Society ...	2180.00	Relief to prisoners' families, poor, &c.,	894 02
Indian Newspaper "Comrade" ...	2180 00	General Expenses ...	9 55
Egyptian Relief Committee ...	2190.00		10,960 97
Red Crescent Society, Constantinople ...	868.18		
Bard S. Gentle			
Cockett ...	21.74		
	10,960.97		

Adrianople, June 23, 1913.

(Signed) J. L. R. Sanson, Major, Consul.

I hereby certify that the above statement of expenditure of funds has been submitted to me for the purpose of examination and that after duly checking the books and vouchers, I find the statement of expenditure to be correct.

(Signed) A. Mitrani, A.A., June 23, 1913.

Present Accountant to
The Trussed Concrete Steel Co., Ltd.,
Caxton House, Westminster,
London, S.W.

TETE À TETE



Mr. ABDUL RAMMAN Siddiqi, the Manager of the All-India Medical Mission, has arrived in India and we expect him in Delhi by the end of this month. As soon as he arrives, the final accounts of the All-India Medical Mission would be prepared and audited by independent accountants and then published for the information of the contributors. We had desired Mr. Abdul Ramman to reach Delhi by the middle of September and he had promised to do so, but some untoward circumstances have detained him.

WE HAVE no desire to take up unpleasant memories, especially as the figures of the picture are familiar to us, and we confess we feel a certain amount of partiality for them, but all the same our Delhi readers would rather be amused on

An Amusing Story and its Moral

reading the following from the *Englishman*:—"The Calcutta correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette* tells the following amusing story.—"In a certain city the Moslems proposed to hold an indignation meeting to protest against the slaughter of their cowherds at Calcutta. The Deputy Collector prohibited the meeting, but as the promoters were determined to put the law to the test he got a Mahomedan friend to try to bring them to a sense of reason. The ambassador was scouted and told to go back to the Deputy and bid him to call him round his recalcitrant limbs. The aforesaid Deputy, being a military officer "got his goat," as an American would say, and told the envoy that if the meeting were held he would come down on the promoters "like a cartload of bricks." The poor little pleader had never heard that expression before, but assumed that it intimated vengeance of a terrible character. He forthwith ran back to the deities of the law to tell them that the military Deputy was thoroughly roused and if they held the meeting, he would come down with a "cartload of cartridges" to shoot them all. There was a great to-do in the vernacular press, which called the Deputy the worst kind of butcher, and implored the Viceroy to dismiss him immediately. A communiqué has since been published explaining what the Deputy meant and how his familiar colloquialism had been distorted, but the editors are not convinced. One of them gravely informed me that he had been to Oxford, but had never heard the expression. That should settle it. In their present desperation and the Mahomedans are easily induced to admit that the Hindu Codlin is their friend, and not the British Short and Colledge Square has its eye on business." We wonder if the last few lines could be interpreted to produce "class hatred" amongst His Majesty's loyal subjects?

THE Porte appears to have entered into an amicable understanding with the French Government with respect to the latter's demands. We must admit that as a consequence of her recent wars with Italy and the Balkan Allies, Turkey was in a financial travail, and perhaps the Ministry has made a good bargain by granting certain important concessions to France in exchange for the imposition of a new four per cent. income-tax upon foreigners in Turkey and an increase in the Customs duty. Apart from this monetary gain, we hope that French machinations of seducing Arab loyalty and inciting them into open revolt will receive temporary check. But we trust that the Porte would be well advised to invest a good portion of the intended loan and increased revenues in permanently establishing peace and goodwill among the Arabs of Assyria by carrying out the much needed reforms. That is the only way to shut doors against all future demands for concessions by France or any other interested Power.

Miss Maud Allan!—what a sensation she is creating. She may now be sure to have full houses waiting for her when she lands on the so of "beautiful Bombay." The Anglo-Indian Press and the European Defence Association are very angry with her, and as usual are demanding from the Government that she should not be allowed to dance publicly in India. And all for "Prestige"! Wonderful "Prestige", wherever one turned one found it. Whether it be the pictures of Jack Johnson, the Champion Negro Boxer, kicking about his white opponent, or Miss Maud Allan dressed in her virtue and a few beads, or the restoration of the House of God or the question of punishment of official wrong doers, we find Prestige is there to say "no", because such actions will bring the British Empire tottering down to its ruin! We wish Anglo-India was more sensible and realized that through its own sayings and doings it was daily damaging the great Empire far more than an artistic public dancer. Miss Maud Allan will be welcomed in India by those who love "artistic dancing". Prestige or no prestige, she, dressed in her beads and her Sloma Dance, would be a desirable change from the sum total of the ungraceful nudity so lavishly displayed by Anglo-Indian dailies.

A thorough search of the *Towhid's* office in connection with the pamphlet, "Bloody Tale of Cawnpore," has developed after all into the forfeiture of its security. It is a noble act, indeed, accomplished by Sir James Meeson on the eve of his temporary departure to England. We do not question the attitude taken by the Lieutenant-Governor with respect to the speech of Khwaja Hasan Nizami, but we venture to ask His Honour to ponder over the causes which have led him and his officials to adopt such repressive measures towards a section of the Press whose views sometime ago flattered the literary taste of the official world. We are not saying this to offer any exposition of our present situation; rather we have to say that if His Honour were to calmly think over the recent events resulting from his own fallacious and misinformed policy he would not have to shuffle over the pages of the Press Act to see if any speech or words or a speech had "a tendency to bring into hatred and contempt the Government established by law in British India or to incite disaffection towards the said Government." We once more urge upon His Honour to note in time that it is much more sound to stamp out the germs of a malady than to arrest its growth afterwards.

H. E. THE VICEROY has closed the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council with a remarkable speech which travels over a wide range of important events—internal and external, political and administrative, religious and educational. As a matter of fact, the fine and touching utterances of H. E. tempt one to offer a generally harmonious comment upon each and every point he has so admirably dealt with, but, having regard to the space at our disposal, we have to naturally give prominence to subjects which nowadays agitate the Moslem mind. About the Cawnpore mosque H. E. expresses his inability to refer to the events "since they are still *sub judice*", but he very feelingly speaks of the "dear districts" which "they have caused" him. At the same time he is "full of sorrow for the innocent widows and orphans in the losses they have sustained." We are indeed grateful to H. E. for this indulgence on the funeral pier, but we are all the more grateful for the assurance so long expected that "there is and has been absolutely no change in the policy of Government towards the religious beliefs and usages of the subjects of the King Emperor." We ourselves never suspected any change in the Government's attitude of religious toleration—we couldn't do so especially in the presence of Lord Hardinge—nor questioned the sincerity of Sir James Meeson in arriving at a fallacious determination of the case based upon distorted and misinterpreted information; but what we have been complaining of from the very outset is the stated callousness towards and pre-conceived result of the united Moslem feeling on the part of the local officers. It is Mr. Smead and Mr. Tyke and his self-complacent councillors who have ruthlessly trampled over the British traditions of religious freedom, and it is they who have so cunningly refused Moslems "free lion from degradation or disquiet by reasons of their religious faith." We hope and trust that if His Excellency were to take up the question of the Mosque itself alone, leaving aside the riot and rebellion cases, *sub judice* as they are, and look upon the restoration of the demolished portion from the point of view of Moslem opinion of every shade, he will have done much to allay the universal discontent which has now developed into enormous proportions. If that is done we may assure that His Excellency will go a long way to make the assurance doubly sure.

We have learnt with much regret that members of the continuation of the *Zamindar's* security have after all developed into an accomplished fact. At the same time the *Alhwal* has received a notice to deposit a security of rupees two thousand, which we hope that brilliant weekly will be able to procure. With regard to our Lahore contemporary we conclude from its columns that Manvi Zafar Ali Khan has full confidence in the final triumph of his sincere and honest motives and is prepared to carry on the struggle even at the risk of too heavy a security of Rs 10,000. We admire this courageous resolve, and we trust the Mussalmans in general will realise the great sacrifice it involves and will readily share the burden. The trial of the *Zamindar* and other Moslem papers for whom the Press Act has been set in motion are heavy. They must also be bracing. It is, however, sad to think that sincere and frank exponents of country's feelings should always feel as if they are leaving a dance on red-hot coals, especially when the Government can actually interpret the plain meanings of the following couplet:

تم اگر چاہو تو گھر بیٹھی ہوئے کہلو شکار
جتنی جنگل سی چلی آئیں مرن تانار سی

(You can have a full game even sitting in your house if you choose; Leopards would be forthcoming from woods and the deer from Tatar). But we wish and trust that the officials of the Government would take to a more lenient and forbearing attitude towards the Indian papers and would rather think over the causes that drive good, well informed and popular papers into employing strong language. We think that if District Officers would trust and not suspect the motives of such free speeches and writings, the Government should never have any occasion to be stigmatised with a resolve of paralyzing the freedom of the Press.

MR. MOHAMED ALI had been advised by his legal counsels to file an appeal before the Privy Council against the judgment of the Calcutta High Court for the return of the confiscated pamphlet. He will probably consult Mr. Garth, the well known Calcutta Barrister, and other lawyers in England and act according to their advice. But we think the real object for which Mr. Mohamed Ali had filed the suit has been gained. The pamphlet has been pronounced both by the Court and the Advocate-General as not seditious. The personal character of Mr. Mohamed Ali is without a blot, and more than all this the Press Act has been torn to pieces. Any unprejudiced thinker would see at a glance how very injurious the Act was. If not repealed it will practically paralyze all independent journalism in this country. Mr. Norton, the eminent counsel, did his best in pointing out the absurdity of the Press Act. However, few know the full extent to which Mr. Mohamed Ali personally and the Moslem community are indebted to Mr. Norton. We hope great things from him in the Cawnpore case, which comes before the Sessions Court.

WE ANNOUCE to announce the following telegram regarding the People's Bank of India, Limited, Lahore, and the Amritsar Bank Limited, which have, owing to certain difficulties, stopped payment. The People's Bank of India, Limited, was floated some seven years ago by Mr. Har Kishan Lall, who only recently severed his connection with the bank as its Managing Director. The bank had some 62 branches in India, and we feel much sympathy for those having any interest in it, as shareholders or depositors. The Amritsar Bank was also one of the enterprises of Mr. Har Kishan Lall and much respected. The People's Bank of India, Limited, of Lahore, with sixty-two branches all over India stopped payment yesterday. The Amritsar Bank, Limited, another financial concern started and conducted under Har Kishan Lall's guidance has stopped payment to-day. A notice to this effect issued to-day announces that an extraordinary meeting of shareholders will be held on 1st October to consider the question of liquidation and the appointment of liquidators.

Our readers are already aware that Mr. Mohammad Ali has left for England on an important mission. As allusion would have it almost simultaneously with Mr. Mohamed Ali's departure, Mr. R. M. Ghulam Hussain, the sub-editor, fell seriously ill. He has not yet recovered. Our readers will, we trust, accept the sort of fare we have been preparing for them in the interval. We hope our troubles will soon be at an end certainly in the beginning of October.

The Comrade.

Sir James Meston and the Deputation.

II.

WE HAVE already dealt in our issue of the 6th September with two of the points emphasised by the deputation in its address to Sir James Meston on the subject of the alleged Moslem laches, and both go to show that the requirements of the law relating to Land Acquisition, that is, the marking out of the lands to be acquired and the issue of public and of private notices, had not been complied with by the officials themselves, thus depriving the Cawnpore Mussalmans of more than one opportunity of knowing that acquisition of any part of the Machhli Bazar Mosque was contemplated. But the third point raised by the deputation in its address is still more important. With regard to one requirement of the law of Land Acquisition which the Cawnpore officials did take the trouble to satisfy, namely, the preparation of a plan of the land which was to be acquired under section 6 of the Land Acquisition Act, although it was exhibited in no more prominent a place than the Collector's Office, it proves conclusively that it was never contemplated to acquire any portion of the mosque. This plan is signed by Mr. W. F. Nash, Engineer, and is prepared in English, a language which, as the Local Government probably knows by this time, not every member of a Moslem congregation or Mutawalli of a mosque is likely to know. Now there are three tests which can be applied to ascertain whether the acquisition of the mosque was intended or not. The test which would satisfy a very large number of people, including those who like the Mutawallis and most of the Mussalmans in the neighbourhood do not know English, is the test of the mark or sign used by the draftsman who had prepared this plan to indicate mosques. This, if we remember aright, is a small rough sketch of three domes of the shape commonly noticed in Indian mosques. In the plan in question, two red dotted lines are drawn to indicate the eastern and western limits of the land declared to be needed for acquisition, and between the two dotted lines two other thick red lines are drawn to indicate the position of the proposed A.B. road. Now the mark indicating a mosque is found within an area which is bounded by four clear lines and is numbered 90, indicating by its situation on the Bisati Bazar Road that it refers to the mosque in question. The mosque mark lies wholly beyond the dividing line between this area and another area to the east of it which is numbered 89. This dividing line between the two numbers is clearly marked in the plan, and along this line runs the red dotted line showing the westernmost limit of the area required for acquisition. It would appear to any observer of the plan that the mosque did not extend over the adjoining area numbered 89, for if so, the mosque mark would be found across the dividing line between the two numbers so as to cover both, or no dividing line would at all be found between the two adjoining areas, but on the contrary the whole area of the mosque would be indicated by double numbers 89 and 90 as in the case of another mosque sketched in the same plan. If then, we are to accept the mosque mark as a test, and find them placed within a clearly bounded area showing in the same plan the position of many another mosque, it is clear enough that the whole of the Machhli Bazar Mosque as shown in the plan is beyond the zone of the proposed acquisition, and that no part of it was intended to be touched.

The second test is that of numbers used to indicate the various properties sketched in the plan of Mr. Nash. This is a test which, unlike the mark test, can be applied only by people knowing English, and to all such we contend this test would appear conclusive. The plan gives sketch of all the Muballahs through which the proposed A.B. road was to pass and it bears various numbers. Only areas represented by the numbers given in the plan to such as lie between the two red dotted lines can be deemed to have been intended to be acquired and those represented by the numbers given therein to such as lie beyond these lines must be deemed to be not so intended. Now, the plan clearly shows that No. 89 was the westernmost limit of the land intended to be acquired to the north of the Bisati Bazar Road, and that no part of No. 90 which adjoined it was to be acquired. Now what do these numbers indicate? So far as is known to the people, the City of Cawnpore has never been regularly plotted out and surveyed, and it is impossible to tell of any place situated in the city or in the Muballah in question on what particular Survey Plot, if any, it actually stands. During the Census operation of 1891, however, the houses of Cawnpore were numbered, and in Muballah Topkhana Maidsa Bazar the house of Hafiz Barkhurdar was marked as No. 192 and the Machhli Bazar Mosque which adjoined it as No. 191. Two shops under the Mosque occupied by tenants were numbered 195 and 196 respectively. In 1899 House Tax having been introduced into Cawnpore, a House Tax Assessment Schedule or Register was prepared under the supervision of Nawab Saifullah Khan Sahab,

Deputy Collector, wherein houses were indicated by their last Census Numbers, and a serial number was also given to each house or group of houses. In this Schedule Serial No. 89 was given to Hafiz Barkhurdar's house (Census No. 192) and Serial No. 90 to the group of buildings constituting the Mosque and the two shops attached thereto (Census No. 191, 195 and 196) which were mentioned in the Register as having been built by Hafiz Barkhurdar. Hafiz Barkhurdar was mentioned therein as the owner of No. 89, but naturally no one was mentioned as the owner of No. 90 which included mosque property belonging thereto dedicated to God. Now this House Assessment Register is a document constantly used by the Municipal Board of Cawnpore. When in 1900 Mr. Parry, Resident Engineer of the Board, prepared a Note with a rough estimate for making three new roads each 70 feet wide, referring to them as A. B., C. D., and E. F. Roads (A. B. Road being no one other than the one which has caused all this bother), he estimated that "the initial outlay on the Road A. B. will be Rs. 155,000 based on N. Saifullah Khan's House Tax Assessment Schedule." This occurs in his Note, and a similar reference is made to the House Assessment Schedule in the Estimate made by him. During the 1901 Census operations which followed close on the heels of the preparation of this Schedule the Houses in Cawnpore were re-numbered as in 1891, and in Mohalla Topkhana Maidsa Bazar the Serial Numbers of the houses entered in the House Assessment Register of 1899 appear to have been used as Census Numbers, for the Mosque with its appurtenances was numbered 90 and Hafiz Barkhurdar's house numbered 89. This was, therefore, the second occasion on which the Mosque and all its appurtenances were numbered 90 and the adjoining house numbered 89. In 1906 the House Assessment was revised in Cawnpore and the houses were again indicated by their last Census Number (which, it must be remembered, was the same as the Serial Number of the 1899 House Tax Assessment Register), and for the third time the Mosque was numbered 90 and the adjoining houses 89, although the Serial Numbers of the New Register were 94 and 93 respectively. In 1903, after the death of Hafiz Barkhurdar, the name of Abdul Rahim was registered as Mutawalli of No. 90 (the Mosque), and the names of Fakhruddin, Alimuddin and Fashuddin, the sons of Hafiz Barkhurdar as owners of No. 89, the adjoining house. Now, after this lengthy recital of fact we ask if it can still be contended by Sir James Meston or any of the officials of his Province, as he said in his reply to the address, that "the mosque occupied the whole of plot No. 90 and a portion of plot No. 89." But even if this is not enough, let us turn to the records of the land acquisition operations themselves. Towards the end of the year 1909, when the plan of Mr. Nash had been made and mentioned in the Gazetted Notification, a private notice was issued over the signature of one Mahabir Prasad, in conformity with section 9, subsection 1, of the Land Acquisition Act requiring the presence of Shukh Chundabiz and Hafiz Fakhruddin in the court of the Collector of Cawnpore on the 10th January, 1910, to state the nature of their interest in the land and the amount and particulars of their claim to compensation for such interest, and their objection, if any, to the measurements made with reference to "Area: 240.4-10 yards."

"No. of plot in Abadi Map: 89.

"Name of Street or Mohalla: Topkhana, Maidsa Bazar."

On the 7th February Munshi Avadh Behari Lal, the Land Acquisition officer, gave an award of Rs. 7,003.80 with reference to this house which is once more given "No. 89 of Topkhana, Maidsa Bazar." Nearly two years later, on the 2nd November, 1911, Abdul Rahim and several others made an application to the Municipal Board stating that the materials of the house No. 89 adjoining the Mosque had been sold for removal, and the purchaser having pulled down the house was about to demolish the western wall of No. 89 and requested that he should be prohibited from doing so as the rafters of the rooms connected with the mosque were placed on the wall, and its removal "would mean the demolishing of the mosque." On this the Improvement Trust Committee recorded, among other things, as follows:—

"Read application of Abdul Rahim and others requesting to prohibit the purchaser of house No. 89 from pulling down the western wall of the house."

Now, throughout these proceedings No. 89 has been identified with the house owned by two of the sons of Hafiz Barkhurdar and there is nothing to show that part of this No. 89 belonged to the Mosque in any shape or manner. And yet we are assured by no less a personage than the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces that "the Mosque occupied the whole of plot No. 90 and a portion of plot No. 89." We are not told of any official records wherein the mosque has been registered as occupying "the whole of plot No. 90 and a portion of plot No. 89," and we are enabled to conclude that no such record exists. The number test, like the mark test, therefore clearly indicates that nothing appertaining to the Mosque was intended to be acquired if we judge, as we are entitled to judge according to section 6 of the Land Acquisition Act, by the plan

mentioned in the gazetted Notification of the Government, and that instead of the grievance about the mosque being "an after-thought suggested by the concession to the Hindus, and by the desire to secure some corresponding privilege for the Muhammadan community," the desire to acquire a portion of the mosque was an after-thought of the officials engendered by the well deserved concession to the Hindus and the hope that the Mussalmans, being only, "loyal and contented" would be easily kept in their proper place.

The theory which for the first time sees the light of day in Sir James Meeson's reply to the deputation is that neither the mark test nor the number test are applicable, but that there should be a "measurement on the spot." Now we are prepared to concede that the mark test may not give mathematically accurate results and cannot therefore be wholly relied upon, though we still contend that it is one most readily applied by members of the public many of whom are illiterate and an overwhelming majority of whom does not know English. But in a city in which houses have been numbered more than once, and where houses are easily recognised by their number-plates, the numbering of plots on the plan with the same figures would lead the best educated member of the public of Cawnpore to conclude that the number on the plan referred to the house number and that the number test was accurate and conclusive. If the measurement test was intended to be applied, the numbering should have never been attempted, and failing that an explanation should have been appended that it is the measurements and not the numbers that were to indicate the properties intended to be acquired. But if this had been publicly declared to be the only accurate test, then we contend that the lengths of the lines in the sketches of properties shown on the plan and the figures accompanying them should have corresponded with the scale given in the plan, and the relative position of the lines in those sketches should have corresponded with the actual boundaries of the various properties marked on the plan. The question is, do the sketches of the Mosque and the adjoining house of Hafiz Barkhudar truly represent the relation of their sites to each other, and do the lengths of the lines represent the measurements taken on the spot? Now, the following facts will shatter the measurement test completely. In the first place, the measurements taken according to the scale on the plan are not exact even on the assumption that what is marked as the western division of No. 89 (Hafiz Barkhudar's house) is really part of No. 90 (the Mosque). In the second place the western boundary of the Mosque is far from being a straight line as shown in the plan. Thirdly, if the western division of No. 89 as shown in the plan is taken to be a part of the Mosque, then the plan must be read as showing a wall or some other structure which is represented therein by what appears to be the dividing line between No. 89 and 90 along which the dotted red line runs; but, as a matter of fact, there was no such wall or other structure in the Mosque courtyard which this apparently dividing line between No. 89 and 90 could have indicated. Fourthly, the same western division of No. 89 is shown in the plan as subdivided by a line running from west to east, but as a matter of fact there is nothing in the middle of the Mosque courtyard which this subdividing line could represent. Fifthly, the wall between the mosque and the house adjoining it on the east is not such a straight line as the plan represents. And sixthly, the eastern boundary of the said house was not a straight line but had a projection to the east which the plan does not indicate. These are the inaccuracies of the sketches in the plan only with regard to the Mosque and the house adjoining it and it cannot be conceived that other houses could have been more accurately sketched. And it is on the measurements given in such a sketch that Sir James Meeson would have us rely, just because the measurement of the so-called plots No. 89 and No. 90 do not tally with the sketches of two buildings bearing number-plates with the figures 89 and 90 respectively.

We reserve for another article the remaining two points raised by the deputation with reference to the charge of fraud, and trust that even the Press's childlike confidence that there is no room for further doubt after such an exposition of facts as His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's speech contained would be shaken if not entirely destroyed.

Moslem Press and Press Act.

We know the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in his "Causes of Indian Revolt" had the greatest stress on one point, and that was that there must be a common medium of understanding between the Government and the people. The Representative Assemblies and the Press were undoubtedly the best means through which a foreign Government like ours could learn what the people were feeling and thinking about.

In the extraordinarily quick development of this country, the Press has had a very big share. It has opened the eyes of the people and taught them to dream dreams. Still more important, it taught them how to realize those dreams. The Moslem papers,

"the English and Urdu," have performed their duty nobly, from the Social Reformer of Sir Syed down to the smallest paper or magazine. Nobody can say that the Mussalmans have not made up since the foundation of the Aligarh College in 1875.

The Mussalmans and the Moslem Press have done and are doing all they could to support Government as long as they felt that the Government was just and its officials anxious to respect the feelings of the people. No praise was too good for them. If any critic of the present Moslem attitude took the least trouble and went over the files of Moslem papers of two years back, he would find the community grateful, especially at a time when it was, through its own magnificent efforts, building up the great Moslem University. The Government officials looked on benevolently, but there were not wanting some who shook their heads being disagreeably surprised at the energy and power of organization displayed by a community who had deprecated itself and was taken literally at its words and so despised. Then suddenly we heard the ominous rumours that Mussalmans should not be trusted, and it would be a great mistake to leave them to manage their educational affairs. Tripolitan, Persian, Moroccan and Balkan troubles followed quickly one after the other, and we regret to say that responsible British Ministers said and did things that shocked the good Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor. What did the Mussalmans and their Press do then? They only redoubled their efforts and organized help for their co-religionists who were in trouble and whom their great Faith has taught them to look upon as their own "brethren." They respectfully but persistently told the Government that they felt genuinely and strongly on the subject and resented the unjust treatment meted out to their brethren, and they requested that England at least should not take a prompt part in this filthy game of thieving. We still maintain, in spite of the Anglo-Indian Press and Sir Edward Grey, that His Majesty's Indian subjects of every class and creed have as much right to give advice in the affairs of the Empire as any resident of the British Isles or of the Colonies, and our voice sooner or later will have a fair hearing.

However, the difficulties that the Indian Press has to face are enormous. According to the Anglo-Indian papers it has no business to offer advice to British Ministers and Government on foreign affairs. Well and good! But what about Indian affairs? Here, too, it has to write to order. If it writes frankly and honestly to the net of the Press Act, with all its paraphernalia, is cast wide and to quote the Hon. the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, "nothing could escape it." A heavy security is first demanded, followed by its confiscation and the demand of a still heavier security, and then the tragic end. All this depends entirely on the personnel of the Government. If the higher officials were broadminded and sympathetic, capable of meeting the situation and of realising the danger, everything would be well—the country quiet and the Press in peace. If otherwise, things would be done thoughtlessly, sometimes deliberately, which put the susceptibilities of the people and upset their daily quiet life. People then would express what they feel—

کہوں دل جلن کی لب پہ ہمیشہ فغان نہو
مکن نہیں کہ آگ لگی اور دھواں نہو

We think a wise and good Government must know exactly what its subjects felt and must see what it could do to give them peace and rest. This could best be done through free Press and free speech. It will be a mistake to stifle them, the evil consequence of which no one can foretell.

Taking the present case in the United Provinces, one feels sorry its officials should be so short-sighted. Do they think the Mussalmans of India are babies and their present attitude a childish freak? Are they crying for nothing? Is a mosque and the demolition of a mosque nothing? Or do they seriously believe that the Mussalmans in India want to get up a huge rebellion against the Government? What for?—For establishing a Mohammedan kingdom? We do hope Sir James Meeson knows the real causes. The fact was, that some of his advisers thought Mussalmans were getting a swelling in their heads, and it was time they were knocked about a bit.

It is unfortunate that His Honour should have chosen the Cawnpore mosque affair to show his strength, with results that we all deplore. It was a question of "the House of God," and we are certain that the Mussalmans will always feel sore about it until justice is done and the demolished portion rebuilt.

People have to express their feeling; and stronger the feeling, the stronger will be the expression. The Moslem Press is being unnecessarily hounded for doing this, and even such papers as *Toukhat al-Masrut* are not secure. The Editor of the *Muslim Gazette* had to leave Lucknow within a few hours, and every Government Gazette brings out the confiscation of some poems or articles written about the Cawnpore affair. His Honour knows full well that his masterful subordinates, Messrs. Tyler and Sim, are responsible for this and even the feeble people of this country could not cheerfully allow themselves to be made scape-goats for them.

Bye-Ways of Thought.

II

Ideals.

We have all ideals. The higher our ideals the better we are. Even the youth and the girl build castles in the air, mostly in the air, for they generally turn out airy fabrics that in after-years dissolve into nothing, as mist before a rising sun. Gorgeous they were, delicate, fragile, artistic, even as snowy pinnacles in cloudland, but like the piled up cumulus melting away.

Prince or peasant, the emotions are the same. As the knight to his Lady-love, so the rustic swain to his beautiful haired Satona. Eyes meet for the first time, perhaps only for an instant, and the world is changed. Changed for two souls while life shall last. A few words spoken and the deepest recesses of the soul are pierced and sympathetic chords are touched and set responsive to the call. The call has come and there is no disobeying it. Though all the world may be in ignorance, they know. Nature has whispered, and the feelings have responded although the conventions may still hold them bound by iron chains, a cordon that will sooner or later be broken. After all, conventions were made by the world's humankind to be obeyed by them alone. The world's men and women make conventions for themselves.

Paris spoke and Helen answered, and her answer
"launched a thousand ships
And burned the topmost towers of Ilium."

Of such is history made. Deeds like these, when stirred by feelings such as those, move the subtlest mechanism of the world-order, quicken the pulse of humanity and mark epochs on the golden pages of history in character of blood and light. John Stuart Mill gave his wife the praise, perhaps falsely as some say, or at least exaggerated, yet her influence must have told. She must have had some effect on his productions although it was nothing more than her questions and conversation stirring into activity the currents of his mind. Tennyson, sweetest of singers, in his "Princess," is said to have taken his mother as his ideal. Some definite image must have been before his mental vision, enthused a goddess against the invisible background over which in thought the panorama scene, figures and courts, and castles and forest seemed to move.

The currents that stir humanity lie deep in the innermost recesses of the soul, when stirred the sum total of mankind is moved, and a great wave flows onward and onward to the very verge of the ocean of mind, even as a tiny pebble cast into the Atlantic sends waves, vibrating and undulating from shore to shore. Such is the path on which progress depends, such the currents that have built up nations and empire and civilisations, and ground them again into dust. Such the movements that reared the mighty fabric of the present from the elements of the universe, tore it from the matrix of nature, red-hot from the womb of time.

No current amid the myriads so deep as that of sex. It colours every ideal and enthuses every aspiration, 't is the binding hand of our social system, the cord that holds the parts together, it is the essence of our poetry and the spirit of our literature. Our system is founded on it, and it sustains and supports it all. Take it away from our poetry and fiction, and the residue is only for the scrapheap. Take it away from our lives and they were poor indeed.

I turned and looked into my lady's eyes,
And they to me were stars of Paradise;
And gentle with a love-lit, tender glow,
Whose waves o'er cheek and brow a crimson throw.

Why even the Prince of Persian lyric poets, old Muhammad Shams-ud-din Hafez, cared more for the mole on a slavegirl's blushing cheek.

"Than all Bokara's vaunted gold,
Than all the gems of Samarkand."

So it has been, so it will be, while man is man. The universe throbs with the passion and humanity moves to the strain. A thousand years ago the Persian poet was constrained to write—

"Her hair was dark as Hyacinthine dyes,
Her cheek was blushing thence as Eden's rose,
The soft Narcissus tinged her sleeping eyes;
Her forehead, as the Lotus blows
Against summer sunbeams shimmering fair."

Those lines are metaphorically equal to anything in that line extant. But whether expressed in poetry or prose, or not expressed at all the same feeling lives to-day, has lived always, the mightiest factor in the realm of soul, the very spirit of the spirit of the race.

For their ideals men will immolate themselves on the altar of martyrdom, giving up life itself for those principles that animate and sustain and which have become the ruling factor of their existence, the main-spring of character. The man who shrinks from such a sacrifice is unworthy of the heritage of the past which his fathers handed on. Those alone who dare and do, yielding all for a cause believed in are the teachers and exemplars of the race, humanity's immortals, the prophets of mankind.

Men who under persecution and in the face of opposition, and amid scoffs and jeers have pointed out the path of conduct and laid down laws of the Eternal. With them men probably of different or of lesser passion and more concentrated fires, who labouring in fields of Nature have torn secrets from her breast and utilised her powers and resources for the well being and utility of the race. For these men, their ideals were everything, strong, stimulating, carrying them ever onward to the goal seen far ahead. A single aim driving ever forward, gathering fresh impetus, more energy and keener ardour, at every check and every gain, until the end is sure, the goal reached, or nature in its remorseless mill grinding all to powder. Truth alone can live.

Our Ideals are all in all, all powerful, all-sustaining. They may be correct or they may be false, but whether the one or the other they are the currents that carry humanity on and keep the machinery of the mind in motion. They are the fabric of which the soul is composed, woven thoughts, the source from which our actions blossom forth for weal or woe, for good or ill, the mould in which our system has been forming and wherein it is still evolving the mouldier also. The Present is but a continuation of the Past enriched by new experiences. Our ideals are our characters as individuals, and our character as a whole. They are our literatures and our actions woven into one grand all, the sum of which is man.

Do we ever think on ideals and the gorgeous vistas they open up before us? Yet they have made us what we are, and are making us what we will be. They have given the world its noblest lives—its prophets, its heroes and its martyrs. They have deluged the fairest regions of the earth with blood, and given us our happiest hours and our happiest homes. They have destroyed empires and civilisations and reared up fairer and grander structures on the ruins thereof. They have brought forth pleasure and torture, and joy and sorrow; if anguish has been their birthright and their offspring, love has been the summit and the crown of their glory. Nature knows neither "I" nor "Thou," but one continuous, infinite, eternal, substance rolling on. Yet from nature all things come, our grandest ideals and our noblest aspirations, our rules of conduct and our passions, weak and strong.

Grand ideals are the fairest flowers of thought. Roses in the garden of mind. Flowers that bud and blossom and bring forth fruit. Like the flowers of the field, ideals send forth shoots and branches, new ideas spring forth and grow into ideals, becoming ever nobler as data accumulates and knowledge widens and broadens with the generations and the years.

Before, behind on every hand.
Are pearls divine of priceless lore,
To him who asks, at his command,
Nature will yield a lavish store
The mount, the vale, the shrub, the tree,
And every flower in every dell,
The rushing river, sighing sea,
And every soul, a story tell.
And he who wills and can delight
In seeking Truth where'er it be,
Will find the prize within his sight,
And learn the priceless gem is free.
No more the Past shall trouble him,
No more the Future cast a fear;
The Present doth Nirvana limn,
And fairest vistas open clear.
And he who wills may track the wind,
Unto its south or northern lair:
His greatest aim to conquer mind,
To train aright his chiefest care.
Who gloms amid the fields of thought
In search of Truth, right earnestly,
Will gain the immortal pathway sought,
And reach Nirvana's tideless sea.

He who would learn the Truth, arise,
From selfhood, self, release his hold,
And then will Truth illumine his eyes,
And every portal wide unfold.
No subtle thoughts are woven there,
But simple axioms clear and pure;
No Maya's veils entangling snare,
But open roadways firm and sure.

The mind is but a rolling sea,
Where strong opposing passions start;
To know the Truth is rich to be,
For Truth is mind's immortal part.
And he who in the search for Truth
Has laboured on the upward road;
And in the joyous spring of youth
Has trod the path the sages showed;
And with a buoyant spirit gained

The hills whereon the eagle stood;
His passions conquered and restrained,
Has reached the fount of prophethood,
No more will cares disturb the mind,
Samara's surging billows cease;
The world and self are left behind,
Before him is eternal peace,
Where Truth illumines every hour,
And earthly cares no more molest;
And Reason sits enthroned in power,
The beacon-light of Righteousness.

YENYA BH-NASH PARKINSON.



Phantom Figures.

IV

THE DISTRICT JUDGE.

In attempting to delineate the Sessions, or District, Judge; as he may be encountered in the flesh by dwellers in the Mofussil, I shall not touch on the much debated matter, the advisability of separating the Judicial from the Executive branch. To advocates of such divorce, I would humbly remark that—according to a paragraph in one of the Calcutta papers lately—there are no less than ten thousand lawyers, of sorts, in Bengal. The amount of litigation to furnish that host of legal talent with food and clothes makes one wonder how any nation or country can struggle along thus enmeshed in a labyrinth of Codes, Findings, Appeals, and High Court Rulings. One sighs for the simpler, if more crude, methods of administration in the past, whereby less injury to the pockets of litigants was suffered, if sometimes a hand was broken, an arm or leg smashed. Nor is it my intention to depict the Indian wearers of the long robe, for most of these dignitaries whom I am acquainted with belong to the order of Statutory Civilians, and that genus demands an article all to itself. Take then the ordinary occupant of the Bench, the man who presides over a Sessions Court and whose ways of looking at cases form the subject of careful study by members of the local Bar. The modern Judge Sahib neither possesses the moral defects of a Jeffreys (notwithstanding occasional remarks to the contrary by perverted writers in the vernacular Press), nor is he wont to decide cases after the quaint method of Judge Bridlegoose as described by Rabelais. In personal appearance he never—so far as my experience goes—resembles the Justice of Shakespeare—

"In fair round belly with good capon lined,"

"With eyes severe and beard of formal cut."

Your District Rhadamantus usually elects to shave his chin and upper lip and strive to be mistaken for an ornament of the Stage or Bar. In one Province, there is a strange circumstance noticeable among men chosen to be Judges, to wit, their deficiency of powers of hearing. In at least one instance it would not be a libel if I wrote "stone-deaf" as a characteristic of the person alluded to. One knows that in painting sculpture Justice is represented as blind—not without reason. I have frequently thought where cases in India are concerned—but surely inability to hear with readiness and follow the utterances of a witness must greatly increase the labour, if not the responsibility, of a Judge in Court. Possibly the defect arose after being raised to the Bench, and the organ of hearing—admittedly a most delicate portion of the human frame—has been numbed into insensibility through acting as means for conveying long series of long, garbled statements, and a stream of perjury from the mouth of witnesses to the brain of a Judge. Be that as it may, to find deafness a desideratum for one who has to try persons on charges of the gravest nature strikes me as somewhat queer.

The question of precedence at a *Sarra Khana* or other social gathering has long been a bone of contention between Judges and Collectors, but has been finally settled in favour of the latter, and rightly. A Judge could not get on were the Magistrate to cut off his supply of criminals when Sessions time came round, but a Collector could live in peace were the Bench broken up and its fragments posted on special duty to the nearest High Court. Very different are the ways of Judges in dealing with crime. One of them will attach weight to the veriest trifles and delight in the Council who brings forward some legal quibble, some nice point to be disputed over, wrangled about, and left much as it was when the "Tahseel-takee" and production of references is finished. Others deem that all men speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, save the Police; in other words the party responsible for the prosecution. Doubtless a Judge of this kind imagines Sub-Inspectors and Constables, even that indigenous marvel the village chakshidar, as exotics introduced into India for the preservation of law and order by whatever means they like to adopt. Deciding a case on its real merits, not so much by the evidence recorded, leads, one expects, to the rival parties getting justice, if not fulfilling the multifarious instructions of the Codes. I remember a worthy Sessions Judge who usually wound up

his written judgment by stating that—while the mass of evidence was in favour of the accused or *vix versa*—by with his long and intimate knowledge of India and inhabitants, he found that what had actually occurred was—then came his own opinion of the case, conveyed in a few brief sentences—so he was obliged to deliver judgment for, or against, the prisoner, as it happened. There was a pleasing amount of uncertainty in the Court on these occasions, each side wondering what the judicial mind held about evidence recorded, but justice was satisfied pretty well on the whole by the Bench acting after the dictates of his personal ideas, though his verdicts were sometimes censured and upset by a High Court. As he was not far off his pension, my learned friend did not take to heart the action of that august tribunal, and preserved in deciding cases by the light of local experience. Some Judges err in the opposite direction, fearing to deliver a judgment which commonsense demands lest it be declared at fault by a High Court. The latter hears such cases on Appeal, so is rarely in as good a position to perceive the rights and wrongs of a charge as the man in whose presence witnesses, and all concerned, have appeared in *propria persona*. There is a delicious feeling of irresponsibility in knowing that, out of Court hours, you are a chartered libertine of officialdom, not to be worried in the manner endured by most Magistrates. Instead of saving several masters, you are only answerable to one, and that powerless to do you more harm than reversing a judgment, in which it is but human to make mistakes. You have a vacation every year, which can be added to whatever Privilege Leave is your due, and for the Judge there is "peace, perfect peace" on holidays and holidays, a boon unknown to other officers whose duties compel their working in season and out of season, if not in Kutcherry, at their bungalows or when away in camp. Hence many Civilians, especially those who have given hostages to Fortune in the shape of a wife and children, gladly accept a post in the Judicial line. They have no ambitious wishes for the future, and are content to reach a certain salary—a handsome one I admit—without hankering after the *otium cum dignitate* of a Commissionership or even entertaining hopes of climbing to that pinnacle of Civilian greatness, the post of Lieutenant-Governor. It is a fallacy to imagine that men are selected for a Judgeship because that billet does not require as much talent from its occupant as does charge of a District. It is not reasonable to expect the same individual to be an Admirable Crichton, equally capable of administering a difficult charge as in piercing the intricacies of a long case, and arriving at as just a conclusion as can be hoped for in an eastern country. One set of qualifications make a man a capital District Officer, while another renders him an ornament to the seat of judgment. Most Judges I know have some hobby to occupy their minds after weary hours in Court and to afford them relaxation in addition to the physical exercise obtained by playing tennis, shooting, or riding after the "good grey boar." One discovers a Judge devoted to the study of Buddhist remains, another to the perusal of French literature of a rather scrupulous type. One collects ancient coins, another practises economy, to the verge of meanness, in amassing modern rupees. I have been acquainted with a Judge who had mistaken his true vocation of a Sanitary Engineer, while his neighbour in the adjoining district spent time and money in literary research and delving into the past annals of Indian history—all forms of recreation devoid of harm and a testimony to the versatile talents of those pursuing them. A Judge of the old school—now alas rapidly vanishing from the judicial arena—was apt to get short-tempered with the fluent talk of juvenile Indian barristers, or the evidence given by a person belonging to the advanced Party; the latter usually filled with exaggerated notions of his own importance, and who fancied that by treating the Court on terms of equality he promoted respect for himself. Years ago a notable instance of this kind occurred in the Oudh capital, the Judge losing his equanimity and treating a witness of the sort referred to in tolerably rough fashion. By the irony of fate, the gentleman I allude to was related to the Father of the National Congress, of which body the person on whose head he emptied the vials of his wrath was—and is—a prominent member. I forget how the war of words finished, but it showed the necessity for great self-control on the part of a Judge and absolute impenetrability by the sharpest of verbal pin-pricks. Considering the great difficulty faced in listening to statements made in the vernacular—the patois of villagers, the elegant phraseology of townsmen, and hunting for the truth in a wilderness of details hard for foreign comprehension, it is most creditable to our Judges that so few errors take place. In criminal trials, especially those for murder, wrong conclusions must occasionally be arrived at, an untoward result for which our complicated legal system has a good deal to answer. Still, regarded as a whole, the Judges who preside at Sessions are as successful in their verdicts as they are hardworking; while it must be noted as a distinguishing trait of honorable character that an "unjust Judge," whether Indian or European, is almost unheard of. One may cail sometimes at their decisions and even Justice being deprived of her righteous prey, but partiality or corruption are practically unknown among those seated on the Bench in an Indian Court of Law.

DUNCAN.

Short Story.

A Tale of the Rohellas.

II.

"Bi! You must give us a *kahani* (story). The sun has gone down, and no poor traveller* will lose his way now. You promised this morning that if we all learnt our lessons well and were not naughty, you will tell us a pretty story. Ask Maulvi Sahab, ask Mulla Bi, ask my Master Sahab, they will all tell you that we did our lessons nicely." This was said by Zalud, the bigger boy, in the group of bright children standing all round their grandmother. This request was warmly taken up by the rest of the children, who all begged in their pretty prattle their "dear grandmother" to give them a *kahani*. "Oh! Bi, my own Bi; 'dear Bi-amma'; do give us a *kahani*," was heard on all sides. She was hesitating, when noticing this hesitation the pretty and clever Razia Bano, a young lady of 6 years, pushed "little Abid", the youngest and the favourite child, nearer to the old lady. The little fellow put his arms round her knees, raised his pretty chubby face to hers, looked at his "dear Bi" with his pretty wistful eyes and said: Bi "give us a *kahani*" (give us a *kahani*). Nobody could refuse such a request, least of all the "dear Bi". The old lady smiled sweetly and said: "All right children, I will give you a *kahani*."

There was great rejoicing all round, one young fellow of eight shouted in the tones of a grandfather "Run! children, run! Bi is going to give us a story." Others took up the cry, shouted wah-wah! and shabash!! and all joined in giving "Bi-bi bi Hulley" (Hurree). The old lady sat down again on the big broad wooden divan, on which she had been offering her evening prayers; and the children arranged themselves round her as best as they could. Her two stalwart sons and no less stalwart grandsons, who had just finished a well-contested game of Tennis, and had discarded the wet flannels in favour of the delightfully cool and light Indian clothes of muslin and calico, came in and joined this pretty group.

Oh! how I wish I had a command over the language and knew enough words to give a true and living "pen and ink" picture of this Mussalman home. It was a fine big house of the old school, but situated outside the Ramnagar town and inside a big walled garden. We have got to deal with the zenana quarters of it. As one entered into the zenana through a door-way sufficiently big to accommodate a couple of palanquins, one saw a big open courtyard, with buildings all round it. Right in front was a long, raised terrace and beyond and opening on to it, were the two big *dallans* (halls) one behind the other, with five big arched doors in each. These were the main rooms and were fitted up as sitting and dining rooms. On the sides were a number of rooms, which were used as bed-rooms. But at the back of the two *dallans*, was another big open courtyard, at one end of which was the children's nursery and it is with this portion of the house, that we are mainly concerned.

It was the month of April, that month of Indian spring when one gets those most beautiful and delicious moon-light nights at Ramnagar. In the centre of the courtyard, was a row of white oaks for the children. Near by, was the big wooden divan, on which the ladies of the house offered their evening prayers, under the cool bright sky. This divan was covered with white cloth, over which were spread, several beautiful Turkish prayer-carpets, brought from Holy Mecca.

The old lady, the queen of the house, was sitting on the divan, supremely happy at having her children and grandchildren so near her. The children had arranged themselves near by and were anxiously waiting for the *kahani*. One of the big sons had sat himself down at her feet and occupied the seat of honour, a place for which all her children used to fight in their younger days, and it truth be told they would like to fight for it even now. The other and the wisest son, snatched two of his favourite children and jumped with them into one of the very inviting cots, which creaked and groaned but patiently bore the weight. The two were well-brought-up children and so knew their proper place; they very promptly sat on him. That was nothing new. Time after time, when there was no *kahani* to be told on evenings, he had to turn himself into a big elephant, and I must confess he made a good, comfortable well-padded elephant. Then half a dozen little mites would sit on his back and he had to crawl on all fours, turning and twisting himself at the call of his *mahouts*. *Hati mahai ke* (elephant carefully); *Hati chai* (elephant turn); *Hati Biri* (elephant go); *Hati shat* (elephant stop). The poor elephant used to be badly pummelled and pulled about, but then he used to get his reward and a very liberal reward too. He would

suddenly get angry, gently bring down to mother-earth all the *mahouts* and then shout "elephant very angry; elephant very hungry; elephant very thirsty; elephant wants very sweet kisses and plenty of them". Then there was a rush and those dainty rose-petal lips would shower such delicious, sweet kisses that the elephant was amply rewarded and was quite happy.

The two daughters-in-law,—mistresses of their households—were hovering round the group, carrying *pan* and cool *sherbet* to all.

It is certainly a pretty sight to see in a good English home, the lady of the house, making tea with her own hands; but ever so much prettier is the sight of a Mussalman lady making *pan* for her guest and friends. It is a great art. There is the little silver *pandan*, with separate compartments to hold lime, catechu, finely-cut betel-nuts, varieties of cardamoms, cocoa-nut, &c. See her daintily pick up the yellow *Begam-pan*, deftly trim it into a proper shape, put their ingredients in proper proportions and then turn it into a pretty knot—a finished *glours*. This home was by no means a rich home, but what it lacked in wealth, it made up in happiness.

It was a joint family and not a joint family; it was more like a big family "chummary". Every member either earned or inherited his or her own income and controlled it. Only they all lived together and shared the expenses. And whenever any of them was hard-up, he or she would go to the queen and ask for what he or she wanted. If the queen wanted anything herself and it was not rare, she would levy a tax on all, which all willingly paid.

"Now, children, what *kahani* do you want?" The petted Zalud, rather masterful and self-willed was the first and asked for a story from "Omar Pasha" all about fighting in which the brave Turks and their brave Angrez (English) allies were to beat the wily and wicked *Rossies* (Russians). The girls wanted the story of the "Seven Mad Wives", some one demanded stories about *Peries* and *Jinns*. There was difference of opinion but "little Abid" again carried the day "Bi, Abid wants Pidday Bhai." Apparently this was the most popular story, as they all clapped their hands and voted solid for it. "Yes, let us have Pidday Bhai."

Everything decided they settled down to hear the *kahani*. Said Bi:—

"Children, there was a Pidda* and a Piddi, and they were very fond of each other. All day, they used to work hard to collect sufficient grain for their family. In the evening, they used to meet again in their neat little nest and, after they had fed their little ones and put them to bed, they used to talk together and discuss the affairs of the world and then would sing themselves sweetly to bed. One day Piddi said to her husband Pidda: 'I have heard a great deal of this new garden-palace of the Raja's. I want to go to-morrow to see it.' Pidda was angry and said: 'I cannot allow you to go there. It will mean a great deal of harm to us. I know what would happen. You will see in the beautiful garden the flowers, the fountains, the lakes and many pretty birds and you will be happy. When happy, you will sing. If you do that—and you will do that,—the king will surely fall in love with you and then catch you and put you in a golden cage. What would then happen to poor me and the little ones? No, I cannot allow you to go'. But the Piddi had set her heart on going and she managed to coax Pidda to give his consent. Well, next day, she went to the king's garden and was delighted with all that she saw there. She sat down on one of the beautiful shady trees, over a fountain and expressed her approval in music. The king happened to pass that way; was charmed with the music, sent for all the fowlers, and ordered them to bring the singing bird at once, otherwise he would neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep and certainly would hang all the fowlers from the highest tree in his garden. They set to work at once and easily caught the poor Piddi, who was so very much absorbed in her own music that she neither heard nor saw her captors. She was taken to the king, who put her in a jewelled cage and did all he could to make her consent to live with him. She would not do that. She begged and she implored him to send her back to her home and family, she even promised to come every day and sing to him, but the cruel man would not let her go. Well, in the evening when the Pidda arrived at his nest there was no Piddi to welcome him. The babies two were clamouring for their mother. Pidda guessed what had happened and was furious. He quietly fed the little ones and put them to bed. Then instead of sleeping he arranged his plan of campaign. After several expeditions to the neighbouring brook, he gathered sufficient number of reeds for his purpose. He peeled off their skin and made harness of it. Also a thong for his driving whip. Of the pulp he made a little cart. (The children had so far heard the story in silence. Now they began to get interested, their bright faces lit up with expectations of hearing something extra nice.) Then he sent for two big frogs and harnessed them in the trap. Solemn and firm, he took his seat on the coach-box, with his

* Indian mothers do not want their children to get too much excitement and so refuse their request for a story by saying that if they gave one in daytime, the poor travellers on the road will lose their way.

* Tiny little birds, much smaller than even our household sparrow, sometimes called "Pidda and Piddi" and sometimes "Podes and Podai."

driving whip in one hand and the reins in the other, driving at tremendous pace. (Great excitement amongst the listeners—Shahid could not repress his feelings. 'Bi! Will you teach me to make the art and get me two frogs for (Bi) All the children were very angry with Shahid for interfering, though all would have loved to make the same request. Shahid warned off not to repeat the offence.) The Pidda had not gone far in his swagger turn-out when he came across a pack of wolves. When they saw the Pidda looking so grim and determined, they shouted 'Piddey Bhai, Piddie Bhai what is the matter? Where are you off to?' The Pidda replied looking neither to the left nor to the right, but driving on straight without slackening the speed:—

تھمارے ٹھہرا۔ تھیرے کی گاڑی۔ دو مینڈک جوئی جائیں
راجہ بکڑے ہو دن م راجہ بکڑن جائیں

(Here is a reed and a cart made of reed, driven by two frogs.
The Raja has caught my Poudni, am off to catch the Raj).

The wolves begged 'Piddie Bhai, Piddie Bhai, do take us with you,' and the Pidda replied—

تم میرے گھوکان۔ تم میرے گھوکان

(You jump into my ear, you jump into my ear)

All the wolves jumped in and disappeared in Piddie's ear

(Children very pleased with the wolves for their sporting offer.)

They had gone only a little further, when the whole herd of elephants came upon them. Evidently Pidda was equally a great favourite with the elephant world. They made the same enquiry, received the same answer—

تھمارے ٹھہرا۔ تھیرے کی گاڑی دو مینڈک جوئی جائیں
راجہ ماری ہو دن م راجہ ماری جائیں

(Here is a reed and a cart made of reed, driven by two frogs.
The Raja has killed my Poudni, am off to kill the Raj)

Piddie Bhai, do let us come?

تم میرے گھوکان۔ تم میرے گھوکان

(You jump into my ear, you jump into my ear.)

And all the elephants also disappeared in that wonderful ear. To cut the story short, on his way to the king's garden, the popular Pidda, met tigers, ants, bees and a mighty big river. All made the same enquiries, all received the same reply, all made the same request of having the honour of going to the relief of Piddie and all jumped and disappeared in the capacious, elastic ear.

"Well, children, by early morning, the Pidda and his ear, reached the king's garden. Near the main gateway were loitering a number of king's soldiers. The Pidda fearlessly went up to them and said: 'Soldiers your Raja has captured my Piddie. Go and tell him that the Pidda has come for his wife and demands her immediate surrender. If the Raja values his life and has the welfare of his subjects and kingdom near his heart then he must return the Piddie at once, otherwise let him beware.' The soldiers looked at the tiny Pidda and his funny cart and laughed loudly 'Oh! What impudence!! What cheek!! For the king to have captured his majesty the Pidda's beloved consort.' The Pidda was persistent 'Variety go at once and give my ultimatum to the king.' With sidesplitting laughter, one of them went and reported the matter to the king, who was very much annoyed and ordered the soldiers to bring Pidda as a prisoner before him. The soldiers wanted to lay hands on him, but he shouted 'come out my wolves' and down came the whole pack of wolves out of his ears and tore the soldiers to pieces. Only one escaped to tell the tale before the king who was mad with anger now 'Take the cavalry and capture the rebel Pidda.' As the troopers galloped towards him, he shouted 'come out my brave tigers and help the wolves' and down came the fierce and angry tigers. Between them, after a hot battle, they killed all the horsemen. When the news of this fresh disaster reached the king he ordered the whole of his army to attack. As it marched on Pidda, foot, horse, elephant and artillery, with gay banners flying and bands playing, he too arranged his army. Out of his ear, he called out the elephants to trample down the foot-soldiers, ants to fight the elephants and the bees to fight the rest. At one word from him, they all attacked the king's army; the ants in millions crawled up into the noses of the elephant and the bees stung them to death. In 10 minutes the big army was routed and put to ignominious flight. To finish it all the Pidda ordered out his reserve force—the mighty river. It sprang out of his ear in a torrent and threatened to drown every thing. The king, who was watching the whole scene from the roof of his palace, saw the hopelessness of fighting against the great Pidda, ran towards him and

putting his head at the conqueror's feet, begged for forgiveness.

The Pidda was taken out of her golden cage and was delighted to meet her brave, beloved Piddie again. They both Piddie and Piddie thanked in a pretty speech their allies and asked them to jump into the ear again. The king was pardoned on condition that he was never to molest the denizens of the forest.

"This done, the Pidda and the Piddie got into their carriage and driving fast, reached home, just when the little ones were waking up. There was great rejoicing in that home and the little ones were very proud of their brave father and devoted mother." "Children, may God help us as he helped the poor Piddie and Piddie."

Long before the story came to a happy end, the repetition of that nursery rhyme had sent the younger children as it was designed to do into the world of dreams and sweet sleep, each little mite before he went off, mumbling "Bi, tell the rest to-morrow."

Great poets, artists, authors, actors, orators are born and not manufactured. I suppose this was true in the case of story-tellers also—they are born and not manufactured. I have travelled, seen many great actors, heard many great speakers, but I doubt if any of them could influence his hearers as much or tell a story so well as the "dear Bi"

Here was I, a grown up man, having children of my own, and having read most of the great fiction writers, listening to a baby's tale and in spite of myself, the sweet voice and the magnetic power of the story-teller was carrying me back 30 years, to the days when as a little lad, I used to beg her to lull me to sleep with exactly such a little *taham*."

And what hasn't she—this wonderful story-teller, this ignorant, uneducated woman (as some chit of a modern school girl, with smattering of Geography and History may mis-call her) done for her children. We will bless our stars if we her sons, in spite of the liberal education we received at Aligarh and Oxford could do as well for ours.

I was dreaming in this strain, when some one pinched me in my ear and on turning round, I saw my own queen standing by me "get up lazy men, we can't allow dinner to get cold."

"All right, I am ready" and addressing Bi, I said "I have been watching with jealous eyes, how you have been spoiling and carrying a good-for-nothing scamp of a son, sitting at your feet. I suppose there is nothing left now for any other poor fellow." "Oh: you wicked boy, you don't deserve any" replied she, but while passing me she gently tapped my ugly face.

What with kisses from tiny sweet lips, taps on the face and pinches in the ear, I was happy that night and so got gloriously drunk on water. At least it looked as if I was.

"Good-bye, Bi"—hundreds of miles away for you and home, I am writing this in the midst of very heavy and important work, but your dear—your beautiful, queenly face is before me. It egges me on to work and gives hope and courage. Good-bye, dear Bi! may you live long and give many such stories to your—

"ALIGADH BARBARIAN."

Verse.

Ideal Beauty.

Weary and worn upon Life's rugged way
My burdened spirit toiled in endless night,
When she, a phantom of celestial light,
Dawned on my sight and ushered glad some day.
From eyes that mirrored Heaven a mystic ray
Stole to my heart; a magic smile made bright
My inmost being with a strange delight,
As when some joyous dream the soul doth away.
And when I dared to gaze into her eyes,
Far in their lucid depths I could discern,
Wrapt in a glamour as of starry skies,
'en that for which the Poet's soul doth yearn—
A gleam from other worlds, that trembling flies
Through haunting dreams of Loveliness stern.

NEHAJI JAIN.

The Confiscated Pamphlet.

Justice Stephen's Judgment.

THE following is the full text of the judgment of Mr. Justice Stephen in the case in which Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of *Comrade*, applied to have the Notification of the Government of Bengal forfeiting the pamphlet "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us," set aside. It will be remembered that a Special Bench consisting of the Chief Justice and Justices Stephen and Woodroffe dismissed the application but made no order as to costs.

Mr. Justice Stephen.—I agree with the Chief Justice that this application must be dismissed. In view, however, of its novelty and of the difficulties to which it gives rise I consider that I should express my own view of the questions involved. If we take advantage of the statement made by the Advocate-General that the classes whom it is alleged the pamphlet before us is likely to bring into hatred are Englishmen and Christians and confine our attention to the parts of the Press Act that apply to the present case, the position we are in may be correctly described as follows:—

It appeared to the local Government that the pamphlet before us contained words that were likely directly, indirectly or (to abbreviate) in any possible way to bring Englishmen or Christians being His Majesty's subjects in British India into hatred as a class. They accordingly published a notification in the local "Gazette" declaring the pamphlet forfeited and giving as a ground of their opinion that the pamphlet was likely to bring Englishmen and Christians into hatred—the fact that it was likely to bring them into hatred. The result of this notification was that the police in Calcutta confiscated the pamphlet and Mr. Mohamed Ali now applies before us to set aside the confiscation on the ground that the pamphlet is not likely to bring such Englishmen and Christians as have been described into hatred and it is this negative proposition that Mr. Norton seeks to press on his behalf.

The case he makes before us is twofold. In the first place he says that the pamphlet cannot have the effect ascribed to it. In the second he says that the notification published by the Government is bad because it does not state the grounds of the opinion that the Government have formed about the pamphlet, which it must do according to section 12, that therefore the confiscation is illegal and there is no ground for the application he is making. He naturally presses for a decision on the first ground, but if he cannot obtain that he asks for a declaration that the notification and the confiscation are both bad.

Logically, however, the question of our jurisdiction must be considered first. As to this I am of opinion that the notification is not according to law. Looking at the section, and indeed at the Act as a whole I have no doubt that the provision in section 12 that the grounds of opinion on which the Local Government have acted must be stated, is mandatory and not merely directory. There can be no doubt that it is found for the protection of any person whose property may be confiscated, and not merely for the purposes of administrative convenience. The ground of opinion must in this case, if not always, be a fact or facts and no fact is disclosed merely by a specific relation of the elements that the law requires to be present in order for legal consequences to follow. I have already described the statement of the grounds in terms which seem to me to lead to an absurdity, but I have taken pains to make them correct. I cannot say what facts should be stated. I do not think for example that it can be the case that the Local Government should state to us all the information on which they have acted, for I cannot suppose that we are to revise their action as a whole. On the other hand we have, it appears, power to revise their action to some extent, and for this purpose some statement of facts seems essential.

But because the law has not been followed in this matter, I cannot hold that the notification is void in such a way as to deprive us of jurisdiction. For, such are the provisions of this Act that if our jurisdiction to revise the action of the Government under section 17 is taken away, no other remedy is open to the person whose property is confiscated and the Local Government can by their own action deprive him of the only relief that the law provides. Such a conclusion seems to me so contrary to all principles of justice that I cannot accept it, or apply to the present case the general principle that where exceptional powers are conferred on an executive authority and a special procedure for their exercise is provided a failure to follow that procedure will prevent an exercise of those powers. Also, though I cannot say what facts are to be stated in order to disclose the ground for the opinion on which the Local Government acts, I think it may be the case that a

statement of facts too meagre to give an applicant under section 17 any real assistance, would be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of section 12. Further, our jurisdiction is very closely confined by the terms of section 19, with which sections 14 and 22 must be read and I have doubts whether it may not be that we can only answer the question indicated in section 19, assuming that everything else has been rightly done.

I am of opinion therefore that we have jurisdiction to consider the question before us on its merits, and it is my duty therefore to do so. It is impossible, however, to do this without first noticing the point of view from which Mr. Norton has asked us to consider the case. He did not contend that this Act was final, but he dwelt at length on the intentions of the persons who wrote the pamphlet, apparently in Constantinople, and of the applicant who as I understand published it, or at least proposed to publish it here. With these I conceive that we have nothing to do directly. We have only to consider what effect the publication is likely to produce. The intention of the writer and publisher may be of importance on the principle that they are not likely to produce an effect they did not intend but otherwise we must not consider them. Nor can I accede to the argument that this Act was passed only to prevent active crime. I can only judge of its purpose from its contents and, as I read it, its purpose is to prevent the publication of anything that may be dangerous in any of the ways described in section 4, and the means supplied to Government for doing this have no relation to the propriety of the conduct, still less to the criminality, of the publisher or the reader. The purpose of the Act as I read it, may be to prevent crime not by detecting or punishing criminals but by preventing persons now innocent from becoming criminals. Consequently I need scarcely say that I consider that no slur has been cast on Mr. Mohamed Ali's character by the confiscation of his pamphlet. A man may own a mad dog without blame and no slur is cast on his character if it is confiscated. This view is, in my opinion, confirmed by a reference to the provision of the Penal Code that deal with concrete matters. By section 153A of that Code it is an offence to promote feelings of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects, but it is explained that it is not an offence to point out without malicious intention, and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce such feelings of hatred. Thus when the law is dealing with the matter of creating hatred of a class from the point of view of the criminal law its action is restricted to cases where what is promoted is hatred by one class of another, and words and so forth are used without malice and honesty to remove the causes of hatred are not punishable. But in the present case the law applies to hatred by any one, possibly only by one man, and the explanation as to the intention of the person who uses them is omitted.

It seems that the Legislature must have had section 153A in view when it enacted section 4 (a) of the Press Act and I therefore suppose that the omission in the latter of any provision like the explanation in the former was intentional. Again explanation 2 of section 4 (1) of the Press Act excludes from the scope of the Act "comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of Government . . . with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or if the administrative or other acts of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred." This is obviously adopted from two explanations to section 124A of the Penal Code which are applicable here, because if hatred is in fact excited the explanation does not apply, whatever may have been the intention of the person who excited it.

From the relation of this Act to the Penal Code I therefore conclude that the scope of this Act has been made far wider than that of the Code. So wide indeed are the powers that the Legislature has conferred on the Government that they would be able to confiscate a newspaper containing words that might cause one man to hate or even to condemn a class if such there should unhappily be, who sought to embarrass the Government of the country by murder and robbery. When such wide powers were conferred on Government I cannot but suppose that it was intended that they should be widely used.

This brings me to the actual question that I conceive that I have to decide, namely, whether Mr. Norton has shown that the pamphlet before us is not likely to bring Englishmen and Christians into hatred. And in attempting to form an opinion on it I find myself in a position which, as far as I am aware, no Judge in the British Empire has been placed since the remote days of early English jurisprudence. I have to decide a question of fact on such evidence as is supplied by one document. The side on whom the onus of

proving his case is not in a position to give any evidence. As the other side has not called any witnesses, no cross-examination has taken place.

The answer to the question I have to decide depends on the social and political state of the Mahomedans in India or perhaps of certain sections of them. As to this such information as I have is unverified and general to a high degree; it has never been my duty to acquire information in the matter; and absolutely none has been supplied to me on this occasion. Under these circumstances I have no doubt that any opinion I may express will be received by others with the respect that is due to the office I have the honor to hold, but it will be impossible for me to share in this feeling.

The question put to me is so framed that any doubtful point is to be decided against the applicant. Coming to the pamphlet itself I have no doubt here I must answer the question before me. Generally speaking I suppose from its contents that it is the work of avowed partisans of the Turks in their war against the Christian Balkan States. The object of the writers, and here their intention becomes relevant, is to put an end to horrible atrocities which they allege to have been committed by the Allies on Mahomedans. To do this they tell Englishmen what is being done by their fellow Christians and appeal to them as Christians to stop it. In more detail I find statements that the Moslem population of Macedonia is being practically annihilated by murder, outrage and pillage, if this passes unnoticed and uncondemned there will be a cleavage between us. Then follows a series of charges of misgovernment and a catalogue of horrible outrages the details of which I may pass over, but all of which I think I am correct in saying are represented as having been perpetrated by Christians. In conclusion the readers of the pamphlet are informed that the Government of England will do nothing to stop the outrages unless forced to by public opinion, and it is stated that they could stop them if they would. Throughout the whole of the pamphlet the outrages mentioned are imputed to the Allies whose Christianity is constantly referred to. There are cases in which accounts are given of how Christians tried to prevent or mitigate what was going on, but the almost avowed object of the pamphlet is to excite the indignation of Christians in England against the conduct of Christians in Macedonia so as to induce them to bring it to an end. The disinterested humanity of the writers is beyond question and they certainly had a right to make an appeal to Englishmen as they did Mr. Mohamed Ali is entitled to a presumption that he acted with like humanity, and it is not suggested that he committed any unlawful act or did anything wrong in publishing the pamphlet in India.

But these considerations do not touch the question whether the pamphlet is not likely to make Mahomedans hate Christians. A perusal of the accounts of the outrages is likely to excite anger in the mind of any reader who does not regard the pamphlet as a false document, which we have no reason for doing. It may also suggest to a thoughtful mind that Christians as a whole may be trusted to repudiate as strongly as they can the horrible deeds described, and that many of them are anxious to acknowledge their responsibility for their co-religionists by providing at all costs against a repetition of such acts.

But a vivid recital of the horrors of barbarous warfare is likely to make far more impression on the excitable minds of men untrained to any political action on a large scale, except of the crudest kind, than considerations such as these, and I can well understand that in the mind of some Indian Mahomedans anger might easily, and perhaps justifiably, turn to a hatred of the Allies from which, making allowances for the infirmities of human nature, a hatred of the co-religionists of the Allies would seem but a short step especially for those whose co-religionists are involved in a national disaster.

Such is my opinion on the question I have to answer. Acting on such information as I have, I entertain no doubt as to what my answer should be. But the absence of doubt is probably due to the absence of evidence and cannot be taken as going far towards showing that the opinion is correct.

I agree that costs should not be awarded in this case.

Press Opinions.

When the Press Act was on the Legislative Council Indian publicists were almost unanimously of opinion that it would be a menace to the liberty of the press and that such a measure on the Statute Book would be inconsistent with a progressive, civilized administration. Though most of the non-official members of the Supreme Legislative Council supported the Bill—members reluctant to incur the displeasure of the then Government of India—it is a well-known fact that the measure was passed in spite of strong opposition in the Indian press. It was, however, understood that the law would be applied very carefully, but it is now evident that very little care is being taken now in applying it. The Chief

Justice says, "I doubt whether publications with an authority, a source and a purpose like those of the present pamphlet were thought of; and I recognise the force of the argument that the Act is now being applied to a purpose never intended." So His Lordship acknowledges that the Act is being misapplied in a manner, but still the High Court would not interfere because if the Legislature has employed language wide enough to cover the pamphlet, "this lack of reserve affords no answer to the forfeiture now at stake." The Press Act is sufficiently elastic and that itself is a menace to the liberty of the press, but the attitude of the High Court, as embodied in the recent judgment of the Special Bench, is, we are afraid, a greater menace to that liberty. It is the practice with high judicial tribunals to interpret the intention of the Legislature and administer the law in accordance with that intention. If the Executive errs and applies the law to a purpose never intended, it is, we think, the duty of the court to intervene when called upon to do so and administer the law in conformity with the intention of the Legislature. We fear the High Court has failed to do this in the present case. The Chief Justice observes:

"The pamphlet would doubtless bring into hatred the un-Christian Christians whose deeds of atrocity are described. The theory presented is that the reflection of this hatred might fall, not indeed on the Government, but on His Majesty's Christian or English subjects in British India. If this be the Government's view with all the information at its disposal, the Court, no more informed than the man in the street, cannot (in my opinion) affirm this could not be so, and affirm it with a degree of assurance that would entitle it to set aside a measure of safety on which the Government had solemnly resolved."

The argument which His Lordship has used may, we are afraid, be applied to every case of a political nature. Because the Government "with all the information at its disposal"—information derived mostly from the great C. I. D. and the Police—has formed a view, the Court should be bound by it and should not exercise its independent judgment is an attitude and a frame of mind which we deeply deplore. The findings of the Chief Justice are mostly in favour of the applicant, but by a curious process His Lordship has come to ultimate conclusions which are not only disappointing but smack of inconsistency, too. The separate judgment which Mr. Justice Stephen delivered, agreeing in the main with the Chief Justice, is however more consistent, though equally disappointing. The Chief Justice concluded his judgment by giving to the applicant Mr. Mohamed Ali a certificate of character. "The Advocate-General, representing the Government, has," said His Lordship, "publicly announced that Mr. Mohamed Ali's forfeited pamphlet is not, in his opinion, a seditious libel, and indeed that he attributes no criminal offence to Mr. Mohamed Ali; he was even willing to concede and believe he was acting in the highest interests of humanity and civilisation." In spite of this certificate the pamphlet must be forfeited because the Government wills it. What a pity!

So, the Press Act is doing much more than what the Legislature intended it to do. We do not know how long this measure will continue to be a blot on the civilized administration of India. Will His Excellency Lord Hardinge have the courage to prove a Sir Charles Metcalfe to repeal the Act and thus restore the liberty of the press so highly valued by His Majesty's Indian subjects?

—The Muzalmans.

It is certainly not a happy situation, but the situation has been created by the passing of the Press Act of 1910, and so long as the Act is in force no other judgment is possible and political writings and discussions are wholly under the mercy of the executive authority and no strictly judicial estimate is possible. We in common with others must regret this effect.—The Tribune.

It is apparent that the Press Act of 1910 is henceforth to be classed at a par with the sacred Ten Commandments, that cannot be tampered with. It is difficult to see how any judicial tribunal in future can possibly consider itself competent to override the decision of the executive authority, when on the present occasion the suppression of the pamphlet, admittedly "not seditious" and the notification of the Government proscribing the pamphlet, held to have been insufficient and not in compliance with the terms of the law authorizing its suppression, are still in effect held to be valid and the political considerations that may have influenced the action of the executive, although unknown and rationally unknowable, are deemed judicially to be as unalterable as the law of the Medes and the Persians. Now in consequence of this decision, the questions that arise are these: Did Sir Herbert Risley, who assured the country on behalf of the Government that a very salutary provision had been provided by enabling an aggrieved person to seek redress in the highest judicial court, knew that the assurance would prove altogether ineffective when brought before a court of law? Had the interpretation

now put upon it, have anticipated by the Government? There is not the least reason to question the soundness of the view the High Court have held with regard to the intentions as gleaned from the text the framers of the Act appear to have had, for disarming section 4 of the Act Sir Lawrence Jenkins said: "The language of the section is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not be pleasantly extended by an ingenious mind"—an observation, which in our view is extremely uncomplimentary to the prestige and fair-mindedness of a modern civilised state such as the Government is. However, let us briefly see to what conclusion one must arrive at on a dispassionate consideration of the two questions that in our opinion arise to-day. Speaking as he was on behalf of the Government and having in his possession the views of the legal advisers of the Government of India as well as the opinions of local Governments, it cannot be assumed that Sir Herbert was not acquainted with the real value of the assurance he was holding out to the people of India from his responsible position in the Imperial Council. The presumption is still greatly strengthened by the fact that the Advocate-General, who represented the Bengal Government, completely ignored the solemn assurances thus publicly given within the memory of all. Such is the conclusion the circumstances lead us to, but our difficulty is that the good old days of John Company and Clive, Hastings, Umichand and Nandkumar having been left far far behind we can not persuade ourselves to believe even for one moment that the Government of India could have deliberately chosen to permit an assurance of that solemn nature being given in their honoured name when they were aware of the fact that the provision to afford relief to the aggrieved person meant in reality no protection against such unjusticial action. The Government could not have been aware of the interpretation that has now been put of the Act, otherwise they would not have publicly committed themselves to the assurances given in Council. The good faith and the honourable motives of the Government of India, supported as they were by the Secretary of State and his Council, need not be questioned in consequence of what has followed till sufficient time elapses to enable them to make amends. But the Government of India would be laying themselves open to a very damaging accusation if they allow the law where it stands, after the authoritative pronouncement of Sir Lawrence Jenkins and two of his honourable companion Judges. In fact, even so conservative and pronouncedly pro Government Anglo-Indian a journal as the *Madras Times* takes the same view of the situation as we do, though in a tame and half-hearted manner. Says the *Madras paper*: "From another point of view, we are disposed to think that in suppressing this particular pamphlet, the Government have not acted with that degree of discretion and judicial detachment that should characterise their smallest action. The judgment, taken as a whole, coupled with the court exonerating Mr. Mohamed Ali and declaring the inability of the judicial authorities to sit in judgment on executive procedure is, in our opinion, in complete disagreement with the action of the Government of India in regard to the subject matter of the case. It is to be hoped that the Government will, in the circumstances, deem it necessary to place on the Statute Book legal measures which will be more definite and which will not be subject to criticisms which the legislature has drawn upon itself." As for Mr. Mohamed Ali, we think he has not only succeeded in eliciting from the Advocate-General and the Calcutta High Court bench the confession and finding respectively that his motives in publishing the condemned pamphlet were altogether honourable, but he has also driven the Government of Bengal and the Supreme Government to an inconvenient position whence they must as in honour bound soon extricate themselves, if they desire not to let verdict of the public go by default.—*The Beharce*.

It will be remembered that when the Press Act was passed during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto, our distinguished countryman Mr. S. P. Sinha was the Law Member. The Press Act, however, was introduced by Sir Herbert Risley, the Home Member of the Government of India at the time. Referring to the check provided in the Act against the "hasty or arbitrary action" of the executive, Sir Herbert thus delivered himself:—"I will now turn to the check which we have provided. This consists of an appeal to a special tribunal of three Judges of the High Court against any order of forfeiture passed by the Government. If it appears to the High Court that the matter in respect of which the order was passed does not come within the terms of section 4 of the Bill, then the court will set aside the orders of forfeiture. I think it will be admitted that this is a very complete check upon any hasty or improper action by a local Government." Farther on in the same speech the mover secured the Council thus: "The initiative indeed rests with the executive Government but ample security against hasty or arbitrary action is provided in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly competent judicial authority." Mr. S. P. Sinha was also of

opinion that, "we have put in all kinds of safeguards." We have however been told by Lord Minto himself what contributed to making Mr. Sinha support the Press Act. We are now informed by one of that "highly competent judicial authority," the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, that the "very complete check," "this ample security," this "all kinds of safeguards" is an "ineffectual" check. Well, one lives to learn.—*The Beharce*.

Mr. M. Bhaduri writes from Basum to the *Pioneer* thus:—"I find it stated in your paper of the 7th instant that Mr. Norton, who supported the application against the order of the Bengal Government forbidding the pamphlet 'Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us,' referred to Mr. Sinha's speech in the Legislative Council. You think that this should not have been allowed as it conflicts with the decision of the Privy Council in the case Administrator-General of Bengal v. Premlal Mullick—17 Cal 788 et 793. That this view is not maintainable is testified by the fact that the Judges in all the High Courts of India refer, even after the Privy Council case cited above, to the proceedings in the Council with the object of ascertaining the intention of the Legislature in passing a particular enactment. In support of this, I quote a valuable passage occurring in the case *Seth Gangabhai v. Balmukund-Nag*, Law Reports, Vol III, 40 et 45: "It is true that proceedings of the Legislature in passing a statute are excluded from consideration on the judicial construction of Indian statutes: Administrator-General of Bengal v. Premlal Mullick. That case was decided by the Privy Council in March 1895. Three months later their lordships in the matter of Parbati Charan Chatterji (1 I. R., 17, Allahabad, 498) upheld a decision by the Full Court, Allahabad, in which a Select Committee's Report was quoted. In *Krishnaji V. Tarawa* (1 I. R., 24, Bombay, 484) Ranade, J. referred to proceedings in Council in order to ascertain the object with which Bombay Act V. of 1888 was passed. The same learned Judge in *Tayawa v. Gurnahidappa* (25 Bombay 269) relied on the report of the Indian Law Commissioners who prepared the Bill which became the Transfer of Property Act, 1882, as an aid to ascertaining the scope of certain words in that Act. I think then that there is no impropriety in concluding upon the materials used above that the Legislature intended when enacting and re-enacting section 38 of the Tenancy Act of 1882, to 'cut down not the landlord's but the absolute occupancy tenant's right.' The material which the Judge, Sir Henry Drake Brockman, J. C., had used on this occasion for ascertaining the scope of section 38 of the Tenancy Act was the Report of the Select Committee.

The unanimous judgment of the Special Bench of the High Court of Bengal in the pamphlet forfeiture case, has caused a feeling of painful surprise throughout the whole of India. The pamphlet "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us" was forfeited and suppressed by an order of the Government of India, under the Press Act, and the High Court has, on a proper construction of the Act, found itself unable to give any relief to Mr. Mohamed Ali, against what looks like a gratuitous interference with the liberty of the Press. The Press Act was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council at a time when it was impossible for the country to press its opposition that measure of extraordinary restraint on the liberties of his Majesty's Indian subjects. The Indians protested loudly, though not without dignity and self-restraint, against some of the most drastic provisions of the Act. It was, however, thought advisable and we suppose rightly, to consent to give powers to Government to deal promptly and effectively with the spread of seditious and criminal literature of every kind in those troublous times, because the country was assured that sufficient safeguards were provided in the Act, to prevent, or at any rate discourage, an arbitrary exercise of authority by Government. This assurance, however, falls to the ground under the interpretation put upon the Act by the Special Bench of the Bengal High Court; and a situation has arisen which calls for the repeal or revision of the Act without unnecessary delay. There is enough in the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins to show that there is little in the proscribed pamphlet to deserve the suppression under the extraordinary powers taken by Government under the Act. The notification gives no ground which under the Act the Government is under an imperative obligation to give. It was admitted by the Advocate-General that the pamphlet was not seditious and did not offend against any of the provisions of the Criminal Law of India. The learned Chief Justice himself doubts "whether publications with an authorship, a source and a purpose like those of the present pamphlet were thought of" and recognises "the force of the argument that the Act is being applied to a purpose never intended." "The pamphlet is an appeal to his Majesty's subjects, followers of the Christian faith and it is an appeal to them as Christians, to move the British Government to such individual or concerted action as will put a stop to outrages that shock all

feelings of humanity if they in fact occurred." There is nothing to show that the pamphlet implied an attack upon the Christians as such. The total absence of grounds of forfeiture from the notification points clearly to the view that Government was not in a position to give any substantial grounds. As Sir Lawrence puts it: "The notification does not even specify the classes that might be brought into hatred or contempt or which of these two diverse sentiments is apprehended with the result, that when Mr. Norton rose to address the Court he had to seek this information from the Advocate-General." The answer given by the Advocate-General implied that it included Christians, Greeks and Englishmen, but the judgment rightly says that the answer was without significance. The pamphlet, says the judgment, would doubtless bring into hatred the non-Christian Christians whose deeds of atrocity are described. The theory presented is that the reflection of this hatred might fall, not indeed on the Government, but on his Majesty's Christian or English subjects in British India, and proceeds the judgment "If this be the Government's view, with all the information at its disposal the Court no more than the man in the street, can not (in my opinion) affirm, this could not be so, and affirm it with a degree of assurance that it would entitle it to set aside such a measure of safety on which the Government had solemnly resolved."

One need only add a mark of exclamation at the end of the last sentence, to be able to see the full force of the *reductio ad absurdum* propounded by the learned Chief Justice. In truth, the passages in the judgment cited and many others that one could easily lay his hands on, imply as strong a condemnation as could possibly be pronounced from the Bench of the High Court, on an Executive action, consistently with the relation which exists in this country between the High Court and the Executive Government. This leads one to the question of the right relations between the Judicial and Executive authorities, which the Chief Justice hints at, and which deserves in due time to be seriously considered. But as a result of all that, it is found to the satisfaction of three judges of the High Court of Bengal that "Of the two alleged checks on executive action supposed to be furnished by the Act, one, the intervention of the Courts, is ineffectual, while the other for those very reasons, can be, and in this case has been, disregarded without impairing the practical effect of a forfeiture purported to be under the Act."

If the two checks against arbitrary action by Government were seriously meant and intended to be introduced into the Act, and if it is now found that the checks furnished have proved utterly abortive, it clearly behoves Government to take measures to revise the Act and bring it in conformity with true purpose and intention of the legislature. But when we come to consider the legislation with a view to revision in the direction so broadly and unmistakably suggested by the High Court of Bengal, is it not relevant to consider also whether the Act shall not now be repealed? Happily the circumstances which called forth the Act have now disappeared, and it is hardly conducive to cordiality of relation between the Government and the Press of the country, to put any unnecessary hindrances in the way of the progress of journalism. It was, the prevalent opinion then, and it is the prevalent opinion now, that the ordinary law of the land is quite enough to meet with every case of abuse of liberty; and if exceptional legislation was necessary during exceptional times, the return to normal times must synchronize with the return to normal legislation. We have no doubt that his Excellency Lord Hardinge who has done so much to restore peace and goodwill to this troubled land will remove this vestige of abnormal conditions which are now happily a matter of history. But if that cannot be done at present, we think there ought to be no difficulty in amending the Act in a manner so as to make effectual the checks intended to be furnished, but not furnished as a matter of fact, in the legislation of 1910.—The Press

The Press Act has been in operation among us for some years; yet those facts, which are now so well explained by the Chief Justice of Bengal, were never so well known before as now after the decision in Mr. Mahmud Ali's case. And more important than all these is the fact that the Act is now being put to use to which it was never intended that it should be put. All this makes it clear that a law like the Press Act ought not to exist, except in very abnormal circumstances calling for the exercise of a rare power of the State. And the view upon the Act was passed was that it would be of short duration taking us no further the period of lawlessness and crime referred to in the Chief Justice's judgment. The Act, however, remains as a permanent record of rights lost and of liberty curtailed, without the protection from the Courts which every subject has ordinarily the right to expect. Penal laws as applied to politics, have of late multiplied among us. We got on without a seditious law until the seventeen Sir James Stephen framed Section 124A. That section allowed any kind of writing short of incitement to violence. But this feelings of humanity if they in fact occurred." There is nothing to

show that the pamphlet implied an attack upon the Christians as such. The total absence of grounds of forfeiture from the notification points clearly to the view that Government was not in a position to give any substantial grounds. As Sir Lawrence puts it: "The notification does not even specify the classes that might be brought into hatred or contempt or which of these two diverse sentiments is apprehended with the result, that when Mr. Norton rose to address the Court he had to seek this information from the Advocate-General." The answer given by the Advocate-General was found insufficient in 1898 in spite of the convictions obtained under it both in Bombay and the United Provinces, and the section so amplified as to comprehend every kind of disrespectful writing of Government. At the same time section 153A was newly created. But with these the trouble did not end. The legislation of Lord Minto's time is too recent for detailed mention. For several of them, at the time they were passed, there was some kind of justification on the hypothesis that exceptional circumstances call for exceptional measures. But not one of the repressive measures passed in Lord Minto's time is, in our opinion, fit to be retained on the Statute Book permanently. Some of them, if detained, are bound to prove mischievous and are useless as practical remedies, in days of quiet and peace. The Press Act is of this description. In fact as can be seen from the judgment of the Chief Justice, much mischief will be wrought by it, and, we know as a matter of fact, has been wrought by it. The time has come to consider at least whether these safeguards which Lord Minto's Government honestly intended to afford to the citizen should not be made effective enough against all possible abuse.—

The Indian Patriot.

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Mirza Gholam Mustafa, Esq., Chitral ...	88	2	0
Mohammed Khan, Esq., Hyderabad ...	21	0	0
S. Sajjad Mirza, Esq., Aurangabad ...	4	3	0
Abdul Karim, Esq., Gurgaon ...	15	0	0
H. H. the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal ...	400	0	0
Begum Safdar Ali, Esq., Orai ...	10	0	0
Mohammed Hasan, Esq., Karatpur ...	5	0	0
Samullah, Esq., Padrauna ...	5	0	0
H. S. M. Nazimul Hasan, Esq., Khalilabad ...	10	0	0
S. M. Zakirya Ali Shah, Esq., Kanana ...	2	0	0
Abdul Latif Khan, Esq., Sarathi ...	1	0	0
Abdul Kasim, Esq., Sarathi ...	1	0	0
Abdul Ghaffar, Esq., Sarathi ...	1	0	0
Mern Khan, Esq., Sarathi ...	3	0	0
"A Musliman," Jannpur ...	5	0	0
Ali Mohammad, Esq., Bihar ...	1	0	0
B. S. Malik, Esq., Indore ...	1	8	0
A. H. S. Jamul, Esq., Jambagar ...	25	0	0
S. Shajuddin, Esq., Meerut ...	1	0	0
Through Nayyar-e-Aarav, Moradabad ...	19	14	0
1. I. E. Hony. Secy. Red Crescent Society,			
Jannagar ...	100	0	0
Cash by sale of Motor Car, 1st Instalment	1,000	0	0
Siraj-ul-Islam, Esq., Sylhet ...	3	4	0
Islam Ahmad, Esq., Raugoon ...	10	0	0
M. H. Osmanullah, Esq., Sylhet ...	26	8	0
Qazi Abdul Rahman, Mohammed Basaar	4	11	0
Benda Begum Sahiba through Mohd.			
Habiburrahman, Esq., Habibgunj ...	35	0	0
Mrs. Mohammad Khan, through Mr. Mohammed Khan,			
Hyderabad (Deccan) ...	8	0	0
Khaja Bhai and Hashmatullah Walaites, Shahjhanpur.			
Gwalior State ...	260	0	0
Editor of 'Ittehad', Behar ...	5	0	0
Khaja Bhai, Shahjhanpur, Gwalior State ...	1	0	0
Sirajur-Rahman, Esq., Delhi ...	10	0	0
Begum Safdar Ali, Esq., Orai ...	15	0	0
M. Niaz Ali, Esq., Gurdaspur ...	8	0	0
Aminuddin, Esq., Delhi ...	10	0	0
Mrs. Ahmad Karim, Esq., Itarsi ...	5	0	0
Sajjad Mirza, Esq., Azamgarh ...	11	0	0
Ameer Khan, Esq., Chikalon ...	5	0	0
Hanifuddin, Wazirchar ...	25	0	0
T. K. M. A. Rahman, Esq., Mysore ...	3	0	0

Amount received upto 13th September, 1918 ... 2,173 8 0

Amount previously acknowledged ... 2,29,921 8 8

Grand Total Rs. 4,02,094 8 8

The Cawnpore Mosque Case.

Cawnpore, 15th September.

In the Court of Mr. E. Austin Kendall, Sessions Judge of Cawnpore, an application was made to-day, on behalf of the accused committed to the Sessions in the Cawnpore Mosque riot case, for summoning Sir James Meston as a witness for the defence. It was stated in the petition that the trying magistrate had refused to summon His Honour on two grounds: (a) That His Honour's statement would be irrelevant, and (b) that that which the defence wanted His Honour to prove could be proved by the evidence of thousands. The petition urged that in view of the fact that His Honour visited the scene of the occurrence soon after the disturbance and made certain inquiries from persons, some of whom had been examined before the Magistrate, his evidence was not only relevant but very material and indispensable and that the committing magistrate was wrong in holding that a thousand witnesses could prove what His Honour saw as it was the quality and credibility of evidence and not its quantity that was of any value.

Mr. Syed Fazlur Rahman, a vakil of Cawnpore, who in the absence of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque appeared in support of the application, urged that they wanted to establish three things from the evidence of His Honour:—(1) That the acquisition of a portion of the mosque in question was illegal, (2) that the enquiries made by His Honour on the 4th August in Cawnpore and the statements made to him then did not tally with the statements made by witnesses in Court, and (3) that the scene of the occurrence had been altered and the marks of blood and bullets, etc., were no longer there.

The Court passed the following order on the application:—“I must confess that I do not see *prima facie* how the evidence of His Honour can be relevant to the question as to whether the accused committed a riot and assaulted the police in the exercise of their duty on the day before his arrival. It is suggested that he could give evidence which, owing to his position would be unimpeachable as to the presence of shot and blood marks at and about the ground acquired, which it is alleged has now been levelled and cleared. I do not see how this would affect the case at all. I decline to call him under Section 540, the one section, I take it, which now applies. If in the course of the trial it transpires that his evidence is indispensable, that it would prove of particular value, and that the Court would be unable to come to a proper conclusion without his being heard, the Court can be trusted to exercise its own discretion under Section 540 in asking his assistance in clearing up the doubtful points. It is stated that the evidence of the defence will take a considerable time to record. The application is therefore rejected.”

Allahabad, September 15.

At the Allahabad High Court on Monday morning, before Mr. Justice Byves Mr. C. C. Dillon mentioned to his Lordship that he did not propose to renew the applications for bail in the Cawnpore Mosque riot trial that day, but might do so later on.

Cawnpore Relief Fund.

MAULVI MOHAMED UNAS, vakil, and Hakim Mohd. Hassan, on behalf of Benares Moslems have sent the first instalment of Rs. 1,000 towards the Cawnpore Relief Fund through Mr. Mohamed Naam, advocate, Lucknow. Arrangements for further subscriptions are in progress.

Questions and Answers in the U. P. Legislative Council.

THE HON. SAYYID RAZA ALI asked—Is the Government aware of the widespread discontent among the Moslem public caused by the prohibition of a meeting that was to be held on the 16th August at Lucknow to raise subscriptions to help the sufferers of the Cawnpore disturbance of the 3rd August? Will the Government be pleased to state the reports on which the authorities acted in ordering that the meeting should not be held?

THE HON. MR. BURN replied—The answer is in the negative. The Lieutenant-Governor has no information.

THE HON. SAYYID RAZA ALI asked:—(a) Is it true that the District Magistrate of Lucknow sent for a prominent member of the Moslem community on the morning of the 16th August and told him that he (the District Magistrate) would hold him responsible for whatever would take place that day? (b) Under what law was the Magistrate justified in holding out that threat.

THE HON. MR. BURN replied:—The Lieutenant-Governor has no information.

THE HON. SAYYID RAZA ALI asked:—Will the Government be pleased to issue instructions to the District Officers asking them to place facilities in the way of the organisers and workers of the move-

ment to raise funds in aid of the Cawnpore sufferers and at any rate to do nothing which may be construed into a discouragement of their lawful efforts.

THE HON. MR. BURN replied:—The Lieutenant-Governor has no reason to believe that district officers will do anything to discourage lawful action and he considers no orders on the subject are required.

THE HON. SAYYID RAZA ALI asked:—(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the report published in Urdu Press that Mr. Tyler ordered the Editor of *Hilal* on the 10th August to leave the Cawnpore by the first train he could catch? (b) If the report is true, will the Government be pleased to state under what law Mr. Tyler made the order?

THE HON. MR. BURN replied:—Government has seen the report referred to by the hon. member. The Lieutenant-Governor understands that no such order was given.

THE HON. SAYYID RAZA ALI asked:—(a) Is Government aware of the news published in the Urdu press that the District Magistrate of Lucknow sent for the proprietor of the *Muslim Gazette* and demanded the immediate dismissal of the Editor on pain of the proprietor being prosecuted criminally, if he failed to do so, and that in consequence the Editor's services were dispensed with? (b) Is the news correct? (c) If so, will the Government be pleased to call upon the Magistrate to explain under what law he purported to act?

THE HON. MR. BURN replied:—The facts are not as stated in the question. A copy of a translation of a statement in which the proprietor and publisher of the *Muslim Gazette* explained to the District Magistrate his reasons for dismissing the editor is placed on the table.

THE HON. SAYYID RAZA ALI asked:—Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is intended to appoint a Commission to enquire into the entire question of the disturbance at Cawnpore on the 3rd August, when the cases now pending in the Court of Law come to an end?

THE HON. MR. BURN replied:—The Lieutenant-Governor is unable to make any statement until the cases now pending are decided.

THE HON. SAYYID RAZA ALI asked:—What are the rules regarding an accused person appearing in handcuffs during the trial in a Court of Law? Is it discretionary with the Court to order that the handcuffs be taken off when the accused appears before it or is there any rule putting the matter beyond the Court's discretionary power?

THE HON. MR. O'DONNELL replied:—The rule is that handcuffs shall be taken off prisoners in Court, unless the presiding officer otherwise directs.

In reply to a supplementary question, Mr. Burn said that the Government saw no reason for transferring Mr. Tyler and Mr. Dodd from Cawnpore during the hearing of the riot cases.

THE HON. KHWAJA GHULAM-US-SAQLAIN asked what had happened to a resolution he had proposed to move in connection with the Cawnpore Mosque case.

His Honour said that the resolution had been disallowed on the ground that it could not be moved consistently with the public interest.

A Meeting in Calcutta.

INSPITE of the inclement weather the Calcutta meeting in connection with the Cawnpore Mosque took place on Sunday at 3 p.m. About 700 people attended. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. A. Rasool Mr. S. M. Shareef was proposed to the chair. The chairman in a short speech suggested that as it was raining, the meeting should be postponed to the following Sunday, but the audience dissented and to their request the meeting continued. The following resolutions were then explained by Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq and unanimously adopted.

1. That in view of the fact that the Cawnpore affairs have raised questions affecting the inviolability of Masjid and other sacred institutions all over India this meeting considers it incumbent on Mussulmans to exhaust all constitutional means of agitation for the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque and to place this question in the forefront of their political programme till the object is attained.

2. That in view of the fact that the action of the authorities at Cawnpore on the 3rd August, 1913, has created grave misapprehension in the mind of the public, this meeting requests the Government of India to instruct the Government of the United Provinces to appoint a mixed commission of officials and non-officials to enquire into the conduct of the officials concerned.

3. That this meeting thinks it very desirable that a deputation of the leading Mussulmans of India should wait upon H. R. the Viceroy with a request that he should order the restoration of the demolished portion of the Cawnpore Mosque.

4. That this meeting appeals to all leading Muhammadan gentlemen of Bengal to collect and raise subscriptions for the defence and relief of the accused and widows and orphans left by those killed at Cawnpore and send the collections to our Treasurer Mr. A. Rasul, 14 Royd Street, Calcutta.

5. That this meeting thanks the gentlemen named below and others who, at the sacrifice of their own interests, are defending the persons arrested in the course of the much deplored incident of August 8rd, viz:—Messrs. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Roshn Masood, Khwaja Abdul Majid, Dr. Fazeeruddin Hasan, Tasaddiq Hossain Sherwani, Mahmood, Montri Gholarwar R. hman, Hon'ble Mian Mohd. Shafi, Nabilulla, and the Hon'ble Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.

The Cawnpore Riot And Mr. Shastri.

MR. SHASTRI, the author of the scathing denunciations of the Mussalmans published in the 24th August issue of the *Pioneer*,—apparently belongs to a type of Hindu politicians aggressively Swarajist who would vilify and ridicule the Mussalman community into political angelicalness. These politicians have discovered the unifying virtues of vituperation and hope to accomplish the miracle of a united India by a perseverance in their campaign. Mr. Shastri would have been more than human if he had let the Cawnpore affair pass without indulging in mud-throwing at the Mussalmans, so beloved of his school.

What appears to have shocked this hypersensitive lover of law and order is the audacity of the barristers and vakils from outside who have been attracted to Cawnpore in defence of their co-religionists. He is scandalized at the notion that anybody should have undertaken the defence of the accused whom he has already in his omphaloskeptic condemned as rioters and wanton breakers of peace.

One wonders which to admire more, the imprudence of the correspondent or the temerity of the defence Counsel. It may be news to Mr. Shastri that the vakils and barristers from outside have undertaken the defence of the accused in a prosecution which emanated from the forces of demolition of a sacred portion of a place of worship. The zeal and enthusiasm of the outside Moslems should surprise nobody. The action of the Cawnpore authorities was wholly unprecedented both in its conception and execution. I am not prepared to say that Moslem mosques were never destroyed before, but I am certain that the demolitions were never carried out except with the consent of the people supposed to be interested, nor with the offensive publicity and indiscriminate haste of the Cawnpore demolition. Who ever heard of a mosque or a portion of it destroyed in defiance of the protests of a whole community with the assistance of the armed police? Who ever heard of the officials deciding a question of Moslem Law without referring it to the expert opinion of Moslem ulamas and hastening to give effect to it in utter disregard of a whole community protesting that the decision was absolutely wrong? This should satisfy Mr. Shastri that there is nothing inexplicable about the widespread excitement which the demolition of a portion of the Cawnpore mosque has aroused in Moslem India. The Mahomedan journalist—that most talented young Mahomedan, whose quick movements from one place to another have curiously enough annoyed Mr. Shastri,—tried with his characteristic courage and frankness to warn Sir James Meeson against the consequences of his ill-advised step, but met with the usual fate of all who try to come between a stupendous official blunder and its inevitable consequences. Who that has read the correspondence which passed between Sir James Meeson and Mr. Mohamed Ali can doubt that the latter was actuated by the purest and loftiest of motives in the representations which he made to the former or that the acceptance of his advice would have saved the bloodshed of the 8rd of August and avoided the excitement which has permeated the whole of Moslem India? But an inscrutable Providence had decided—we have the best authority for saying that even the great Shastri and the *Pioneer* were not taken into confidence this time—that it should be so, for Mr. Shastri aware that the maligned Moslem journalist did not write a word on the Cawnpore mosque prior to its demolition—a fact absolutely inconsistent with the mischievous suggestion that his writings contributed to enflame the mob. Mr. Shastri's sneers are as devoid of good taste as they are of humour, but perhaps he thinks otherwise. I need not defend Mr. Mohamed Ali. Cheap sneers and mischievous insinuations of partizan travellers and political bigots cannot harm him. The other gentleman whom Mr. Shastri has selected for his venomous attack is the Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad. It only requires the imagination of an Anglo-Indian paper or the political bigotry of a militant Hindu to taint him with the character of an agitator. His

conduct throughout the Cawnpore affair has been worthy of a recognized leader of the Moslem community. It may have surprised those who had expected him to leave the community to bureaucratic browns like a good old Taluqdar and watch the plebeian struggle from the Olympic heights of aristocratic *hasar-tam*, but it has surprised nobody else. Mr. Shastri proceeds to describe how the Moslem places of worship generally evolve. This may be very interesting to a student of evolutionary philosophy and may possibly add a glorious chapter to the book of evolutionary science, but has not much of relevance to the subject of his interesting contribution. The physical origin of the idol—the stuff it is made of—does not detract from its sanctity. But with all its refreshing irrelevance, Mr. Shastri's discovery of the origin of Moslem mosques is one of the most amazing discoveries of the present century and furnishes a complete and crushing answer to that sweeping indictment of Western education which declares it to have been absolutely barren of original results. Indians here is an Indian Darwin! Pay homage to him, reverse him, worship him and if you can't resist the temptation, even defy him. (I hope Mr. Shastri won't object to the latter course, though I am afraid it would immensely hurt his modesty); and lastly, if funds permit you, erect a statue to him (you could open a subscription list in the *Pioneer* which is not likely to grudge a short space to a movement which would immortalize its "valued correspondent" of 18 years' standing). Mr. Shastri wonders why the demolition of Hindu temples carried out in certain places did not hurt the feelings of the Hindus as the Cawnpore demolition has hurt those of the Musalmans. The explanation is simple and obvious and one wonders how it eluded the notice of the sleeplessly vigilant keeper of India's political conscience. Firstly, demolitions of Hindu temples were never effected in defiance of the protests of the whole Hindu community with the assistance of armed police. Secondly, the doctrine of the infallibility of the "man on the soap" was not on such occasions supported by the head of the province. Thirdly, the doctrines of Muslim law relating to the preservation of places of worship are not the same as those of the Hindu *vedas*. To conclude, effusions like those of Mr. Shastri may or may not succeed in convincing the world of their author's wit and wisdom, but they will certainly succeed in fomenting racial and sectarian differences.—
BAMBOOON to the I D T.

CAWNPORE MOSQUE DEFENCE FUND.

	Rs.	s.	p.
S Hadi Hassan, Esq., Rara	20	12	0
Nawab Ali, Esq., Barabanki	26	4	0
Mohammed Hasan Faruqi, Esq., Indore	50	0	0
Murtaza Hossain, Esq., Benares	50	0	0
Mohammed Siddiq, Mohammed Ismail, Delhi	98	0	0
Through Youngmen's Moslem Association, Delhi	215	2	3
Maulvi Abdullah, Esq., Ghazipur, at present Delhi	5	0	0
Abdul Asis Khan, Esq., Quetta	20	0	0
Mohammed Anees, Esq., Aligarh	2	0	0
Mohammed Abdul Haque, Esq., Delhi	4	0	0
Abu Rub, Esq., Basim	1	0	0
Through Sheikh Atta-ul-Rahman, Esq., Delhi	50	0	0
Asghar Ali Khan Esq., Delhi	10	0	0
Haji Kallan, Esq., Delhi	1	0	0
Abdul Majid, Esq., Hyderabad (Deccan)	15	2	0
Nawab Ali, Esq., Barabanki	35	0	0
Mrs. Mohammed Ali Khan, Esq., Delhi	4	0	0
Mrs. Hashmat Ali Khan, Esq.	1	0	0
Fatehpuri Mosque Collection through Haji Fasil-ur-Rahman and Sheikh Ehsan Elahi, Delhi	46	12	0
From Haveli Hossain-ud-din Haider through Messrs Haji Fasil ur-Rahman and Sheikh Ehsan Elahi, Delhi	151	4	2
Mohammed Niamat Klahi, Esq., Saharanpur	3	0	0
"A Sympathiser," Calcutta	5	0	0
Ahmad-un-Nissa Begum Sahiba, through Asghar Hossain, Esq., Jhajjar	50	0	0
Syed Azmatullah, Esq., Hospet	5	0	0
Naim-uddin Khan, Esq., Aligarh	5	0	0
Jalal-uddin Ansari, Esq., Bhopal	70	8	0
M. T. Kee Kee Bhai, Esq., Rangoon	1	0	0
Mother of Ismaq Ahmad, through S. Mohammed Ali, Esq., Sirong	0	7	0
Abdul Hakim, Esq., Rampur	10	0	0
Abdul Asia, Esq., Aligarh	10	0	0
M. Aon Jafri, Esq., Machilishahr	15	0	0
M. Abdul Wahab Khan, Esq., Aligarh	27	1	0
Abu Khalil, Esq., through Mohammed Rafi, Esq., Delhi	2,150	0	0

Sheikh Husein Elahi, Esq., through Mohammed Rafi, Esq., Delhi	100	0	0
Rashid Ahmad, Esq., Delhi	50	0	0
Alvida Collection at Jumma Masjid, Delhi	388	4	0
Abdul Aziz Ansari, Esq., Ghazipur	111	5	8
Mohammed Yousuf, Esq., Delhi	21	11	0
Through Mohammed Wazir Khan, Delhi	27	9	0
Nasir-uddin Ahmad, Esq., Delhi	25	8	0
Imadul-Mulk Bahadur, Hyderabad (Deccan)	50	0	0
Through Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib, Delhi	134	8	3
Ditto ditto ditto	2	0	0
Hakim Naim, Esq., Delhi	2	11	0
"Hamdard Office," Delhi	5	0	0
'Idgah and Jama-Masjid Collection, Delhi	602	1	0
Moin-ul-Haque, Esq., Calcutta	5	0	0
Muslimans of Isthama through Sheikh Mohi-uddin, Esq.	30	0	0
Messrs. S. Nijamuddin Husain, his wife and Sister Patna	29	11	0
A Mussalman, Bhopal	50	0	0
Syed Maksud Ali, Esq., Ganeshpur Basti	60	0	0
Hafiz Sikandar Ali, Esq., Delhi	17	8	0
Through Abdul Salam, Esq., Delhi	34	10	6
Abdul Sattar, Esq., Delhi	6	1	3
Latif Bukhsh, Esq., Delhi	11	8	0
Through Nizam-ud-din, Esq., Delhi	1	8	9
Mrs. Mohammed Ali, Esq.	5	0	0
Mrs. Fashulla, Delhi	3	0	0
Through "A Mussalman," Delhi	4	8	0
Ditto ditto	7	8	9
Kabir-ud-din, Esq., Delhi	5	0	0
Tufail Ahmad, Esq., Delhi	2	0	0
Abdul Majid, Esq., Ajmere	5	0	0
F. S. Chetti, Esq., Delhi	3	0	0
Through Itikhar Hussain, Esq., Delhi	3	0	0
Karamat Ullah, Esq., Khairatabad	25	4	0
"A Mussalman"	1	3	0
Mohammed Mustafa Khan, Esq., Amraoti	10	0	0
S. Mohammed Hussain, Esq., Jhind	15	0	0
S. Zafar Hussain, Esq., Ludhiana	1	0	0
Lala Sri Ram, Esq., Talwar	1	0	0
A Mussalman, Rampur	10	0	0
M. Nasse, Esq., Bhopal	1	9	0
S. A. Shah, Esq., Jhind	5	7	0
S. Mohammed Shuaeb, Esq., Mhow	2	0	0
Mohammed Mehar Ali, Esq., Hindawd	52	4	0
M. A. Rab, Esq., Haynabat	50	0	0
Ahmad Hasan, Esq., Delhi	0	8	0
Through Atta-ul-Rahman, Esq., Delhi	11	8	0
Through Amir-uddin, Esq., Delhi	5	0	0
H. Mohammed Ashfaq, Esq., Rampur	231	0	0
Masbar Mohammed, Esq., Delhi	8	13	0
Jamat-ud-din, Esq., Delhi	1	0	0
S. Ghulam Bheekh, Esq., Ambala	100	0	0
Hajee Ahmad, Esq., Rangoon	150	0	0
Mohammed Riswan, Esq., Pahita	105	0	0
H. Mohammed Amin, Esq., Maymyo	25	0	0
Q. Mohammed Abdullah, Esq., Indore	40	0	0
Mr. Shamsul Islam, Esq., Rasthal	104	0	0
S. Hasan Jan, Esq., Sojua	6	0	0
"A Mussalman," Dacca	2	0	0
Muslimans of Naupura	14	10	0
Mohammed Ismail, Esq., Hazaribagh	15	0	0
Mohammed Khan, Esq., Bellary	1	0	0
A Mussalman	500	0	0
S. Mohammed Shuaeb, Esq., Mhow	19	8	0
M. Abdul Haque, Esq., Calcutta	26	0	0
S. A. Majid, Esq., Dacca	5	0	0
Wakir Mohammed, Esq., Usmanabad	4	0	0
Hawid Hussain Quraishi, Esq., Ramgarh	12	4	0
Sheikh Mohammed Ismail, Esq., Cawnpore	50	0	0
S. Mohamed Alam, Esq., Mahrera	5	0	0
Sheikh Rafi Ahmad, Esq., Qadwa, Masnuli, Bara Banki	95	1	0
Muslimans of Gadia	50	0	0
Seth Karim Abdullah, Esq.	2	0	0
Nawab Ali, Esq., Bara Banki	20	0	0
Mohammed Abdellah, Esq., Baraut	100	0	0
M. A. Qavi, Sitabaldi	3	0	0
Abrar Hussain, Esq., Delhi	4	13	0
Azis-ur Rahman, Esq., Delhi	12	10	0
Karim Mohammed, Esq., Yeotmal	5	0	0
Mohamed Owais Qarny, Esq., Banagosa	30	0	0

Mohammed Hasan, Esq., Kotta-Kirathpur	2	7	0
Mirza Inayat-ullah Bag, Esq., Samaji Gooda, Hyderabad	12	8	0
The Muslimans of Dacca, P.-O. Asthawan	70	0	0
K. Ahmad, Esq., Hanamkundee, Hyderabad (Deccan)	74	4	0
Sajjad Mirza, Esq., Azamgarh	11	0	0
Through A. A. Abdullah, Esq., Alashkipur	50	0	0
Hajee Nasrullah, Esq., Azamgarh	5	0	0
S. M. Ali, Esq., Dhanbad	1	0	0
M. A. Qadwai, Esq., Sitapur	7	8	0
Mohammed Junaid, Esq., Cawnpore	15	0	0
'Idgah Collection of Dandpur	16	7	0
Through Mohammed Hanif Khau, Esq., through Sharda-i-Husain, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman Khuddam-i-Islam, Budann	15	0	0
Syed Ali Ahmad, Esq., Karai Parsari	83	7	0
Mohammed Ibrahim, Mohammed Siddiq, Delhi	6	0	0
Mohammed Ishaq, Esq., Delhi	1	0	0
Abdul Aziz, Esq., Aligarh	1	0	0
Ikramul Rahman, Esq., Delhi	10	0	0
Through Shah Mohammed Baqir, Esq., Partabgarh	144	1	0
Through Hakim Mohammed Yousuf, Esq., Murshadpur	107	4	0
Sirajuddin, Esq., Delhi	5	0	0
H. Mohammed Usman, Esq., Delhi	2	1	0
S. Mustafa, Esq., B. A., Asst. Finl. Secy., Bhopal	5	0	0
Mohammed Saifullah, Esq., Kakatango	5	0	0
Mohammed Tufail Khan, Esq., Bhopal	1	0	0
Ghulam Mahboob, Esq., Jolna	17	0	0
Mohammed Ali, Esq., Ranchi	5	4	0
Ismail Abdul Rehman, Esq., Mangraul	50	0	0
Ir. Mohammed Abdul Rehman, Esq., Mysore	1	0	0
M. Nawab Ali, Esq., Barabanki	60	0	0
Zaki Mohammed, Esq., Jagaur, Lucknow	25	0	0
Babar Ali Khan, Esq., Indore Camp	1	12	0
Abdul Majid, Esq., Hyderabad (Deccan)	4	2	0
H. Mohammed Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Esq., Rampur	5	0	0
Hasra Begum Sahibah, Aminabad	4	0	0
Qasi Mohammed Sulaiman, Esq., Bhatinda	5	0	0
Syed Shafa'at Hussain, Esq., Gaya	420	9	0
Haji Muniruddin, Esq., Asthawan	1	0	0
Mohammed Din Allahwal, Esq., Calcutta	666	12	0
Mohammed Akbar, Esq., Siula	247	0	0
Wali-ur-Rahman, Esq., Ajmer	124	0	0
Habib-ur-Rehman, Esq., Malakaud	50	0	0
Mohammed Ibrahim, Esq., Singapur-wale	50	0	0

Amount received up to 15th September, 1918 9,181 2 9
Amount previously acknowledged 3,011 4 3

Grand Total Rs. 12,192 7 0

Amount sent to Cawnpore and the expenses on collecting Subscriptions at the occasion of Ilidiah and 'Id 9,682 4 6



Fifty Years of Progress.

THE "Negro Year Book" a publication prepared by Mr. Monroe N. Work, of Tuskegee Institute, has just made its appearance, and furnishes many proofs of the remarkable progress made by a race but a little while out of slavery, writes the *Central News* correspondent. It makes all the difference in the world in considering a problem whether one emphasises its difficulties or its encouraging aspects. From one point of view the colour problem in the United States is hopeless, but from that of Mr. Work it is full of promise.

Fifty years ago, for instance, the negroes owned only a few thousand dollars worth of Church property. Now their Church holdings are valued at \$57,000,000. In 1867 there were 1,800 schools for freed men, with 2,000 teachers and 111,000 pupils. Last year there were 1,700,000 negro children enrolled in Southern common schools and 100,000 in normal schools and colleges, with 34,000 teachers.

Fifty years ago virtually all negroes were farm hands, and few owned their own farms. Now, while agriculture is still the predominant occupation, there are negroes in every line of work, and 300,000 farms are operated by them. They own more land than is embraced in the State of Carolina. Thirty thousand negroes are engaged in business. They own sixty-four banks, capitalised at \$1,600,000. When such facts as these are considered, it is evident that the negro is making good progress. It is unreasonable to compare him with the descendants of scores of generations of free men. Compared with races in their own class, the Russian serfs, for instance, the showing is encouraging.—*The Bombay Chronicle*.

A Moslem Mission to England.

WE ARE glad to notice that Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, Secretary to the All-India Moslem League, and Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade*, have left for England for the purpose of explaining the Indian Moslem point of view and the salient features of the true Moslem situation in India and abroad to His Majesty's Ministers, Members of Parliament and other influential gentlemen in Great Britain. That the course adopted by Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali will be appreciated all through the country is unquestionable. They deserve the heartfelt thanks of their co-religionists in India for the sacrifice they are going to make and the service they are about to render to their community. It is said that the members of the deputation will co-operate with Mr. Mohamed Ali, Jinnah and Khwaja Kamaluddin as well as His Highness the Aga Khan, who are now in England, and we hope with such influential support and co-operation they will be able to ably represent to the British public the Moslem situation in India and abroad. When mentioning the names of Messrs. Jinnah and Kamaluddin and His Highness the Aga Khan, why the name of the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali was omitted by Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, is a question which passes our comprehension. Mr. Ameer Ali is rather the man in England the co-operation of whom would be of the highest value. We hope the omission was a mere oversight and nothing else. We wish the deputation a safe voyage to England and success in their noble and patriotic mission.—*The Mussalman*.

WE congratulate Messrs. Syed Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali upon the political mission on which they have set out. Both are closely in touch with questions affecting Indian Mussalmans and are highly esteemed by members of their community. They object of their visit to England is, as they say, that of explaining the Moslem point of view and the salient features of the Moslem situation in India and abroad to His Majesty's Government, Members of Parliament and the British nation at large, and to convince them of the essential loyalty of Indian Moslem. The mission denotes a new departure in Moslem politics and should be accompanied by good results.—*The I. D. T.*

[To the Editor of the I.D.T.]

SIR—At a meeting of the District Muslim League, Bareilly, held on the 16th instant, the following resolution was carried.

"This League expresses its entire confidence in Messrs. Mohamed Ali, Editor, *Comrade*, Sayed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, Khwaja Kamal-ud Din, Mohamud Ali Jinnah and Mahbub Alam, Editor, *Poona Akhbar*, and trusts that the deputation of those gentlemen will represent our cause in the best light before the Government and the British

A meeting of the Loyal Muslim Association of the Delhi took place on 12th of August under the presidency of Mr. S. F. Chishti. The following resolutions were moved and unanimously passed.

1. This Association expresses its deep sense of abhorrence and dislike at the action of the Loyal Muslim Association, Bombay, in passing the Resolutions about the neutrality of the Muhammedans of Bombay in the case of Cawnpore.

2. As this action of the Loyal Muslim Association of Bombay is totally against the commendments of Islam, the Association hold it as a non-Muslim Association, and thinks it painful to the feelings of the Muslim public and a disgrace to the name "The Loyal Muslim."

3. This Association appeals to His Majesty's Government of India to take immediate notice of the true feelings of loyal Muslims and satisfy their anxiety about the Cawnpore Mosque Case.

4. The Association values the action of Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor, the *Comrade*, and Syed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, in going to London to represent the true feelings of Muhammedans and wipe out the misunderstandings which have become rooted in the minds of the authorities in India, the unbearable results of which we have to face. This Association being at full accord with them trusts in them and prays for their success.

5. That copies of the Resolutions should be sent to the Muslim and other leading papers.

The following telegram has been sent to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Rajputana Provincial Muslim League:—"The Rajputana Provincial Muslim League begs His Excellency to inform the Secretary of State that in the best interests

of the British Government and Mussulmans, this League thinks it highly desirable that the Moslem point of view regarding the events of the last two or three years should be represented at home. Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazir Hussain have left for England for this purpose and this League feels confident that, living under one flag and one King as we are, the British nation at large would accord them all sympathy and support as representing seventy millions of his Majesty's subjects who would be anxiously looking for the success of the deputation."

Prayers to the Almighty were offered here after the "Maghrib" prayers for the success of the mission.

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Moslem League, and Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor, *Comrade*, have suddenly left for England "to explain the Indian Moslems' point of view and the salient features of the true Moslem situation in India and abroad to His Majesty's Ministers, Members of Parliament and other influential men in Great Britain as well as to the British at large." The news has a significance to us all its own. We do not feel called upon to pronounce on the wisdom or otherwise of this particular line of action just at present. With Sir John Hewett freshly appealing to the British democracy to believe the man on the spot and Mr. Montagu expressing his desire to give a *carte blanche* to the Indian Civil Service the voyage may not lead to any tangible result. But we Orientals are not given to worrying about the results. To us it is given only to work and the rest lies in the lap of the gods.

We congratulate our Moslem brethren on their seeking to bring their political activity into line with that of their Hindu fellow-countrymen. Hitherto the Hindus alone have carried on a strenuous and resourceful political agitation—the Hindus alone have not held back and shirked their duty, though the illustrious men on the spot have always kept on looking askance at their doings and sometimes even furrowed their brows in frown. That our Moslem fellow countrymen also should take a leaf out of the book of their elders in the field is a significant sign of the times which ought not to be lost on those who are watching the political progress of our country. For the last six months the Anglo-Indian extremists have left no stone unturned to warn the Moslems against Hindu methods and ideals. A writer in the *Times* went so far as to liken the growing desire of *rapprochement* on the part of the Hindus as the invitation of the spider to the fly. They have even held out overt threats of depriving them of the special favour with which they are said to have been so long treated by the Government. But whatever Anglo-India may have proposed God has chosen to dispose otherwise. The Mahomedans are imitating their Hindu fellow countrymen. Whom we imitate we first love and admire. And this imitation of the methods of one can be safely taken as a proof positive of the bridging of the gulf which has so long gaped wide between the two great Indian communities. Nor are we building on this the isolated political action of the community, which may be explained away as something not of any abiding import. Of late proofs have been pouring in from all quarters that the two great communities are drawing together with an unexpected pace. Barring small bickerings here and there the relation between Hindus and Mahomedans has of late been very cordial. Even in the Punjab they have buried the hatchet and make friends with each other. Every prominent Mahomedan from His Highness the Aga Khan downwards has made Hindu-Mahomedan *Entente* the keynote of his public utterance. The message of brotherhood between the two communities has been preached from many a Mahomedan platform. This has of late been the burden of all Mahomedan songs. Neither have the two rising Mahomedan leaders who have already captured the heart of young Moslem by their brilliant talents and single-minded devotion to the country failed to take note of this music of the hour. In the course of an interview with a representative of the Associated Press they are reported to have expressed among others the following sentiments:—"We firmly believe that the progress and well-being of Mussalmans are bound up with the progress and well-being of the country in which they live. The present carries in its womb hopes and fears common to every community in India, and we shall be failing in our duty, not only as Indians but as Mussalmans also, if we do not strive during our sojourn in England to convert our fears into hopes, and to materialise the hopes which we share with all our fellow-countrymen. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale is also in England at the present moment and we hope to secure his sympathy and co-operation." Yes, the country should try to progress as a whole. In the progress of the whole is the progress of the parts. We are all Indians first and Hindu and Mahomedans afterwards. In worshipping the common motherland lies our salvation. For the present our country is our common *Mother*. This new-born sense that united we rise is an invaluable asset and in its deepening and strengthening rests the hope of the future.—*The Bengalee*.

Miss Maud Allan.

Dances That Tell Stories.

Years ago, an obscure Princess, in an obscure Continental city, threatened to withdraw her patronage from an obscure opera house if a "young person with naked feet" were allowed to appear on the stage.

Since that day "the young person" has won fame and fortune by her dancing in the chief city of the most critical country in the world, and has had the honour of appearing before its King and Queen.

Needless to say, the "young person" is Miss Maud Allan. It is now just three-quarters of a year since she came to London to dance at the Palace Theatre, and from her first appearance success was assured, the Press was full of its wonderful exponent, London flocked to see her.

What, in the first place, is the new style of dancing? A word of explanation is needed if only because it has suffered from so much misunderstanding.

Briefly, in her dancing, Miss Allan has one aim—the physical expression of a mental idea. That idea may be derived from music, a flower, picture, or a statue. "The better, the more poetic or musical the inspiration, the more graceful the physical expression," writes Miss Allan.

Thus, the expression of Mendelssohn's "Spring Song" is a dance full of wonderful lightness and joy, a faithful interpretation of the most wonderful of the "Songs without Words." The proof of its fidelity lies in the wonderful appeal which the dance makes to musicians. Again the enduring pathos of Miss Allan's interpretation of Chopin's "Funeral March" is in fullest accord with the sombre music.

But of all Miss Allan's themes there is one on which her fame could safely rest alone. Her "Vision of Salome" is at once most criticised and the greatest of her dances. Its originality of conception, its intensity, its realism, and the horror of its story are things not easily to be forgotten.

The Salome dance is divided into two parts—the dance before Herod, and the vision in which the young girl is drawn back by an irresistible force to gaze on the terrible token of her favour in the eyes of the Tetrarch.

Miss Allan has made a life-long study of classical dancing, and she has reconstructed the dance of Salome before Herod as she thinks it most probably was originally conceived. Needless to say, there is room for a wide divergence of opinion as to the exact manner of the dance. It has been portrayed by painters of old ages, and scarcely any two have had the same ideas concerning it.

Afterwards in the vision comes the realisation of her crime, the grief, the terror before the mute head of the martyred Evangelist.

Miss Allan has deserved her success; she has studied her art long and deeply; she has trained herself physically as well as psychically to portray tremendous emotions.

And success has brought her all its guerdons—fame and fortune, above all the recognition of her art. How great her success has been may perhaps be judged best of all from the number of her imitators. On the continent of Europe to-day Salome dances without number are being performed, and the vogue has spread to the United States of America, where as many as fifty Salomes are appearing—
The Bengales.

The *Malacca* thus writes—

Serious objection is being taken by certain Anglo-Indian papers to the proposed tour in India of the famous dancing artist, Miss Maud Allan. It is argued that the artistic dancing of Miss Maud Allan will not be appreciated by the Indians; but on the contrary, only the scantiness of the clothes on her body and the apparently indecent bareness of her delicate limbs will be noticed and animadverted upon by the Indian public, to the discredit not only of the artist and her art but of the whole English community. People will judge, it is thought, of the manners and morals of the English by the dancing exhibited by one of their much-esteemed artistic geniuses. The Indians being incapable of properly appreciating the 'music and the poetry' of her 'educative' dancing will only scoff at her, and condemn her and the Europeans for indecency. That her dancing is not sensual in its appeal is no argument; the Indians having no higher notions will interpret her dancing according to their own experience and standard. To exhibit the higher kind of dance peculiar to Miss Maud Allan before unappreciative and sensual Indians is to lower the prestige of the Europeans—such is the logic of those who oppose her tour in India. This logic may or may not have reason in it; but it at any rate testifies to the necessity to artificially guard and maintain the prestige which is fast disappearing. The kind of dances which are generally exhibited in Bombay or Calcutta theatres are, we suspect, not calculated to elevate

the feelings of the spectators. If the open-dancers and 'artists' who, we believe, palpably appeal to the sensual elements in man by their suggestive dancing are tolerated and even patronised by the Anglo-Indians, we see no reason why Miss Maud Allan should not be allowed to exhibit her artistic skill in India.

The question of dancing has been a matter of opinion for centuries. Cicero said that no one danced who was sober (*nemo sobrio saltat*) and Lord Chesterfield explained it away and justified dancing: telling his son that he ought to learn to walk without waddling from the great Desnoyers. On another occasion he tells his son that dancing in a woman is not material for "no man in his senses desires a dancing wife." In the East no one dances, of course, they get it done for them, and they look on dancing by Europeans as a strange aberration of the intellect. Indian noblemen are invited and go to Government House, and look on the strange spectacle of men and women dancing and shrug their shoulders and are rather dismayed than otherwise at seeing English ladies in evening dress. Prestige—that grand word—is gone after such exhibitions and the philosophical go home with curious reflections. The two societies differ entirely on the subject and "*de gustibus*," there is no disputing about tastes, is the net result. But this dancing has gone on for 100 years and more and no one is much the worse off, and if Englishmen are not so much respected as formerly it is not because of their dances. For the last few years, in England, dancing has become a mania. There was Miss Duncan, who took Berlin by storm with her classic dances draped in correct Greek costume and bare feet. Then came Miss Maud Allan whose methods of attracting attention were more startling and finally all London, Paris and America has gone wild about the Russian dancer Mlle. Pavlova. Dancing we were told is an Art with a big A. It conveyed all sorts of "lessons," it taught us all sorts of noble thoughts, its rhythms were poetry, sculpture and painting rolled into one. We had serpentine dances and snake dances and butterfly dances all sorts of sensational dances which the cynic looked upon with calm ridicule and the young bloods looked upon with enthusiasm. In India we have such dances for the last five or six years, all more extravagant than the other, each more childish rubbish than the last. The ladies who performed them displayed as much of their rather exquisite charms as the police would allow and in fact for the last thirty years this sort of thing has gone on in Calcutta. It occurred to no one to suggest that the prestige of the British in India would be lost if this went on. The Indians seldom went to see them and if they did they came away bored much as Englishmen come away from a nautch. Now we suddenly find that the coming to India of Miss Maud Allan is to lead to the downfall of the British Raj and the Viceroy, Governor and Police are asked to stop her at the frontier, and deport her as Lord Minto deported philanthropists. It only means that a small section of the European population are afflicted with an excess of prurency for the moment and at a time when society discusses the problems of the social evil and the hidden plague and salvarsan and G.O.B. at tea it is not altogether unnatural. We do not blame them but it was inevitable. But how the prestige of the British in India is affected just at this particular moment after 100 years of professional dancing in public is what we fail to understand. There is, however, a class among us who would pass laws in India for "Jim crow" railway carriages, and all the racial antipathies that they keep up in the United States of America.—The *Indian Daily News*.



University Lecturers.

Government's Reply to Calcutta Protest.

The following letter from the Government of India, in the Education Department, dated Simla, 23rd August, 1913, has been sent by the Hon. Mr. H. Sharp, C.I.E., Joint-Secretary to the Government of India, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, (through his Excellency the Rector), in reply to the latter's letter in connection with the question of appointment of the three University lecturers—

Sir,—I am directed to reply to your letter No. 481, dated the 19th July, 1913, on the subject of the appointment of certain gentlemen nominated as University lecturers. The letter was forwarded with a letter No. 1446—T.G., dated 23rd July, from the Government of Bengal. Your letter No. 765, dated the 28th July, 1913, has also been received and the memorial enclosed with it is under consideration.

(2) A considerable portion of your letter is occupied with subsidiary questions. It is alleged for instance that:—(a) the Senate cannot fairly be charged with having committed an irregular act; (b) it cannot reasonably be expected that further proposals for lecturerships in International Law, Ancient Indian History and Arabic should be submitted in ample time before the commencement of the academical years, owing to the fact that the order

of the Government of India were communicated only in the end of May last; (c) no reply has been received to the University's letter, dated the 6th May last; (d) the occurrence of unexpected vicissitudes will render impossible the carrying out of the Government of India's orders and result in the cessation of the lecturers; and (e) the late communication of the proposal was due to the announcement of special grants from the Government of India.

(8) As regards the first of these points the Government of India are aware that the University has been habitually late in submitting their proposal both of this kind and in respect of affiliation. In the case of affiliation proceedings instructions were issued separately in the Government of India's letter No. 1022, dated the 17th July, 1911. The University will readily recognise that the Government of India cannot exercise the functions imposed upon them by the Universities Act unless proposals are received in time for consideration before they have been put in force. The action of the Government of India was not intended as a rebuke to the University so much as a reminder that late submission is irregular, and that the Government of India have a high sense of the responsibility laid on them under Universities Act. The occasion seemed to be particularly appropriate for such a reminder, as the fact that the Government of India were constrained to object to three of the appointments created a situation of embarrassment, which, had the proposals arrived in time, might not have arisen. The Government of India have no doubt the arrangements will be made to secure more timely submission of proposals in future. Apart from their own position in the matter it is of real importance to the students that their college careers should not be inconvenienced or jeopardised by the possible rejection of proposals after classes have been organised.

(4) As regards the argument that the late receipt of the order has rendered it impossible to submit new proposals for the lectures on International Law, Ancient India History and Arabic I am to say that the instructions as to the forwarding of proposals in ample time before the academical year applied specifically to the future. There was no intention that they should apply generally to current year or to those three particular cases. The Government of India have always shown consideration for exceptional circumstances. In this connection I am to invite attention to the Government of India's letters No. 1296, dated the 12th September 1911, and No. 1766, dated the 5th December, 1911, regarding cases of affiliation still pending or not yet submitted, and later cases of affiliation in which the Government of India deemed that a refusal would seriously inconvenience those concerned, such as those dealt with in the Government of India's letters No. 1313, dated the 21st July, 1913, No. 1419, dated the 1st August, 1913, and No. 1448, dated the 2nd August, 1913. And I am to point out that the Government of India's letter No. 906, dated the 20th May, 1913, called for fresh proposals for these three lectureships. The Government of India took the course which they thought would cause least dislocation of study and least inconvenience to the University. They regret that any inconvenience should have been caused, but a certain amount of inconvenience was, in the circumstances unavoidable. It has recently come to their notice that although in your letter No. 6455, dated the 9th May, 1913, Dr Suhrawardy was again recommended as a lecturer in Arabic, the Syndicate had already at a meeting of the 3rd May, 1913, resolved that the University lectures in Arabic should be discontinued, as during the last session no regular students had come forward, and that a notification should be sent to Dr Suhrawardy that his services would not be required during the ensuing session. Mr Jayaswal had already resigned. And, though no official intimation has yet been received, it is understood that, on the 19th July, 1913, (the very date on which your letter issued), the Syndicate recommended Mr. S. N. Das, M. A., LL. B. (Edin.), as University lecturer in International Law on a salary of Rs. 150 a month. The Government of India are glad to think that in all those cases events have minimised the inconvenience.

(5) As regards (c), I am to observe that your letter of the 9th May, 1913, was received in this office on the 10th of July and that a reply was despatched through the usual channel on the 18th of July, 1913. There was, therefore, no delay in this office.

(6) The Government of India are unable to attach great weight to the argument set forth in the 5th paragraph of your letter, and they do not find it mentioned in the debate of the Senate of the 5th July. As already observed the Government of India have always shown themselves willing to make exceptions in individual cases in order to meet practical requirements. What they desire and have a right to expect is that the normal procedure should be such as to enable the regulations to take effect.

(7) It remains to deal with the last point—(e). It is stated that the Government of India had granted certain funds to the University to be used for the encouragement of

post-graduate and higher studies during the year 1913-14; that in view of the fact that the money was to be spent during the current year, the Senate could not sit idle; that accordingly schemes of study were framed and scholars selected; and that the result actually accomplished could never have been achieved if the Senate had waited inactive during the time which elapsed before the proposals for the expenditure of the grant were sanctioned. The argument appears to be that, had the grant not been sanctioned, no lecturers would have been appointed during the current year, or at least that the proposals would have been different from those actually put forward, and that the announcement made by His Excellency the Chancellor in March, combined with the receipt of the final orders in September, caused postponement in the submission of the proposals. If this be the argument I am to observe that it is not altogether consistent with the argument advanced in paragraph 3 of your letter to the effect that no objection had been taken to the lateness in the submission of proposal in previous years. The force of argument would also seem to be lessened by certain considerations on matters of fact. The number of lecturers appointed in the previous years, when no grant had been announced, does not appear to have been substantially smaller than that appointed in 1912. Some of those appointed in 1912 had already served as lecturers during the two preceding years; and it is observed that in his address made before the Senate on the 27th July, 1912, the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor stated that it was most encouraging to find so many scholars of distinction were ready and willing to assist the University in their work very often with no pecuniary remuneration worthy of the name. Your letter does not state precisely that lecturers in past years had always worked gratuitously, nor does it distinguish between those lecturers who in 1912 were appointed without salary and those who were appointed on promise of remuneration. The resolutions of the Syndicate and Senate quoted in your letters, dated the 23rd August, 1912, as well as the resolution of the Syndicate of June the 8th and of June the 22nd in which certain lecturers were appointed on fixed salaries do not indicate that these appointments or those salaries contingent upon the sanction or the proposals regarding the disposal of the grant. Finally, the announcement made by the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor and alluded to above does not state that the arrangements made were in any sense contingent on, or made possible by the grants promised by the Government, indeed that announcement made no allusion whatever to the grants given by the Imperial Government. Moreover, your letter No. 1229, dated the 23rd August, 1912, distinctly states that in anticipation of the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, the delivery of the lectures had already been commenced; and a number of lectures had already been advertised in a University notice with details as to the hours of delivery, etc., as early as the 11th July, while others were similarly notified on subsequent dates.

THE MAIN QUESTION.

(8) The main question at issue is treated in paragraph 7 of your letter. It is stated that the principle that persons who have taken a prominent part in politics should not be made lecturers is now applied for the first time, that Dr Suhrawardy had previously been appointed and that no exception had been taken to his appointment; that it was inappropriate to negative the recommendation of the University on a new principle, that the principle itself is too comprehensive, and that the order will seriously hamper the action of the University in the appointment of lecturers.

I am to observe that the principle is not a new one. It has long been applied to Government servants. It was enunciated in eloquent language and with the widest application to teachers and professors by the Hon. Vice-Chancellor in his convocation speech of 1910. For reasons already stated it would have been embarrassing to the University had the Government of India taken any action antecedent to that to which the University object. The Senate admit that it would be a disqualification in a lecturer if the part taken by him in politics were improper or the movement itself objectionable, but are not prepared to admit this in the case of one who may take an honourable part in an unobjectionable movement, and they allege that the liberal application of the principle formulated would lead to the position that a University lecturer cannot be permitted even in times of exceptional ferment and excitement to make strenuous efforts to keep the rising generation of young men on the side of authority, order, and discipline. I am to observe that this conclusion would not appear to follow from the attitude adopted in the speech made by the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor in 1910. The exercise of a wholesome political influence upon students is not synonymous with the taking of a prominent part in politics. And in cases of doubt it would always be open to the Senate to make their recommendations with the statement of their reasons for considering that the part taken by any person recommended had not been objectionable, or such as to render him unduly prominent. As regards the minor matter of the previous appointment of Suhrawardy I am to say that since the orders of 1909 and 1911 were passed certain new facts have been brought

to the notice of the Government of India. The Government of India are not prepared to accept the statement that at the age of 21, and after having passed, a young man necessarily becomes immune from political influences, whether these are introduced into lectures or whether they are merely embodied in the person of the lecturer.

(9) In conclusion, I am to remark that the propriety of refusing to sanction the appointment of the lecturers in question is touched on only from points of view of abstract principle and of the academic qualifications of the gentlemen concerned. It does not appear that any members of the Senate, or the Senate collectively, have otherwise questioned the desirability of orders which after the most careful consideration, and with much regret, the Government of India felt themselves compelled to issue in the interest of the student community. The Government of India are bound in duty to prevent by every means in their power the exertion of unsettling influences upon student. They cannot ignore the mischief which has already been wrought among the pupils of certain school and colleges in Bengal. They are anxious to co-operate with the Senate of the Calcutta University in the interests of the students and of the higher intellectual life of Bengal, and they therefore refrain from further comment on your letter and the debate of the 5th July. They are hopeful that the Calcutta University will not find real difficulty in carrying out the principle laid down and that, with further assistance from the Government of India, they will be able to advance the ideals of higher teaching which they no less than the Government of India have set before themselves.

Persistence in Error.

THE Government letter fails absolutely to convince the mind that there was any necessity for the action taken against the recommendation of the Calcutta University. The reference to the Vice-Chancellor's observations of some antecedent date does not improve matters for the Vice-Chancellor is not the Senate and the latter are not bound by the utterances of their executive head. The *Pioneer* pounced upon the identical excuse some time ago and immediately it became apparent what the official defence would be, for there was internal evidence that the writer was not unknown to the Department of Education of the Government of India. It is a question how far it is consistent with propriety for officials to write freely in a section of the press, when the same latitude is not given them for the expression of a different set of opinions. Incidentally, it may also be asked what is the value that should attach to the opinions of that section of the press which, with its pretences of high tradition, allows itself to be no more than a gramophone of official views. If the defect in England is that the press has become largely commercialised, we in India have to suffer from an officialised and a courtier Anglo-Indian and a anti-Indian press. The Government's letter is rather patronising to the Senate when it kindly avoids a discussion of the speech as delivered at their meeting as the Government's wish is to co-operate with the University. This condescension was perfectly unnecessary. The Senate would have welcomed such a discussion as there was nothing in any of the speeches of the eminent men who delivered them of which they should feel doubtful. Such a discussion, besides, would have exposed the weakness of the Government position. We do not know how far this fear may not have been responsible for the avoidance of the discussion.

As it stands, the Government's letter has nothing in it by way of a serious refutation of the arguments employed by Sir Guroo Das Banerjee, Dr. Rashbehary Ghose and others in the Senate debate. The Government have not succeeded in demonstrating that their conception of "an atmosphere of pure study" is at all practicable, or desirable if practicable. They have not shown that Dr. Subramanyam and Messrs. Ramlal and Jayaswal introduced politics into their lectures and corrupted the minds of the graduates who attended their lectures. They make a vague reference to information in their possession, which to our mind means only that Babu Baupen Nath Basu was right when he said that secret reports damaging to the gentlemen concerned were received by Government from their previous C. I. D., which sits in the dark and is not renowned for the necessity of its information. The lecturers have every right to feel aggrieved at the treatment meted out to them. The C. I. D. is verily an omnipotent factor in the government of India. We read sometime ago how the appointment of Babu Dwarkanath Chakravarti, a distinguished lawyer, as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court was cancelled on a report from the C. I. D. that he was an "extremist politician." The *Indian Mirror* has something to tell us the other day of inquiries into the antecedents of teachers made by the same agency. It comes to this that no man's reputation is safe in India unless the C. I. D. thinks well of him. But what is more serious and disquieting is that the Government are prepared to base their actions on its reports in which it seems that they implicitly believe. This reminds us of the description once given by the hon. Mr. Gokhale in a speech in England, of the Government of India as government by police

shadowing and magisterial vagaries. By no means an encouraging situation.

The Government of India have overridden the deliberate opinion of such experienced and sober Indian leaders as Raja Peary Mohan Mukerji and Sir Guroo Das Banerjee, Dr. Rashbehary Ghose and Sir Asutosh Mukerji and adhered to their own determination in a matter in which they emphatically are not in the right. Their prestige is dear to them and they want to bring up India's young men as plants in glass-cases which cannot bear exposure to light and sun. Lord Curzon once said that official wisdom was not so transcendent that public opinion should not be heeded, and added that in the opinion of the educated class it was not statesmanship to ignore or disregard. More often than not, officials do however act on the belief that there is nothing in Indian opinion worthy of their attention, and they can never reconcile themselves to modifications of decisions once taken. The eloquent words full of truth uttered by the hon. Mr. Gokhale in his memorable address at Benares irresistibly come to the mind on the present occasion. The partition of Bengal, he said, will always stand as a complete illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule—"its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people." Mr. Gokhale mentioned some of the foremost opponents of the partition—among them the same Raja Peary Mohan Mukerji, Sir Guroo Das Banerjee and Dr. Rashbehary Ghose—"men who kept themselves aloof from political agitation and never say a word calculated in any way to embarrass the authorities and who came forward to oppose publicly" ... "only from an overpowering sense of the necessity of their doing that they could avert a dreaded calamity. If the opinions of even such men" Mr. Gokhale proceeded "are to be brushed aside with contempt, if all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattle, if men, whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus used to realise the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own land all I can say is, Goodbye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interest of the people." I can conceive," said Mr. Gokhale in conclusion, "of no greater indictment of British rule than that such a state of things should be possible after a hundred years of that rule." We should like to hear Mr. Montagu next on co-operation as the watchword of the future.—*The Leader*

Education Policy In Bengal.

FOR several months past public opinion in Bengal has been stirred by the course of action pursued by the Government in matters of education, says *in this*. Evidence reveals with sufficient clearness a policy of reaction all round, but the educated community of the Presidency has fastened mainly upon two questions, the disqualification of University lecturers by reason of their alleged connexion with politics and the proposals to transfer the power of recognition of secondary schools from the University of Calcutta to the Government. These two questions have formed the subject of discussions in the University Senate, and of energetic agitation in the press and the popular movement culminated on July 28, when a mass meeting of protest was held in the Calcutta Town Hall, under the chairmanship of the veteran reformer Dr. Rash Behari Ghose. The gathering was remarkable, on a count of its representative character and its unanimity alike, and the Calcutta Press describes it as surpassing anything of the kind that has occurred since the days of the anti-partition movement.

The question of the power of recognition of secondary schools stands, of course, upon a different footing. We note that the *Pioneer*, in an obviously inspired editorial, condemns the Bengal agitation as ill-advised and argues that the proposed change, which was first allowed in the Education Resolution of February last, is "part of a grand scheme for the improvement of secondary and higher education." That, of course, is the usual plea. As one of the speakers at the Calcutta meeting ironically put it the foreign officials are always so much more earnest and disinterested in their efforts towards educational advance than the people who want the education. The *Pioneer* thus explains the purpose of the move—

The ultimate object is presumably to free the school from the millstone of the matriculation examination (which admittedly dominates the whole secondary course and leads to cramming of the worst kind) by substituting a school leaving certificate, and secondly to free the universities to develop into teaching universities.

If that is so, it is to say the least a curious thing that the Government should have gone about the business in just the way to arouse the resentment of the Calcutta University and the suspicions of the teachers and the public. These would find it less difficult to believe in the bona-fides of the Education Department if it had not been for the disturbing fact that proposals in reference to the secondary school synchronise with so much activity of a reactionary character in other parts of the educational field.—*Empire*.

The Barisal Case.

The Magistrate's Order.

Dacca Branch of the Samiti.

The following are further extracts from Mr. Nelson's order in the Barisal Conspiracy Case:—

The proceedings of the Dacca branch from April to November, 1912, are known to us from the evidence of the approver, Girindra Mohan Das. Girindra is the son of a Deputy Magistrate who has a distinguished record of service.

As a school-boy, he bore an excellent character. At the age of 17 he went up for the Matriculation Examination and passed easily in the first class. His connection with the Samiti began in April 1912, after the examination and before his admission to the Dacca College. He appears to have been a very zealous recruit and was early trusted with the custody of ammunition. When the loot of the Nangalband dacoity was found in his box, he made a confession implicating only himself and one or two others who were known to be his associates. Since then he has made several statements gradually disclosing more of his knowledge of the Samiti and its members.

In the end of April, 1912, Girindra was approached by his class-mate Sarada Bhattacharyya who asked him what was his aim in life. Girindra replied that he wanted to lead an honest and religious life. Sarada promised to introduce him to some friends of similar ideals and next day took him to the river bank and introduced him to Bani Kanta Acharyya. Bani Kanta lent him the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi to read. Girindra was soon afterwards introduced to Madan Mohan Bhaumik, Narendra Mohan Sen and Manindra Bhushan Roy on the river bank, and discussed politics and religion with them. He was given "Swadhinata Itihas," "Deuter Katha" and several works of Vivekananda to read. About a fortnight afterwards he was taken to a temple of Kali at the Swamibagh where he took the vows and read the rules of membership. After this Girindra used to go regularly to the river bank in the afternoon. There he met other members of the Samiti. According to him Narendra Sen was the general leader of the Samiti. Manindra looked after the affairs of the Samiti in Dacca town, Madan Bhaumik and Kali Charan alias Trailakhya Chakrabarti belonged to the 'action' (i.e., dacoity) department, and Pratul Ganguli was in charge of the Arms Department. All letters for members used to come addressed to one man. Parimal Sarkar was the common addressee for part of the time. The members met regularly on the river bank. Afterwards, when the police were known to be watching them, at the Coronation Gardens, other meeting places were resorted to—the Ramna, the old Linnas and the Victoria Gardens. The Samiti had a library which was kept at first by Madan Bhaumik, afterwards by one Kalpada Babu, who lived in the house of Babu Srisch Chandra Chatterji, pleader.

Unlike Rajani, Girindra was not a man of action. He was asked to take part in the Panna and Nagalband dacoities, but declined on the ground that his father was at home. Very soon after his initiation he was entrusted with the care of ammunition and papers, which were made over to him at different times by Ramesh Acharyya and others. He cleaned guns in the house of Narendra Sen at Norindra, and assisted in carrying guns from the house of Khagendra Chaudhuri to the house of Pratul Ganguli.

Panam, a village about 8 miles from Narayanganj, adjoins Annagar, in which is situated the house of Narendra Sen. On July 10th, 1912, a dacoity took place in the house of Gour Chandra Poddar, of Panam. The dacoits wore masks and were armed with guns and pistols, as well as more common weapons. They carried bottle torches. At the first alarm Gour Chandra and his wife made their escape by a private staircase and reached the house of their neighbour, Hari Mohan Poddar. Hari Mohan's son Mathura sallied forth with a gun to repel the dacoits. He fired off his gun two or three times, apparently without doing any damage. The dacoits replied with more effect. Faalar Rahmanian, a Mahomedan who had accompanied Mathura, being shot through the arm. The dacoits carried off booty worth Rs. 30,000. They left behind them two quite good umbrellas, a silk handkerchief, an axe with a broken handle, one chisel, two iron obisel holders and two bamboo holders. Several cartridge saws and spent bullets were found showing that the dacoits had used at least one 12 bore gun and one automatic pistol. The dacoits were equipped very similarly to those of Kakuria and Biraupal. On the afternoon of the 10th Abul Kharial, a Mahomedan zemindar of Mograpara, saw a number of Hindu *shadrato* boys pass his cutchery, which is on the side of the road leading from Narayanganj to Panam. There were 10 or 12 in all, and they passed in two and threes towards Panam. On the day before the dacoity Narendra Mohan Sen was seen at Narayanganj Railway Station.

Girindra's evidence as to the dacoity is as follows:—The persons who were to go to the dacoity assembled on the river bank in Dacca. Madan Bhaumik asked Girindra to go as they were short-handed.

Madan, Trailakhya, Suresh Chandra Mitra and Debendra Babu took part in the Panam dacoity. Madan told him that the first attempt was unsuccessful, because the boats of the Samiti did not arrive in time at Narayanganj.

On September 16th, 1912, Inspector Umesh Chandra Chanda received certain information about Madan Bhaumik and others. In consequence of the information he went on several evenings to the Coronation Gardens near the Sadar Ghat. He asked the Superintendent of Police to depute head constable Rati Lal Roy to watch this gang, and Narendra Banerji was also employed on the same duty. These two officers used to watch on the river bank in the evening and report what they had seen to Umesh Babu after dark. From Girindra we learn that the associates knew that Umesh Babu and Rati Lal Roy were watching them. About 7 p.m. on September 24th the 6th day of his watch, Rati Lal Roy reported to Umesh Babu that he had seen none of the suspects that evening. About 7-15 he left Umesh Babu's basha and ten minutes later he was shot in Julianbari Lane. Next morning the Police Superintendent and other police officers who were visiting the scene of the murder met Trailakhya Chakrabarti. He gave a false account of himself, and proceedings under Section 109 were taken against him.

On the night of November 14th, 1912, a dacoity took place in the house of Piyari Mohan Nandi at Nangalband, near Narayanganj. The property stolen was valued at Rs. 15,000 or more. The dacoits were masked, they carried bottle torches and were armed with pistols, daos, chisels and hammers. According to complainant, they spoke to one another in the variety of English current in Dacca and Narayanganj. That this dacoity was the work of the members of the Dacca Samiti is placed beyond all doubt by the discovery of part of the stolen property in Girindra's box. According to Girindra he cycled to Narayanganj on three days to bring back the loot, twice with Manindra Roy and once with Jnan Ranjan. Girindra states that he gather from some talk at Narendra Sen's house that there had been a previous unsuccessful attempt on Piyari Mohan's house, the cause of failure being that the dacoits took too long over their meals and overslept themselves.

On November 16th, 1912, there was a dacoity at the post office at Kola in Sribagar thana, Dacca. The dacoits broke open the safe and made off with Rs. 965. They wore masks and left behind them some masks, a spear and some exploded bombs. One at least was in the opinion of the post-master a *shadrato*. Some of the words of command were given in English. Girindra says that he asked Madan about this dacoity, and Madan told him it was the work of their Samiti.

GIRINDRA'S ARREST.

On the morning of November 26th, Ramesh Acharyya and Trailakhya Chakrabarti went to Girindra's house with some books. Ramesh asked Girindra if he could clean revolvers there. Girindra consented, and Ramesh went off and returned with a revolver and an automatic pistol concealed in his *shawl* (shawl). The three spent all the morning cleaning them in the *batukkhana* (outer house). Girindra declined to go to College. Trailakhya breakfasted there, but Ramesh went away for his breakfast again. They continued cleaning the pistols till about 2-30. Girindra's mother thought his conduct very strange, and telegraphed to her husband Mr. Jamini Mohan Das Bahadur, who had recently been transferred to Mymensingh. He came on the following day and questioned Girindra on his return from College. He also asked Girindra for the key of his box. On the pretext of bringing the key Girindra went downstairs. He left the house and hurried to the river bank to inform the other members of the Samiti of his predicament. He met Ramesh Acharyya and gave the key to him. Ramesh advised him to tell his father that his son would be shot if he did not return the contents of the box. They then called Madan Bhaumik and Jnan Rajan from their houses and the four went towards Girindra's house. Girindra entered and told his mother of the Samiti's threat, asking her to tell his father. He then went out again to get the key from Ramesh. In Wyer Street he met Ramesh, who told him that the key was with the 'Kabiraj'. Meanwhile Jamini Babu had sent information to the District Magistrate and the police. Next morning Girindra's box was searched, and he and Madan who had been detained all night were formally arrested. In Girindra's box besides the Nangalband loot were found about 700 cartridges of various kinds, 94 copies of *Swadhin Bharat*, a copy of the *Yugantar* and *Sandhya* the third quarterly report, the Barisal list and the Barisal accounts, a number of letters signed Nisi Kanta Ghosh, the questions letter, a map of the 24-Parganas and some other papers and articles. On the same day the house of Madan Mohan Bhaumik was also searched. Two exercise books containing a subscription list were found. This subscription list is a very important document. There are five list of names and after each list there are spaces for months.

After dealing with the individual cases the Magistrate discharged two accused, and committed the remaining 28 to the Sessions to answer a charge under Section 121A.—The Statesman.

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- Morris.

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The Week.

Balkan Crisis.

London, Sept. 19.

THE TURCO-BULGARIAN frontier has been settled as stated yesterday. The importance the Bulgarians attached to Demotika is due to the fact that with the Turks astride the railway, their outlet to the Aegean is almost valueless. The construction of a separate railway through the mountainous country to the west of Demotika would involve huge expenditure which would not be warranted by any probable return. It is stated that the agreement also gives Moslems in the ceded territories the option of retaining Turkish nationality for four years, after which they become Bulgarian subjects, but are guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, retention of ancient privileges and exemption from military service. It is understood that the Turks absolutely declined to pay an indemnity for the maintenance of prisoners.

London, Sept. 19.

King Constantine left for Paris on a five days' visit to-day. M. Poincaré, the French President, will entertain his Majesty at lunch to-morrow.

The bulk of the French newspapers are satisfied with King Constantine's speech which was of unusual length for a toast. They regard it as closing the incident. Several important journals, however, consider that it affects nothing.

London, Sept. 23.

Belgrade. It is reported that twenty thousand well armed Albanians, commanded by Austrian and Bulgarian officers, have captured the Serbian fortifications at Dibra. Government is hastily sending reinforcements.

Belgrade. Two regiments of reservists have been called out and the railway has been wholly reserved for military traffic.

Sofia. Serbian troops and Turkish Bashibazouks are attacking Bulgarian frontier posts in the Strumitza district.

Cetinje. Serbia and Montenegro are acting jointly in warding off Albanian incursions. Montenegro has sent sixty men from each battalion to Djakova.

London, Sept. 24.

Belgrade. It is officially stated that there was a determined battle lasting two hours between Albanians and two companies of Serbian troops at Dibra, on the 22nd instant. The Serbians withdrew towards Ritschava. The Albanians were six thousand strong.

London, Sept. 27.

Constantinople. The Turk and Bulgarian peace delegates have settled all outstanding questions. The peace treaty will be signed immediately, not later than the 29th instant.

Belgrade. It is estimated that fifty thousand Albanians with modern rifles and maxims are marching successfully towards Serbia's new territory in the Pizrend direction. Serbian reinforcements are proceeding to the frontier, but it will be days before they will be sufficiently strong to deal a decisive blow to Albania.

THE new Provisional Government in Albania is already confronted with an insurrection headed by Essad Pasha, defender of Sentari and the Minister of the Interior, who is reported to have seized the public funds at Durrës where he is establishing a Government of his own.

In the meantime the Greeks and Servians declare that Albania is drifting into anarchy and that there is no security for life or property.

The Government announces that in deference to the wishes of the Powers, Serbia is withdrawing her troops from various points assigned to Albania, but warns the Powers of the probable consequences.

An Austro-Italian commission has started for Sentari to delimit the northern boundary. The commission is escorted by a hundred Austrian troops and a hundred Italian troops. Another commission composed of representatives of the five Great Powers, has started for Monastir to delimit the southern frontier.

London, Sept. 27.

Reuter learns that Britain has long been urging the Powers to hasten the despatch of an International Commission to control Albania, the appointment of which was agreed upon months ago, and all the Powers had appointed Commissioners except Austria, who pleaded difficulty in finding a suitable man. Austria now states that an official has been asked and, if he accepts, it is hoped that the Commission will be on the spot in a fortnight.

Turkey.

THE following special cablegram appears in the *Pioneer* of September 19:—The *Standard's* Paris correspondent says that by the Franco-Turkish agreement cession is made to France of two ports on the Black Sea and a railway line of about 600 miles between Samsun, Sivas, Erzerum and Trebizond, made up on the north-west of a branch line from Samsun to Sivas leading to Rastanun and on the south-west of a line Egin, Kharput Lake Van.

The line which will some day connect Syria and Egypt is conceded to the Damascus Hamsh Company. This line is a prolongation of the branch parallel to the coast from Rayuk to Ramlah on the Jaffa-Jerusalem line. The construction of ports at Jaffa and Haifa is conceded to a "Consortium" of Ottoman ports, as is that of the port of Tripoli in Syria.

The Franco-German agreement is ready for signature and is based upon French renunciation of participation in the Baghdad line, in exchange for which France gets a proportional part of the next big Turkish loan. Germany abandons the idea of doubling the Baghdad line on the north by a line from Angora to Dimekir via Sivas. A German line starting from Angora will now reach Kaisereh to the south-east and join the main Baghdad line at Bulguren. The German branch of the Dimekir line will join the French system at Kharput. On the north-west the German branch starting from Adabazar will join the Samsun-Rastanun line of the French system, thus connecting Constantinople and Samsun. A third branch will connect the French and German systems of Samsun-Sivas.

A message from Constantinople, dated Sept. 27, states that the local weekly journal *Ishtikad*, recently published an interview with the Her Apparent endorsing Palmentary system and advocating closer contact between princes and people since Moslem rebellion was based on democracy. The Her Apparent did not accept unsolicited exclusiveness, the strengthening of democracy could not result in the weakening of aristocracy. As a result of the interview, which was received with great enthusiasm in Ottoman intellectual circles, the journal has been suspended and the Master of Ceremonies of the Prince's household dismissed.

Persia.

TEHRAN. There is reason to hope that the financial crisis which has been threatening the normal administration of Azerbaijan, owing to the obstruction of the action of the Governor-General, has now been averted, as it is understood that the Russian Consulate at Tabriz has received instructions to support the Belgian financial agent whom it has declined hitherto to assist.

Following up preliminary work on the Khamabad Railway, the official survey party on which the Persian Government is represented by a Belgian engineer, Eit England in the 20th instant Messrs. Pearson & Company, acting on behalf of the Persian Railway Syndicate, have been instructed to carry out the survey as speedily as possible. It will probably be concluded in May.

The Rising in Oman.

THE *Times* contains an article in its issue of the 18th September on the rising in Oman. The paper says that the rising is causing some perplexity to the British Government. The present trouble is more serious than the previous one and Britain has a special interest in Muscat. Unless the Sultan can remove the Pretender and regain the lost date lands in the Semai Valley, he will cease to be Sultan of Oman and will degenerate into a Sheikh of Vaseat, shielded by British bayonets. The reluctance of Whitehall perpetually to undertake an expedition into this wild land, is natural. There is still some hope that the revolt may dwindle, but apart from the questions of honour and friendship, the strategic importance of Oman and its ports is too great to permit Britain to countenance the downfall of the Sultan.

Naval Concentration in the Mediterranean.

THE Naval concentration in the Mediterranean will constitute the most imposing demonstration of naval power that Britain has ever made in the Mediterranean.

Africa.

LORD AMTHILL, in a long letter to the Press on behalf of the South African British Indian Committee, recapitulates the Indian grievances against the Immigration Act and concludes by laying stress on its effect in India.

Government and Moslem Papers.

A MEETING of Mussalmans took place here on Sunday under the auspices of the Cawnpore Mosque Defence Association. The first part of the meeting was presided over by Maulana Sulaiman of Behar and the latter part by the Imam of the Nakhoda mosque. Among the audience were the Editors of the *Habibul Mahn*, the

Alhul and the *Mussalman*. Resolutions were passed opposing the measures adopted against Mussalman papers by the Government and inviting Lord Hardinge to intervene and expressing sympathy with the proprietor of the *Zamindar* in regard to the forfeiture of his security. It was explained that a representation would be made to the Government with regard to the security of the *Alhul*. A subscription was made amounting to Rs. 800.

A Seditious Leaflet

THE special branch of the Calcutta Criminal Investigation Department seized a highly seditious leaflet in Bengal styled "Swadhin Bharat" (Free India) printed on pink note paper, in golden ink, at College Square on Sunday afternoon. The leaflet was found posted on the eastern gate of the Square. It is reported that several copies of the leaflet were surreptitiously distributed before the one in question was seized.

Failure of Indian Banks

BANKING circles in London do not view the Indian Bank failures seriously, fully realising that they are in nowise related to English managed concerns.

The *Morning Post* in its financial article, points out that some of the witnesses before the Chamberlain Commission argued that the Government of India's financial arrangements had raised the rate of loans in the autumn, and that the high rates may lead to small failures such as these. That journal adds that the incident may be used in support of the contention in favour of making Government funds available for trade uses through a central bank.

Allahabad, Sept. 22.

The failure of the People's Bank has affected a number of individuals and institutions in Allahabad where there was a large branch. It is stated that the loss to some will be considerable. Among the institutions affected to a greater or less extent are the United Provinces Home Memorial Fund, the Servants of India Society, the United Provinces Congress Committee, and the United Provinces Elementary Education League.

Su O'Moore's Successor

THE *Daily Express* states that the authorities are considering the appointment of Sir Ian Hamilton in succession to Sir O'Moore Creagh for the command in India. Further, the paper states that it is probable that the post of Inspector General of Forces will be abolished.

The New Consul-General for Turkey

HIS EXCELLENCY HALIL HALID BEY, the newly appointed Consul-General for Turkey, arrived here this morning by the P. & O. Mail steamer *India*. Long before the arrival of mail, Moslems mustered strongly at Apollo Bunder to accord His Excellency a hearty welcome. A Deputation, consisting of members of the Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay and other leading Mahomedans, proceeded to the steamer in launch to receive His Excellency. Among those present at Bunder were H. Bishri, Acting Consul-General for Turkey, Ghulam Kasim Khan, agent to the Amir of Kabul, Haji Yusuf Sobani, President of Anjuman-i-Islam, Syed Gulam Mahomed Rahya, Abulhasan Hamdani, M. T. Kaderbhai Saleh, Afzalul Ebrahim, and Khan Bahadur Hakim Mahomed Dyan. His Excellency was garlanded by the President of Anjuman-i-Islam. He landed at Apollo Bunder at about noon and motored to the Turkish Consulate, Khadi Khalid Bey, bringing out a magnificent carpet for the Jumma Masjid at Delhi and several other presents for leading Indian Mahomedans, whose sympathy with Turkey in the recent war has been deeply appreciated by the Sultan and his people.

The Moslem Mission to England.

At a meeting of the Council of the Burma Provincial Moslem League a resolution was passed acknowledging the importance and representative character of the mission of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mahomed Ali to England.

Calcutta, Sept. 27.

The All-India Moslem League has passed a resolution of confidence in Messrs. Syed Wazir Hasan and Mahomed Ali as Moslem representatives to England, and a second resolution of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his pronouncement on the status of Indians in the self-Governing Colonies.

Delhi, Sept. 29th., 1913

A mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Delhi was held at the Patodi Masjid under the presidency of Maulana Maulvi Sharful Haq Sahib Dehlawi, to acknowledge with thanks the representative character of the Mission of Messrs. Syed Wazir Hasan and Mahomed Ali to England. It was proposed and unanimously passed that a copy of the proceedings of the meeting should be sent to the Secretary of State for India by wire.

TETE À TETE



WE CAN hardly say that the Cawnpore Police has earned any honour and glory in shooting down and butchering the unarmed Mussalmans on the 3rd of August. In fact, quite otherwise.

The Cawnpore Police.

But we admit that the man who deserves to be dealt with more severely than the Police was the District Magistrate Mr. Tyler, who gave the order for firing. All the same, the Police was not quite innocent. But the case is *sub judice*, and the whole affair would be sifted carefully in the Sessions Court. Why was the Inspector-General of Police in such a hurry to distribute awards to his *gallant* subordinates out of public funds? At best, they had done nothing to be proud of or even deserving of praise. What would happen in the Sessions Court finds that the Police, instead of receiving rewards, deserve to go to jail if not to the gallows for taking the lives of innocent people. At one end, we see H. E. the Viceroy, with all his genuine sympathy and broad-minded statesmanship, refusing to mention even about the merits of the Cawnpore case and trying his best to smooth down matters, at the other U. P. officials as usual going about the affair in a blundering way and minimising the good and sobering effect of His Excellency's speech. We thank the U. P. officials have completely lost their heads and are really more excited than the Mussalmans themselves. We appeal to His Honour Mr. Baillie, the off. Lieutenant-Governor, to take note of this.

AUTHER'S messages, coming from Cetinje and Belgrade, show that the Provisional Government of Albania begins with anarchical raving under Essad Pasha. It seems as if the blood-stained peace just concluded in the Balkans would be upset by a national Albanian rising. It is true that Albanians represent a most patriotic race, a race that probably loves her country more than truth, and it is no wonder if they would resent the presence of an alien government imposed upon them by the Powers. Taking it to be so, an appeal to arms would not be unjustified. However, it is as well true that the Servians, Montenegrins and Greeks have each their interests in the proposed Principality, and each want to have a finger in the pie, so which the Albanians object. But the intrusion of the Austrian Hag at this situation may augur some unforeseen turn of events. It may not be so very strange to spell this untoward excitement into a fresh demonstration of half-reconciled jealousies of the Greeks and Serbs at the instigation of Austria—ever jealous of powerful Serbia. Count von Reichtold might be pandering to the selfish designs of E-sad. It seems, then, that single-handed Austria would shatter the Concert of Europe, provided that the Albanians allow Essad Pasha to mould their destinies as a *protégé* of Austria-Hungary. We think that all dangers of a civil war might be averted if the Powers were to give a chance to Turkey to supervise Albania under the kingship of a Turkish Prince. That would be the best solution.

WE LEARN with great pleasure that Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghaznavi is about to start to Mecca to perform Haj this year. It is not his intention to simply perform a duty incumbent upon every Moslem but combined with it is a far nobler object, viz., that of studying the whole Pilgrimage question, which has been troubling both the Government and the Mussalmans. It is a pitiful sight to see so many pilgrims desirous of proceeding for the Haj detained in Bombay for want of steamers. We are informed that the Anjuman-i-Khudam-i-K'aba is in consultation with eminent Mussalmans in Bombay and elsewhere to remove this difficulty by providing a line of fine Steamers built specially for Pilgrims Traffic. We wish Mr. Ghaznavi a happy voyage.

THE Mussalmans of Rangoon have memorialised H. E. the Viceroy against the importations of "Koranic" verses on prayer-mats inscribed with verses from the Holy Koran, Kalma and other religious Texts. These mats were imported and

exposed for sale by a local firm Siqq and Company. An application was first lodged with the District Magistrate to require the said Company to withhold sale in view of the general resentment. The District Magistrate passed orders accordingly but prohibiting only for a period of two months. Then the Lieutenant-Governor was approached with the request to penalise a similar importation under the Sea Customs Act. But the Lieutenant-Governor, not invested with full powers desired to be exercised, has forbidden the said firm from importing mats for a year, i. e., until about the middle of January 1914. We are sure H. E. the Viceroy who is always so thoughtful and considerate would help the Mussalmans in this matter. They have no objection to the mats themselves, but to the Islamic texts on them. In using such mats people would be unconsciously treading on sacred words, which is a sacrilege in Islam.

WE HAVE received the following letter from Mr. M. Said Hindustani, dated Stamboul, the 8th September, 1913, which we hope will be read with interest by our readers.—“The cruiser *Hamidiyeh*, which

The Return of the 'Hamidiyeh'.

has played such an important rôle in the last war as to attract the notice of the whole world, arrived in our port on Sunday morning, September 7th. On Saturday at noon she entered the Dardanelles where a most hearty welcome awaited her. The whole population turned out to greet her, the sea being literally covered with embarkations of all kinds and sizes. Men, women and children vied with each other in manifesting their joy. Salvoes both from the Forts and Turkish men-o'-war greeted her entrance into the Straits. At San Stefano hundreds of boats—with the different Minister, functionaries and delegations from the Committee of Union and Progress, the National Defence League, the City of Constantinople, etc., etc., on board—awaited the *Hamidiyeh* and her gallant Commander Raouf Bey and officers. The Ministers went on board the *Hamidiyeh* which saluted with a salvo of 19 guns. The spectators in the boats joined in frantic and prolonged cheers. The heads of the different delegations presented Raouf Bey various objects of value on behalf of their respective Committees. At 10 A. M. the *Hamidiyeh* reached the Bosphorus opposite the Dolma Bagitché Palace. At 11 A. M. the Sultan was at that moment on quay preparing to embark on the Imperial yacht *Ertugroul* which was to convey the Imperial party to Moda to attend the Regatta organised for the benefit of the Ottoman Fleet Fund. His Majesty's first aide de camp, Salih Pasha, conveyed the sovereign's greetings to the intrepid Commander and crew of the *Hamidiyeh* and thanked them very warmly in His Majesty's name for the patriotic services they had rendered the nation. At Moda Raouf Bey, the Commander of the *Hamidiyeh*, was taken by Talat Bey, Minister of the Interior, and Djemal Bey, Military Governor of Constantinople, on board the Imperial yacht where he had the honour of being most cordially welcomed and thanked by H. I. M. the Sultan. It was with great interest and pleasure I visited the other day the offices of the Hymana Black Amber Mining Company at Djagouglow, Stamboul.

The Hymana Mining Company

This Company is a group of highly educated Moslem ladies who have recently established in our city, with a capital of £10,000, a Joint Stock Company for the working of a black amber mine in Hymana (Asia Minor). Shares are issued at £10 each and are finding a ready sale. The offices of this Company are large, well furnished and fitted up with every modern convenience. The Board of Directors is composed entirely of Muhammadan ladies. The Company intends not only to work the mine but to manufacture from its produce different ornaments such as bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, etc., all of which find a good sale both here and in Europe. I am sure all true friends of Islam will join with me in wishing every success to these courageous women who but a few years ago would have timidly shrunk from the publicity which their enterprise necessarily entails, and may their courage and efforts prove incentives to their Ottoman Moslem brethren to follow in their steps and work for the development, commercial enterprise and industry of the Mohamedan community. A long and important telegram was received here last night signed by 208 Muhammadans of Thrace. The principle items of the telegram are that the Moslems of Thrace have sworn to make known to the whole world their civic and religious rights and never to submit to the Bulgarian yoke while one drop of blood is in their veins. They have declared their independence and instituted a provisional government at Gümüldjina with a view to protect their lives, honour and territory against a fresh invasion by the Bulgarians.

The Population of Western Thrace Proclaim their Independence.

We congratulate the Hon. Mr. Syed Raza Ali on the brilliant and pointed questions he asked in the last U. P. Council meeting and still more so on the more brilliant and evasive answers he received from the Hon. Mr. Burn. We are not used to the diplomatic language used in the Councils; but in common parlance such replies would be labelled with a different name, not very complimentary to the giver.

It will be a source of gratification to all Moslems and other friends of Turkey to know that the Turkish Government has materially added to her naval strength by acquiring a "Dreadnought" of enviable calibre. The battleship is called

A Turkish "Dreadnought."

Mohamed Rashad V. after the Sultan's name. The Young Turks' regime is anxious to take practical steps towards the rebuilding of their neglected navy. In appearance and design it would be of the *George V.* Battleship type—rather a good omen for a real Anglo-Turkish Alliance which the Indian Mussalmans would welcome. It has a beam of 91 ft. and length of 525 feet with a displacement of 28,000 tons and with Turbines of 81,000 H.P. It has a capacity to steam 21 knots. It is fitted with ten 13.5-inch guns mounted in five turrets on the centre line and sixteen 8-inch guns to stave off the attacks of torpedo boats. The present Cabinet may rightly be proud of possessing a "Dreadnought" which would greatly serve in securing the defence of its coast. We are told that Raul Bey of the Hamdiya fame would command it. May Turkey soon possess several such powerful Battleships with lion-hearted Commandants like Raul Bey.

While going to the Press we received the happy news of the landing of H. E. Khalil Khalid Bey, the newly appointed Turkish Consul-General. The Mussalmans of Bombay, we are told, have accorded him an enthusiastic welcome on

The New Turkish Consul-General.

Boardship the *India* and at the pier. His arrival is a symbol of an unusual expression of gratification and favour since he is a bearer of H. I. M. the Khalifat ul-Muslem's message of blessing embodied in the gift of a magnificent carpet for the Jam'i Masjid, the beautiful Mosque of Shah Jahan in this Imperial city of Delhi. His Excellency also brings with him three other beautiful carpets for the Mosques of Lahore, Calcutta and Bombay and decorations for several prominent Mohammedans of India who had shown practical sympathy for their Turkish brethren in their hour of direct need. We hope the presence in India of a cultured and refined representative of the Ottoman Government will bring the two great Mussalman powers closer and to a better understanding. His Excellency was at Cambridge and is thus in an advantageous position of being familiar with English institutions which, we hope, would create a note of harmony in the Anglo-Turkish relations. Nothing would give greater happiness to the Moslems of India than to see Turkey strong and powerful again with England as her good Ally.

MANY of our friends having been enquiring about Mr. Mohamed Ali's arrival in England. He landed all right at Brindisi and by this time must be in England. He had intended to stop a

Mr. Mohamed Ali.

day in Paris, if H. E. Jawad Bey was there, in connection with arrangements for the Turkish loan. We have received letters from him both from Aden and Suez and expect another from Brindisi next Saturday. The voyage had been uneventful and the sea calm. We in India would have liked it to be otherwise so as to get some rain. He and Mr. Wazir Hasan would get down at Suez and run up to Cairo for a few hours to arrange for a *fataha* from the *Memo* of Jame-ul-Akhar about the Cawnpore Mosque, catching the boat again at Port Said next day. We are glad to see that he is getting plenty of exercise and it would rather amuse his many friends to hear that he has been indulging in deck cricket and from his own account doing great things both with Bat and Ball. He writes:—"I have been playing some cricket and although you may not believe it, I have played brilliantly and dashing (ahem!) and bowled still more brilliantly and dashing (serious cough!!!). But the pain in the body after these grand exploits—oh! it was awful. I had to buy Elliman's Embrocation and to get electric vibratory massage at two barber's before I could move hand or foot. So in the long run, the bearded man has paid just as much to the barber as the beardless one." I think most people would agree with us that stout journalists and all round men have no business to play cricket, and when they do they should be ready for consequences. But we are afraid our advice would be wasted on Mr. Mohamed Ali. We wish him plenty of cricket and success both of which he fully deserves after the strenuous work he had put in.

The Comrade.

Sir James Meston and the Deputation.

III

WE HAVE dealt in previous issues with three of the five points raised by the Deputation with regard to the charge of laches, and we trust we have convinced our readers that instead of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore being guilty of laches, it was the officers of Government at Cawnpore whose disregard of the requirements of law and of the plans which they had published kept the Mussalmans in the dark. This is, of course, on the improbable assumption that these officials did intend to acquire a portion of the mosque before the safety of the temple was assured by the speech of Sir James Meston in November, 1912. Now we come to that speech, for the Deputation contended that "at any rate, any apprehensions on this score were removed when in November, 1912, the Mussalman public of Cawnpore took what Your Honour was pleased to say to some of the members of our community of that place as an assurance that the mosque as a whole would be saved from demolition." Now on the 13th November, 1912, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor visited the Tali's Temple close to the mosque in question, and after his inspection he met the members of the Cawnpore Municipal Board in the Circuit House and discussed with them the alignment of the A. B. Road. No official record was kept of what was said on the occasion, but on the 24th November, the *Herald of India*, a local paper, published an account of the meeting and said that His Honour "assured the members that the temple and the mosque will remain untouched by the Improvement Trust." This is a clear and comprehensive statement, and the Deputation is entirely justified in claiming that "any apprehensions on this score were removed" by His Honour's assurance. It is worthy of note that this report of the *Herald* was never contradicted or modified by Government or any of the local officials before the controversy arose, and it has not to this day been directly challenged. But it is just as well that we should reproduce here everything that has been said on the subject of this assurance. On the very first occasion when the proposal to acquire a portion of the mosque became public, i.e., on the 12th February, 1913, when the Chairman put up a Note before the Improvement Trust Committee proposing that land be given in compensation for "the land covered by the *dalan* of the Mosque," Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim Sahib, the only Muhamadan member on the Committee, who had already obtained an assurance on the subject three months ago from Sir James Meston dissented from the proposal; but the Committee "resolved that a plot to the north be given in compensation," and his dissent was not even recorded. It will not be inappropriate to quote here the letter which this gentleman has since written to a prominent Muhamadan Vakil of Cawnpore, who is himself a member of the Municipal Board, as it would show how he understood the assurance of Sir James Meston. He writes: "I had opposed the resolution which was passed in the meeting of the Trust Committee held on the A. B. Road on the 12th February, 1913, to acquire the *dalan* in exchange for the land to the north. Even before that I had requested His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to allow the mosque to be preserved, and you are well aware of what I have done about it since in the meetings of the Board from time to time." It is therefore clear that the Mussalman who questioned the Lieutenant-Governor about the acquisition of any portion of the mosque did not understand him to promise that only the western portion would be left untouched and that the eastern *dalan* would be acquired, for he based his dissent on the Lieutenant-Governor's assurance. On the 4th March, 1913, the Improvement Trust Committee's resolution of 12th February came up for confirmation before the Ordinary Meeting of the Municipal Board, but its consideration was postponed on the motion of a Muhamadan member. On the 8th March, however, the Improvement Trust Committee's resolution was confirmed by the Board and "a proposal by S. Fazlur Rahman that the Board should resolve that no portion of the building of the mosque should be acquired was ruled out of order." On this a requisition was sent in asking that a resolution to the same effect be put on the agenda, and the resolution was based, among other things, on the ground that the acquisition of any portion whatever of the mosque, was "contrary to the spirit of the declaration made by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on 13th November, 1912." Considering that this requisition was signed by no less than ten members of the Municipal Board, including as many as six Hindu gentlemen, we are entitled to maintain that the resolution accurately reflected the impression created on the minds of his hearers by Sir James Meston's assurance. The next occasion on which Sir James's assurance is mentioned is in a letter addressed by the Local Govern-

went to the Hon. Mr. Shahid Hussin of Lucknow on the 6th May, 1913, in reply to a Memorial submitted to Government through him by the Mussalmans of Cawnpore praying that the eastern portion of the mosque should not be acquired. In the course of his letter the Under Secretary (Municipal Department) says that "His Honour guaranteed that the mosque should not be interfered with," and in the Government Order No. 1548, dated 1st May, 1913, also, which was addressed to the Municipal Board, in reply to its resolution, the same phraseology has been used. On the 2nd July His Honour wrote to us justifying the demolition of the eastern *dalan* by Mr. Tyler, the District Magistrate, on the previous day, and in the course of his letter referred to his assurance in the following terms: "My guarantee that the mosque should not be destroyed had no reference to a *dalan* which is obviously an architectural excrecence and which was confidently assured by the responsible officers is not an integral part of the sacred building." On the 25th July, when the whole of Moslem India was seething with indignation at the outrage of the 1st of July and showed unmistakably and quite emphatically its sympathy with the Mussalmans of Cawnpore, a Press *communiqué* was issued by the Local Government which said: "The Lieutenant-Governor announced that the new road would be laid in such a way as to spare the Temple, which would be left as an island. A Muhammadan gentleman asked whether this would destroy the mosque. They were assured on the contrary that the alignment of the road would spare the courtyard entirely instead of cutting off a piece of it as originally intended. The only portion of the mosque premises affected would be a narrow projecting used as a washing place." Now, if we are to believe this *communiqué* which, however, contains more misstatements than any other official declaration of the same size which we have ever seen published, it would appear that on the 18th of November His Honour the Lieutenant Governor far from giving the Mussalmans the assurance that "the mosque will remain untouched" fully and frankly informed them that it would be "touched" and that the portion where ablutions preparatory to the offering of prayers are made would be duly acquired. Verily this is something like Falstaff's "eleven men in buckram grown out of two", for all that His Honour had perhaps said on the 18th of November was a unimpeachable "No" in reply to a Moslem member's question whether the mosque would be interfered with. On the 16th August His Honour gave in some detail the account of this assurance in replying to the Deputation, and it gives the lie direct to the glib declaration of the Press *communiqué*. This is the first statement which gives the details of what passed at Cawnpore and in the words of Sir James himself, and we, therefore, make no apology for quoting at length from His Honour's speech on this point. He said

I came now to my visit to Cawnpore in November 1912. On that occasion I went personally to the scene in order to inspect the Tel's Temple against the removal of which I had a number of protests. I must have been standing within a few yards of the mosque although I do not remember seeing it and nobody brought it to my notice. The members of the Board and other citizens of Cawnpore were with me and the conversation so far as I recollect was free and general. Yet no one made any grievance whatsoever of the mosque or of any grievance connected with it. At my subsequent meeting with the Board at the Circuit House a Muhammadan member just at the close of the proceedings put a question to me of which I cannot pretend to remember the exact terms. My impression, however, is that he enquired whether the alteration in route which would be necessitated by sparing the temple would do damage to any of the mosques. There were apparently two mosques on the road, one on either side. I had never heard of the matter before and had to consult the Chairman before answering this gentleman. The Chairman informed me that though the bathroom of one of the mosques was being acquired in any case, the alteration of the road of which we had just decided would not involve any further encroachment upon the mosque. I accordingly answered my questioner in the negative.

We have taken some pains to reproduce everything said or done which has any reference to the assurance given by the Lieutenant-Governor, so that our readers may judge for themselves the nature of the assurance, the impression created thereby on the minds of the Mussalmans and Hindus of Cawnpore, the absence of any subsequent explanation of the assurance offered by Sir James Meeson, and the contrast which all this presents to the Press *communiqué* which gets out to delude the world at large that His Honour had carefully pointed out what portion of the Mosque would be acquired and what left untouched. After all, if the Mussalmans knew on the 18th November, 1912, that a portion of the Mosque would be acquired, while the temple would be spared in its entirety, does it not stand to reason that they would have immediately protested against this? If the Moslem protest subsequently made did not, as His Honour wrote to us, "represent a genuine grievance," but was in reality "an afterthought suggested by the concession to the Hindus, and by the desire to secure some corresponding privilege for the Muhammadan community," why did the protest begin to reach His Honour "several months after the decision to spare the Hindu Temple"? Could not any of the Moslem Members of the Municipal Board have asked His Honour then and there to turn his attention to the Mosque only a few feet from the temple which

he had come to inspect, or at any rate, could not Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim Sahib have asked Sir James at the Circuit House meeting to spare the eastern *dalan*? His Honour, as in so many things, following the lead of the local authorities, has attempted to establish a *seesaw* between the sparing of the temple and the protest about the Mosque. The Mussalmans of Cawnpore contend that there is no such *seesaw*, but that there is one between the proposal of the Chairman of the Municipal Board to acquire a portion of the Mosque by giving the Mussalmans some land as compensation and the protests which members of their community began to voice. Between the two events which His Honour has sought to connect there is an interval of three months which none has attempted to explain. Between the two events which the Mussalmans of Cawnpore have sought to connect there is not even the interval of a day. And yet we are asked to believe in a fancied, slowly maturing jealousy of the good fortune of the Hindus when there lies close at hand the obvious explanation that it was not before the 12th February, 1913, that the Mussalmans came to know of the fate which destiny in the shape of Messrs. Sim and Tyler had in store for the Maohli Bazar Mosque. We now come to the last point raised by the Deputation in connection with the charge of laches. The Deputation pointed to the resolution for placing which on the agenda four Mussalmans and six Hindu members had signed a requisition, and which shows unmistakably that it was "from the proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee that came before the Board at its meeting held on the 4th March, 1913," that "the Board has come to know that a portion of the building of the Mosque in Maohli Bazar is being acquired for the purpose of the A. B. Road." That this was the universal belief in Cawnpore is confirmed by the Memorial of the Hindus of that city protesting against the proposed alignment in which, according to Mr. Sim himself, "a reference was made to the fact that the alignment did not interfere with any of the Muhammadan places of worship."

To this argument Sir James Meeson does not even refer in his reply. This is all the more distressing as throughout this unfortunate controversy he appears to have tolerated without the least suggestion of disapproval the usurpation by the Chairman of the Board of the powers that were never meant to be exercised by any but the representatives of Cawnpore citizens. There is no record of any alignment for the A. B. Road having been approved by the Board, and we do not know who designed the alignment. But it is on record that when on the 1st April an overwhelming majority of the Board—in fact all the voting members except the Europeans—resolved that the threatened demolition of a portion should not come off, Mr. Sim, the Chairman, beaten in the meeting, appealed on the 4th April to the Local Government, through Mr. Tyler, praying that his view should prevail, and on the 1st May His Honour sided with Mr. Sim against the Municipal Board and ordered that the portion of the Mosque in question "must be removed." It is also on record that when on the 20th May, Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim Sahib moved and Mr. Fazlur Rahman seconded that "the building which it is intended to be acquired is a part of the Mosque and that the Board therefore recommends that the Government be pleased to reconsider its decision", Mr. Sim proposed an amendment that "no further representation be made by the Board to the Government and that the Government order be accepted as final," and it is further on record that when another amendment was moved by a Hindu member and seconded by another Hindu member to the effect that "proceedings to acquire this portion may be stayed for one month to enable the Muhammadan members of the Board to make further representations to Government," apparently and, we believe, contrary to all recognised procedure, votes were taken simultaneously on the two amendments, and on the original motion and when Mr. Sim found four stalwart Hindus still favouring the stay of further proceedings against three supporting him, he had his own amendment carried by his casting vote, without giving to the two Muhammadan members who had proposed that the Board should ask Government to reconsider its decision the opportunity of accepting half the loaf in the shape of the second amendment, proposing a stay of proceedings for one month to enable the Muhammadan members to make further representations to Government. It is clear that the four who voted in favour of the second amendment and the two who voted in favour of the original motion would have once more beaten Mr. Sim and his three supporters, by combining against him, if every separate proposition had been voted upon separately. But the Local Self-Government as understood by Mr. Sim and evidently approved by Sir James Meeson is apparently a thing distinct and apart from what the world understands it to be.

We trust we shall not be accused of having evaded anything germane to the question of laches which occurred either in the address of the Deputation or in Sir James Meeson's reply. We also trust we have convinced our readers that the Mussalmans did not at least know that any portion of the Mosque was to be

acquired before the 13th of February, 1913. We have now to deal with the argument that the part acquired and demolished was not a part of the Mosque at all and that therefore the Mosque, as guaranteed by Sir James Meeson on the 13th November, 1912, was not interfered with on the 1st of July, 1913. Now, we do not know whether we are asked to take this line of reasoning seriously. We, however, do know that if, for instance, a Turkish Vali in Macedonia had ordered the demolition of a portion of the building consecrated as a Greek or Bulgarian Church and had argued that the portion demolished was not an integral part of the Church nor held sacred by the congregation of the place, the pronouncements of the Patriarch or the Exarch, as the case may have been, to the contrary notwithstanding, the Press of Europe would have poured not planks but whole casks and vats of ridicule on such a pretension. And yet, on the authority of Messrs. Sim and Tyley, aided perhaps by His Honour's personal familiarity with "the usages and sentiments on the subject" acquired through "having visited many mosques with devout Muhammadans," Sir James Meeson has felt himself competent to decide against every declared Moslem opinion that the part demolished was not sacred. Knowing as we do that he has been misled and has therefore erred, we can confidently say that evidently His Honour knows no more about the comparative sanctity of various parts of a Mosque than a Turkish Vali of Macedonia would have known about the comparative sanctity of porch and aisle and nave and vestry and altar. The Deputation was, therefore, fully justified in saying in its address that "the question of the comparative sanctity of the portion demolished is, we beg to submit, purely one of Muhammadan ecclesiastical law." "Backed by our inherited convictions," continued the address, "convictions as old as our faith itself, and by the *fatwas* of our *Ulama* delivered recently, we beg to affirm with all the power of earnestness that we can command that the portion demolished was sacred and was an integral part of the Mosque. We have no doubt that Your Honour will pardon us if we speak on this part of the question somewhat frankly and feelingly. It has pained us greatly to find arguments publicly addressed in derogation to our religious views on this subject. . . . Your Honour, if it is permissible for us to compare the intensity of our feelings on one part of the question with another, we would have no hesitation in saying that this part has wounded our feelings the most. We beg to assure Your Honour the feelings of our community on this question as a whole are neither individual, local nor manufactured." Well, it is a relief to us to know that this address was subscribed to by prominent Mussalmans many of whom have hitherto occupied the almost universal acclamation of political agitation and—youth! And it is a further relief to us to be assured by His Honour that the course adopted by the Deputation was "in marked contrast to the intemperate language and distortion of facts with which the matter has been treated in some sections of the Press" and that the Deputation addressed His Honour "with moderation and frankness." Knowing as we do that our language certainly never has been able to develop the moral fervour of the Deputation's address, we feel assured of salvation.

But let us now turn to Sir James Meeson's reply to this part of the address. In the first place, His Honour refers to what he calls facts, and says that "they indicated that there was no real grievance, no feeling of outraged religion, no desire to interfere with the execution of very necessary improvement." In other words His Honour does not believe that the feelings of the community are not manufactured. He then offers his own explanation of the protests, namely, "jealousy of the good fortune of the Hindus," and practically intimates that he can believe in no other motive on the part of the Mussalmans. Continuing, he says

What therefore had happened to make the proposals of the City Improvement Trust in Cawnpore so objectionable? Was the washing place more sacred than the appendages of the mosque which had been moved suddenly in Lucknow and elsewhere? Did any special religious sentiment attach to this *wazukhana* or *darul-akhara* in general? On this point I assure you, Gentlemen, that I do not wish to draw a conclusion. I did not, it is true, consult our *Ulama* as I have since done with somewhat varying results. But I did consult a number of Mahomedan gentlemen whom I know to be orthodox and representative of their class and thoroughly reliable. My intention was that the *wazukhana* and the *darul-akhara* have not the same sanctity as the place of worship proper. Local enquiry seemed to afford confirmation of this in the evidence which was given us regarding the wearing of shoes in this part of the building. That evidence I believe in spite of attacks which have been made upon it in the Press and I think you will agree me gentlemen, on a dispassionate consideration of the facts as distinct from technicalities that there is a part of the mosque premises in which worshippers wear shoes and that there is a part in which the ordinary practice in India is to put shoes off. To the average mind it would seem that the same sanctity can hardly attach to the former as the latter, and that is the meaning—the plain common-sense and non-legal meaning—of what has been said regarding the comparative sanctity of the washing place.

And finally he says.

I notice from your memorial—again with sincere regret—that a suggestion of Government that the washing place has not the same sanctity as

the inner portion of the mosque has wounded your feelings more than any other phase in this unfortunate affair. I can only say that the statement was made in all good faith, that it had the support of a strong body of orthodox Muhammadan opinion, and that was in no way meant to wound your feelings or hurt your susceptibilities. Knowing me as most of you do, I trust that you will accept this assurance.

Now, we trust we are not presuming too much in saying that we, too, happen to know His Honour to some extent, and for our part we shall frankly state that we believe His Honour made the statement on this subject in all good faith. But is an administrator to be judged merely according to good or bad faith, and is "due diligence," to use a legal phrase, no element in the standard by which he is to be judged? If we criticise His Honour it is not because he has wounded Moslem feelings—as he has no doubt done—of mislaid forethought, but because he has failed to use the diligence and exercise the discretion which we have a right to expect from every Lieutenant-Governor and more specially from one who bore the reputation of Sir James.

Let us examine the charge in greater detail. In the first place His Honour has failed to note that the demolished portion has been officially described in the most hopelessly contradictory fashion, and we hold that this should have aroused His Honour's suspicions but did not. On the 4th of November, 1911, Babu Avadh Bahari Lal, Land Acquisition Officer at Cawnpore, made over to the Chairman of the Municipal Board a confidential note in which he stated with reference to "the Mosque," that "of this only a corner lately added to it for bathing place is to be taken in exchange for a like place to be given when the houses round it have been demolished." In a report on the application of Abdur Rahman and others that the party wall between the Mosque and the house adjoining it should not be pulled down, the same officer referred to the portion the acquisition of which he knew was contemplated as a "bathroom." This was on the 4th of January, 1912. From this date to the 12th February, 1913, we get no documentary reference to this portion. But on that date we have a description of this portion which gives the lie direct to every thing said or written on the subject by the officials. For in the proceedings of the meeting of the Improvement Trust Committee held on that date, we find that the first item runs thus

"1. Read Note by Chairman that the land to be given in compensation for the land covered by the *dalan* of the Mosque be given to the east (?) of the Mosque

"Resolved that a plot to the North of the Mosque be given in compensation."

It must be borne in mind that here the word *dalan* is used without any reservation such as His Honour was careful enough to make when he wrote to us on the 2nd of July, just this portion had been demolished, stating that "I call it by that name (*dalan*) without prejudice as the lawyers say."

But let us proceed. On the 11th April, 1913, Mr. Sim, highly displeased with the Municipal Board for not supporting him on the 1st April wrote a letter to the Collector of Cawnpore, forwarding the Board's resolution which favoured the preservation of this portion, recommending that it should be rejected by Government. There he begins by calling it "a portion of a building attached to a mosque," and then calls it "a small building which is used as a bathing place." The next document is the Government Order No. 1548, dated 1st May, 1913, in reply to Mr. Sim's recommendation, and it refers to this portion as "the washing place" and as being "not part of the sacred building." The same phraseology has been used in a reply to the Memorial of the Cawnpore Mussalmans addressed to the Hon. Mr. Saahid Hussain—through whom it was submitted,—dated 6th May, 1913. On the 15th May, however, the portion becomes a "bathing enclosure" in the telegram of His Honour addressed to us in reply to one of our own. On the 23rd May it becomes "the bathing place" in His Honour's letter of 23rd May addressed to us in reply to our second telegram. But on the 29th of June it becomes "the *wazukhana* attached to the Machhi Bazar Mosque" in the notice of the Land Acquisition Officer addressed to the Mutawallis of the Mosque requiring their attendance to hear the award of compensation. On the 30th June, that officer still calls it a "*wazukhana*." In the *Press communiqué*, however, issued on the 25th July, when the volume of protest had grown so enormous that it could no longer be ignored, the demolished portion is described as "a small building attached to what is known as the Machhi Bazar Mosque," as "a narrow projecting used as a washing place," and, to cap it all, as "a narrow raised platform with a drain running through it and privy at the end." In His Honour's speech in reply to the Deputation's address, it is referred to as a "washing place" and "a *wazukhana*" and there is some allusion to an "*atinyakhana*" also.

Now the question is, what, after all, was this place? It could not have been a corner of the Mosque as described by Babu Avadh

Bahari Lal on the 20th November, 1911, as well as "a building attached to the Mosque" as described by Mr. Sim, on the 4th April 1913. Then it could not have been a "bathing place" as stated by so many officials, a "bathroom" and a "bathing enclosure" as well as a "washing place"; for we know that a *ghusalkhana* is a very different place from the place where *wazu* is made and in fact the Mosque in question has two *ghusalkhanas* on the south-western side quite distinct from the *wazu* drain in the demolished eastern *dalan* and another on the northern side. It is true that there was on the north-eastern side an *istinjakhana*. But it is curious that it was never mentioned except in the Press communiqué when it was converted into a "privy" which suggests quite a different and indeed to Mussalmans an offensive idea in connection with a Mosque. In any case, how are the "bathroom," "the washing place," and "the privy" going to be reconciled to the clear declaration made on the 12th February, 1913, in the proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee that land was to be given in compensation for "the land covered by the *dalan* of the Mosque"? It is worthy of note that this admission was made on a date prior to which there was no controversy on the subject of a description of the portion to be acquired, and to us this single description which happens to be accurate appears to possess a unique significance. The fact is that in the portion demolished with such indecent, if not criminal, haste, there was to the extreme North-East an *istinjakhana* which is not even a "urinal", much less a "privy"; while to the extreme East was a drain on either side of which people could sit and perform the *wazu*,—the drain carrying away only the water used in the *wazu* and nothing else—while on its western side the roofed *dalan* was used, for offering prayers just like the open courtyard or the two roofed *dalan*s to the west. Islamic ecclesiastical law recognises no such distinction as "the Mosque Proper," but even if there was such a distinction at least that portion of the eastern *dalan* which had the well known *mihrab* design sketched on the floor, marking each *mussalla* separately and which occupied by far the larger portion of the area out of the space of 28ft 5in. by 9ft. 3in. this portion at least, we contend, would be included in what has been called "the Mosque proper." Sir James Meeson has failed to take note of these discrepancies and has fallen into the unfortunate error, characteristics of all exclusive castes and guilds, of accepting unreservedly the clear contradictions as well as the unsupported fabrications of the local officers belonging to his Service and while we readily absolve him of the charge of bad faith, we still maintain that he failed to use "due diligence."



Bombay.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

ہمت شور ستنی ہی پلو میل دل کا * جو چوہا تو ایک فطرہ غرق نکلا

I was always under the impression that newspaper correspondents must be leading a very pleasant and easy life—nothing much to do except to put in well cut clothes and saunter about all over the town, pencil and note-book in hand. They were responsible to nobody, and as long as they spun out a long rignarole of absolute irresponsible chatter only making it interesting, they could sleep with an easy conscience and, at the end of the month, put in a neat little sum into their pockets.

I must candidly confess I was wrong, hopelessly wrong. Your orders were that I was to find out all I could about this great "Loyal Muslim Association of Bombay" while sojourning in that beautiful city I had often prided myself that I knew Bombay well, having studied it under very special circumstances. I had known nearly all the big men—"loyal" and "disloyal"—and I had spent some very happy days there. But this quest was different. I thought it would be so easy to spot the great "Loyal Muslim Association in Bombay," the one tiny speck of light in all this darkness of Moslem bigotry, the one sane association in the whole of Moslem India, the "dear darling duck" of friend "Pioneer" and the Anglo-Indian Press, but, what a rude awakening! I go to my most influential friends, the doyen of Moslem commercial society, and ask him, where could I find the "Loyal Muslim Association of Bombay"?—"Shut up, don't waste my time with silly questioning" he answers, and I had to quietly busy myself with the pink and white ices provided by my friend "Never say Die" being my motto, I tried another friend whose business was to drive about in a big motor-car all day and play Bridge in the Orient club all night. He surely knew everybody. I asked him

to give me a lift in his motor-car which he gladly did. "Friend," "will you take me to the Loyal Muslim Association of Bombay?" What! he shouts—"never heard of such a thing, where is it or does it exist?" "Yes, it does exist," I insisted. The *Pioneer*, the *Times of India*, the *Morning Post* and the high Government officials think no end of it. "Well, we don't know" he replied: "ask your *Pioneer* and other friends of the Mussalmans—they ought to know." I tried several other good friends, but with no better success. The quest reminded me very forcibly of the well-known verse which the blind poet of Lucknow *Jural* wrote about his *mashuk's* (sweet-heart's) waist:

سنا می اوس پری رو کی کمری * کہان می کس طرف می اور کدھری

(It is rumoured that fury has a waist, Oh, where is it and where is it!! and where!!)

But I was not going to accept a defeat, and all the Sherlock Holmes in me came out strong. I hunted up my friend Mr. Habib-ul-Rahman Khan of the *Parsi Akhbar*, who knows everybody, and he took me to the right man, the irrepressible and volatile editor of the *Moslem Mail*, and here are the facts that I learnt from him and later on from others also. There is no such thing as the "Loyal Muslim Association of Bombay." It has no office, no rules, no members. It consists of 2½ members and only one of them calling himself "the Council" of the "Loyal Moslems" sits down and hoaxes the Anglo-Indian Press by sending them telegraphic messages, showing to the world at large that he and his association were the only loyal Moslems in India. And the Anglo-Indian papers are so anxious to swallow any thing; it does not matter where it came from, as long as it served their purpose.

There is a small sheet in Urdu published in Bombay by the name of *Moslem Herald*. Its proprietor Munshi Amir Ali and his young son are the "Loyal Muslim Association of Bombay." They have the occasional support of another gentleman rather noted in Bombay Presidency priding in the name of Mr. Chaman Chishti. This latter individual had made quite a disagreeable sensation in Bombay by being a public nuisance and was eventually hauled up before the Police Court. He used to follow in his carriage a respectable Parsi Lady, the daughter of a well-known Parsi journalist, whenever she went out for a drive, shouting her name in real "Majnoon" style, rather out of place in modern Bombay.

These are the "loyal Moslems," whom the *Pioneer* praises. Every Mussalman in Bombay felt keenly during the Turkish trouble, and they resented the prominence given by the Anglo-Indian Press to such trash and from such quarters. They did not take the trouble to expose this bogus Association, as they did not think it worth their while to take any notice of such people. "Kuchra" (rotten) is the word they use when speaking of this Association. I think the great Moulana Shibli has beautifully described this association—

ایک دن تھا کہ وفاداری مسلم کی متاع * مرجہ عام تھی اور نرینہ خیمین از آفتاب

بلکہ ہو گئی تنگناہ بلاق میں گم * نوم کو سخت مصیبت تھی پریشانی تھی

عامہ لکھی کا تو یاد کر پتہ نکلا * دھونڈنیو الوں کی گواہ بہت جہانی تھی

ہو مبارک تجھی ای بیٹی ای ناز کن * کہ تیرے تاج میں ہی طرہ سلطانی تھی

تیری بازار میں وہ بوسہ گم گتہ ملا * جسکا مشتاق تھا خود بوسہ کسانہ تھی

یہاں لکھتے تھے اور نوکرو آسے نہ نظر * گواہی دہرہ میں ہی شلی نہمانی تھی

I think we may safely leave this Association alone. It will not trouble us much, only every now and then, we will see in the Anglo-Indian papers, prominently published certain resolutions of the "Council" concerning anything and everything which the Mussalmans approved of. Verily "our friends" have fallen on real bad days to have to lean on such supports.

No more now of loyal and disloyal associations, politics, agitation, officials, C I D, newspapers (their Special Correspondents included) I wish they were all at the bottom of the sea never to rise again to plague the life of us poor mortals. I wanted to see and enjoy cricket and I must say I saw some real good cricket, and of this more in my next.



Phantom Figures.

VI.

REMINISCENCES OF THE RAILWAY POLICE.—I.

The Police Commission of 1890 differed from the later one of 1901 in that an attempt was made to recognise the important part played by European Inspectors and to endeavour to improve the pay and prospects of that class of officer. On the understanding that they would be promoted to the gazetted grade if they proved efficient at their work, five or six gentlemen joined as Inspectors, all of whom since attained the promised rise and are filling the post of Superintendents. Beginning on the lowest rung of the departmental ladder, they were in a position to acquire intimate knowledge of the Indian rank-and-file, especially where the armed Branch was concerned, for the drill, discipline, and equipment of which they were mainly responsible. Among the men so appointed was the writer, who found himself offered a billet on the Railway Police Totally ignorant of the constitution of the Department, I gladly accepted the appointment, instead of asking to be sent to the District Police, where the duties would have come easier and the work been more congenial. However, I expressed my gratitude to Colonel—then Inspector-General of Police,—and reached Allahabad one hot April evening, prepared to assume the (to me) unknown responsibilities of a member of the Force.

In these days there were no Superintendents of Railway Police, most of the duties performed by that class of officer devolving on the Inspectors. Our immediate "boss" was Captain,—in charge of all the Railway Police in the Province, and having the rank of Deputy Inspector-General. As in duty bound, I presented myself before that gentleman next morning, unwisely calling at what he must have thought an unreasonably early hour. The worthy veteran—he had not much longer to serve—was reclining on a hard-looking sofa, and from the gruffness of my reception I fancy he must—like Falstaff—have heard the "midnight chimera" before returning to his bungalow from the Club. Better acquaintances with X showed me that his curt manners were due rather to liver than any natural austerity, for he was liked by his subordinates whom he treated with the greatest consideration in his official capacity. My call of ceremony over, I hurried off to find the European Sub-Inspector holding charge until the advent of an Inspector. He was the son of an American missionary and a bright cheery fellow and promised to "show me the ropes" and help at the work until I gained some insight of my novel occupation. Poor Y, he died a few years later from heat apoplexy while travelling, and the Department lost the services of a clever and industrious officer.

The Inspectors' Office was then a small, very stuffy, building on the city side of the railway station and I was dismayed to find that the Mohurrir—on whom I had to depend for putting up all papers—was not endowed with the least knowledge of English. His acquaintance with that language was practically nil; even less than mine of the vernacular. At the end of the first week I was so bewildered by railway technical terms, and the high flown Urdu phrases on which the Mohurrir greatly prided himself that I nearly resigned the post. Better do that I thought than commit some serious mistake and be ordered to "git." Still everything comes to him who waits, and I gradually mastered the general tenor of the papers, drowsed out in unvarying monotone by my aged clerk. At that time the jurisdiction of the Allahabad Inspector was absurdly large stretching as it did from Buxar to Etawah—a distance of about 300 miles,—and including the line from Allahabad to Jubbulpore, another 300 miles.

To assist me were six sergeants, posted at the junctions, and I hope later on to give a brief sketch of the idiosyncrasies of these officers.

One great nuisance was having to do most of the correspondence in triplicate. For instance, a notice of some consignment arriving at its destination short of the weight on the lading bill reached one from three different quarters, namely, from the Head Office where X presided, from the District Traffic Superintendent, and from the stationmaster of the place where the deficiency was first reported. My duty was to issue orders in vernacular to the Police Officers concerned—there were Sub-Inspectors in charge of stretches of the line with head constables at certain of the more important stations—and on learning the result of their inquiries to serve up the gist of such reports *à l'Anglaise*, to the best of my limited ability, the papers going back to the three officials named above, with the vernacular documents attached. Rarely was any result attained in these cases, since the loss of a few seers of goods is a matter somewhat hard to trace, and I doubt whether the weighing scales were exactly the same at every station or weighments conducted on identical principles throughout the Division. A pertinacious consigner would continue to pester one over the smallest loss, and often wanted time—and stationery—instead of accepting the inevitable and ceasing

to try and recover the tiny portion lost of the goods despatched. The number of telegrams I got during the twenty-four hours was appalling, for other officials besides those already mentioned were apparently compelled by regulations to telegraph all over the place on quite trifling occasions. The Telegraph Department must have reaped a rich harvest from these "Service Messages" and the system struck one as in need of reform. News of a cow being run over at mile number so-and-so would be brought to my bungalow at any hour of the night and I was at first puzzled as to how to deal with such occurrences of the kind until the Mohurrir—taught by long experience—let me into the approved manner of treating a bovine disaster. Orders would go to the subordinate Police to ascertain the owner of the defunct animal and report accordingly. A hopeless business, since its owner was liable to be charged under the Railway Act for permitting his beast to trespass on railway limits. The East Indian line was protected by wire fencing throughout, but how trespassers could—or can nowadays—be prosecuted on some of the narrow gauge lines, where no barrier exists, is impossible to conjecture. However to return to my particular cows. The investigating officer, sooner than frankly own his inability to find the owner would deftly close the question by replying that "From careful inquiry made, the animal killed was found to be, not a cow, but a sacred bull"; therefore a masterless creature without an owner and free to wander whither it listed. A strict moralist will denounce this as sharp practice, still the framers of the regulations ought to have been aware of the futility of such an order.

Sometimes matters of a more serious nature were reported, a collision or derailment—as a rule these accidents took place in the station yard and were not often accompanied by loss of life—or of some unfortunate being run over and killed. Human ingenuity quickly grasped the idea of concealing crime with the help of a passing train. A man would be murdered at some distance from the line; his corpse "taken up tenderly, litted with care" and placed on the metals in order to deceive inquisitive policemen and lead them to suppose that the dead man had either been accidentally run over or had purposely committed suicide. It is extraordinary how long familiarity with the Iron Horse has rendered most Indians contemptuous of its power for dealing with obstacles it may encounter when running at speed. Only a few months ago an officer of the Railway Police told me an anecdote in illustration of this fact. Some exalted personage was travelling from Lucknow to Benares and—as is usual on these occasions—a force of constables and chankidars was detailed to patrol the line and see that no attempt was made to interfere with the safety of the "special" and its occupants. A couple of policemen, who were posted between two stations, grew weary of the long wait so lay down to have a snooze, placing their heads on the metals. The vibration caused by the approach of the train failed to break their slumbers and they did not awake again in this world. Mentioning the incident to a Indian Police officer, I found that his surprise was at the audacity of the men daring to go sleep on duty, not on the insane folly of choosing the railway line as a pillow. In my next letter I shall recount two of the first cases in which I had to take an active part and which have remained in memory ever since.

DEMOCRITUS.



The "Plot Against Lord Kitchener."

A CORRESPONDENT of the *New East* writes.—The public in Egypt were painfully and disagreeably surprised by the news, published by a London daily and transmitted by cable to Alexandria on Monday, that some of the Egyptian students at Oxford University were contemplating an attempt against the life of Lord Kitchener. The London cable announced that Sir Edward Grey had informed the Minister of the Interior of this plot, and that the police authorities in London were in communication with the Egyptian police, as it is believed that one of the students concerned—an intimate friend of Mohammed Dey Farid—had fled from England and come to Egypt. But inquiries at the Ministry of the Interior here and the Cairo Government, as well as the British Agency in Alexandria, elicited no confirmation of the report. I have it from a high Government official that the Egyptian authorities have received no intimation from London on the subject. He believes, however, that there must be some truth in the report concerning the plot, but thinks that the news has been exaggerated. *Al Mokattam* takes the same view, and adds: "Although this may be so, it is well known that some persons are travelling in Europe and urging Egyptian students there to commit crimes which these persons are afraid of committing in person. It is time that these demagogues ceased misleading young men, and embarking on projects that have proved fatal to youth. All lovers of Egypt should help in opening the eyes of young men to the dangers and evil consequences of such policy and in pointing out to them the necessity of severing all connections with men whose past speaks for itself."

CORRESPONDENCE



The Demolition of the Cawnpore Mosque.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The question that is uppermost in the minds of all Moslems at this moment is the demolition of the Machli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore, preceded by similar acts of outrages at Agra and Delhi, * on the part of the U. P. officials, in direct contravention of the British policy of non-interference in religious matters contained in the Royal Proclamation of 1858 (the Magna Charta of the Indian People). It is a glaring example of the abuse of authority and of the way in which the promoters of the City Improvement schemes are pushing forward their projects with dogged persistence and without caring the least for the religious susceptibilities of the Indians. It is admitted on all hands that schemes of city improvement, such as broadening of the roads and streets, beautifying of the city by laying out gardens and parks and by the installation of gas lights and improving the sanitation of a place and its water supply are meant for the general public, for their pleasure and for their convenience. But it is a matter of regret, that everywhere the City Improvement scheme has, instead of adding to their comfort and pleasure, wrought them great injury, instead of winning the hearts of the people exasperated them. The authorities from the lowest to the highest were so swayed by their new projects of City Improvement scheme that instead of giving a slight curve to the road, they wanted to make it geometrically straight and thought it prudent to have the eastern *dalan* of the Mosque demolished and thus ride roughshod over the feelings of 70 millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects. To outrage the feelings of millions of Moslems was of less moment to them than a slight departure from the ordinary rules of town-planning. Everything in connection with the Cawnpore Mosque from the very beginning to the end is illustrative of the worst features of the present system of U. P. Government,—its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom and its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people. The acquisition of the eastern *dalan* of the Mosque for its demolition was concocted in the dark. It was on March 8th, 1913, that the Muhammadans came to know about the matter when the question came up before the Board. The Board "resolved that a recommendation may be sent to the Government requesting that no portion of the Mosque on the A. B. Road be acquired in deference to the feelings of the Muhammadan community". But the U. P. Government declined to accept the recommendation of the Board. The Board again on 20th May, 1913, recommended that the Government be pleased to reconsider the decision.

As soon as it was known that the demolition of the Mosque was in contemplation, protest after protest poured in from everywhere, a representative deputation of the Muhammadans of Cawnpore waited on the Collector of the district, and memorials to the same effect were submitted to His Honour Sir James Meston. All proved unavailing. His Honour had made up his mind. He, in spite of the categorical denial of the Muhammadans, put faith in the statement of the Chairman of the Municipality that shoes were worn in the eastern *dalan* and that he himself went with his shoes on and some Muhammadans followed his example, and concluded that the eastern *dalan* was not an integral part of the Mosque and gave a final assent towards its demolition. With His Honour Messrs. Sim and Tyler knew more of the Muhammadan law than the Muhammadan lawyers and *ulemas*. The backbone of the official argument being then where a man can go with his shoes on is no part of the mosque. But it is an ordinary thing with the Muhammadans to place their shoes in the mosque just near the mihrab from where the Imam preaches his sermon

but in a manner that the soles of the shoes may not touch the floor or any part of the mosque. The placing of the shoes in the mosque is no proof against the sacredness or otherwise of any of its parts, and even granting the aforesaid statement of the Chairman of the Municipality to be true it does not follow that the mere walking with one's shoes on in the mosque would turn it into an ordinary building or *vice versa*.

Besides, the eastern *dalan* of the mosque comprising *istinjahana*, *ghusalkhana* and *wazuhana* was as much a *wakf* property as the mosque itself. Every piece of land within the compound of the mosque is a *wakf* property, and it cannot, according to the Muhammadan law, be diverted to any other purpose. A big mosque besides having an *istinjahana*, *wazuhana* and *ghusalkhana* has appertaining to it several rooms, a room set apart for the Imam, a room where the *maktab* is held and a room where travellers take their shelter. All these rooms belong to the mosque and are regarded as *wakf* property.

All these things were thoroughly pointed out by the able editor of the *Comrade* in his correspondence with His Honour which lasted for 6 weeks, but His Honour, acting on the maxim

هر چه بادا باد ماکتی در آب الداختم

(Be it as it may I have launched my boat in water), never swerved an inch from mistaken path. The mosque was demolished. It entirely estranged the feelings of the Muhammadans. This feeling of estrangement and deep resentment has been further increased by the unnecessary bloodshed of the Muhammadans at Cawnpore caused by the rash orders of the District Magistrate. Everywhere from the remotest part of Burma to the further corners of British Baluchistan and Kashmir deep resentment and indignation is prevailing among the Muhammadans. Every Moslem who is tied together by the bond of love for his Moslem brethren is naturally sorry at the tragic occurrence of the 8th August, 1913. The news of the Cawnpore tragedy has flashed like an electric shock throughout the whole of India from one end to the other. A universal apprehension has arisen among the Muhammadans that the authorities are growing indifferent to the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadan community. A cruel wrong they believe has been inflicted on them and the whole country has been stirred to its profoundest depths with sorrow and resentment, as has never been the case before. Men of light and leading from all parts of India, who generally keep themselves aloof from political agitation came forward with their protests and memorials only from an overpowering sense of the necessity of their doing what they ought to avert a dire calamity and to bring home to the U. P. Government the actual state of affairs. But it is a pity that it has not yet awakened to the gravity of the situation. It is hoped that the Government of India would not, like the U. P. Government, have the opinion of such men as form the vanguard of the Moslem community, brushed aside with contempt but would in justice and fairness try to remedy their grievances by the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque to its former condition, which will have the effect of allaying the seething discontent among the people. The world-wide British Empire over which the sun never sets is broad based on justice and let those who are to-day responsible for the direction of its affairs keep it before them.

MUHAMMAD ABDUL HAI,

[* Our Correspondent is not aware of the fact that in Delhi the Hon. Chief Commissioner has taken great pains in the matter and ordered the reconstruction of all such mosques as were demolished by mistake. The Delhi Mussalmans are very grateful to him for this.—E]



The Turk and The Arabia.

THE Turk and the Arab are fraternising in Constantinople now. Banquets and speeches are the order of the day. Much is asked for, and much is promised. But, so far, little has come out. The Decentralisation Party, which has its headquarters in Cairo, does not seem to be very confident in the good will of the "Union and Progress" Party, and treats its promises as illusions, although Arabs and Syrians in Constantinople seem to believe that the Ottoman Government is sincere in its desire to reconcile the Arabic element and grant its demands. The Central Government in Constantinople has issued an order for the admission into Turkish provinces of Arabic newspapers published in Egypt which had been previously forbidden there. The proprietors of those journals have not yet availed themselves of this decision.—The Near East.

Meeting at Cawnpore.

Cawnpore, Sept. 30.

AN IMPORTANT public meeting convened by leaders of the Hindu and Mohamadan communities was held this evening. There was a very large gathering, more than three thousand persons being present, of which the majority were Mohamedans. The Hon'ble Babu Biahambar Nath who presided explained the object of the meeting was to deal with the questions (a) of an Executive Council for the United Provinces; (b) the separation of executive and judicial functions; (c) the problems of Indians in South Africa, and (d) educational difficulties.

The first speaker was Mr Mazhar-ul-Haque who met with an enthusiastic reception and dwelt on his favourite subject, the relations of the two great communities of India, the Hindus and Mahomedans. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque has recently become very popular among the Mahomedans of upper India and his utterances are likely to carry great weight with Mahomedans at present. In the course of his speech, he said there can be no Indian nationalism—for the matter of that no Indian nation—unless and until all the communities approach Indian problems from the point of view of an Indian Nationalist, one who has the sole good of the country at heart, and one who does not exclude anyone from the category of Indians because of the accidents of caste and creed. This idea has been the guiding spirit of my political life. In my own humble way I have worked for its realisation. However, I am free to confess that all those weary years that I have been working I believed that I was ploughing the sands and that my ideas would ever remain in the realm of dreams, without being translated into actualities during the short space of life that is still left to me. But what is the spectacle that I see before me to-day, and that also in one of the cities of a province which, pardon my frankness, was acquiring an unenviable notoriety for Hindu-Muslim differences. I see all the leading men of the two great communities assembled on this platform, and the masses in their thousands, ready to speak and vote unanimously on some of the most burning topics of the day. This is the happy sign of the times and is the sure harbinger of better days coming. Political movements are catching and once given a fair start they grip a whole country in no time. The speaker went on to refer to the party of liberal Mahomedans in Behar who believed in the cause advocated by the Indian National Congress. The party had now conquered the entire body of the followers of Islam, and the Congress Muslim was fast becoming an extinct species. One of the causes for this change was the great and glorious traditions of Islam: truthfulness, independence and toleration being qualities writ large, and in golden letters, on the pages of Islamic history, and it was impossible for a people with such traditions not to be affected by the liberal movements of the age. The speaker went on to refer to the subjects which were to be discussed at the meeting, and asked whether any one could conscientiously say that the interests of any community would be jeopardised by the adoption of any one of those resolutions.

Referring to the question of the formation of an Executive Council for the United Provinces, the speaker said that had there been an Executive Council with an Indian member, no matter whether a Hindu or a Mahomedan, some of the recent regrettable events would never have been allowed to occur. The speaker concluded by appealing to all their countrymen to make up their differences and work together like brothers in the cause of their motherland. To his Moslem brethren throughout India the speaker appealed to join the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress at Karachi, and thereby to show to the world that Hindus and Mahomedans were one and united and that nothing would henceforth separate them in serving their dear country.

Resolutions were then passed asking for—

- The formation of an Executive Council for these Provinces
- The separation of Executive and Judicial functions
- The redress of the grievances of Indians in South Africa.
- The solution of the educational difficulty which prevents students from getting admission into the higher classes of schools in these provinces.

A large number of delegates for the forthcoming conferences at Fyzabad were also elected.

We must congratulate the People's Association of Cawnpore on the excellent public demonstration held there a few days ago, a report of which we publish to-day. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, a sincere patriot and a man of independent mind delivered an earnest speech on Hindu-Muslim unity, a subject with regard to which he has always shown the utmost keenness. Both Hindus and Mahomedans should lay to heart the wholesome precepts of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque. Neither should act as zealots. If there are differences between two parties who should be found acting together, and if they should be composed, common sense dictates that each side has to make some surrender of its position so that a common ground may be found for both. Neither side can be expected to make a surrender absolute. Now if it is agreed, and we can think of no case and

serious-minded man disagreeing that the future of India can only be glorious if all the sections of her children work jointly and amicably, and if there are a few questions on which there is a divergence of view as against many on which there is substantial agreement, no patriot can counsel a quarrel over those few to the detriment of many other and more important causes and of both the Hindus and Mahomedans. Is it beyond the wit of man to arrange a working compact by which both will be benefited, at the same time that neither will have to give up the separate endeavour with regard to the few questions on which they cannot agree? This is essentially a matter where the old, common place saying holds good, that where there is a will there is a way. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque has done a fresh public service by once more drawing pointed attention to his favourite subject which is also, as the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru told us the other day at the memorable Mayo Hall meeting, the reform of all reforms. We are glad that a number of Muhammadan gentlemen have been elected as delegates to the Fyzabad Conference. We trust they will take part therein as well as in the National Congress at Karachi. We are encouraged to notice the activity in different districts in connection with the Fyzabad conferences which promise to be successful functions.—Leader.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE DEFENCE FUND.

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Gasiruddin Ahmad, Esq., Balurghat	4	0	0
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The Mussalmans of Sultanpur, through Syed Zamiruddin, Esq., Pleader	67	0	0
Abdul Majid, Esq., Hyderabad (Deccan)	2	7	0
Khadeo Ali Sharif Hasan	50	0	0
Collection through M. K. Siddiq, Nagpur	44	0	0
Through M. Sayed Khalil, Swai Paha (Mysore State)	31	0	0
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I. L. Khwaja Hakim Jan, Kharakdaj	100	0	0
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Shams-ud-din, Esq., Moslem Royal Club, Khurja	10	0	0
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Total
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1,776 8 0
12,192 7 0
13,968 5 0

The Islamic World.

Truth Comes Uppermost.

THE following contributors to the *Near East* and the *Daily Mail* will be read with interest as throwing light on what the fair-minded non-Moslems think of the prejudice against the Turks and other allied matters.—

Christian Fanaticism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

Sir,—The condition of Europe is worse now than it was before the Gospel was proclaimed, when peace prevailed throughout the Roman Empire, and yet the nations of this Continent profess to be guided by the teachings contained in the Sermon on the Mount, although they are preparing for the dreadful work of mutual slaughter and destruction.

Since the days of Constantine it is estimated that ten millions of victims have been butchered in the name of the Prince of Peace, and the evil spirit which incited these wholesale massacres is as rampant now as ever it was amongst the Orthodox Churches. It is only the international Socialists—the Quakers, the followers of Tolstoy, and the Mennohites—who are free from it.

The unspeakable horrors perpetrated by Bulgars on defenceless Moslems, men, women, children have not been denounced by the Churches, who have secretly rejoiced over the triumph of the Cross and the humiliation of the Crescent.

The religion of orthodoxy consists in rites, forms, ceremonies, absolutions, incantations, sacraments, shibboleths, musical performances, and in the belief that the All-Merciful could be propitiated only by the sacrifice of an innocent victim on Calvary.

True religion and unlied consists in benevolence, forgiveness, mercy, compassion, and in the love of all mankind, irrespective of colour, race, or creed.

The Usmanis are more consistent followers of Jesus than Catholics or Protestants. They reverence Him as the Messiah, as a sinless prophet, and they worship the Father in spirit and in truth without the intervention of priests. In their case the prophecy is being fulfilled: "Ye shall be hated by all men for My name's sake."

Yours truly,

T. G. SANDERS.

845, Church Road, Leyton, August 24, 1913.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

Sir,—In your issue of even late your correspondent Mr. R. Fox Pitt, in referring to the well-known snub administered by Sir Edward Grey upon Mr. Noel Buxton, pondered thus:—"It would be interesting to try to catch in this amazing prejudice against the Turks." Nothing more simple. There is nothing amazing about it. In order to be successful in securing concessions for Balkan Committee work and relief expeditions, its supporters must flatter their appeals upon an Christian lines. They have to work on the prejudices of the dear old Christian homes of both sexes. Wise folk know on which side their bread is buttered, and these gentlemen are no fools. Consequently, it is their business to magnify anything that can be construed adversely against the Turks, and to suppress anything reflecting adversely against the pseudo-Balkan Christians.

Yours truly,

I. LOWENTHAL.

Warnford Court, E. C., August 22

Fair Play for Turkey.

Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall writes to the *Daily Mail*:—"May I protest against the tone and tenor of an article entitled 'The Madness of Turkey' in your issue of August 20? Who maddened Turkey? Suppose that a foreign army had seized Canterbury and the whole of Kent south of the Medway, and that a European congress had but just decided that the foreign Power concerned should keep that territory when an opportunity occurred for our regaining it, would Englishmen keep still because M. Poincaré had warned them that it would be dangerous to move; and would they not be most indignant if their movements were described as 'army marching into Germany'?"

"I have just returned from five months spent in Turkey among Turks, and I assure you the above comparison but mildly indicates the state of Turkish feeling about Adrianople. As for 'provocation of Russia,' Russia has been provoking Turkey for three centuries. The recent Balkan War was preconcerted under Russian auspices."

"If Turkey does go down with our connivance, seeing the present state of feeling in the Moslem world, a large part of the British Empire goes down too. Ask the India Office."

The Hope of Moslem Progress.

THE European residents in Turkey—particularly those who exercise some purely European business or profession—are apt to be unfairly critical of Turkish ways, unfairly sceptical of Moslem progress. Their attitude of irritation and impatience is easy to explain. Unconcerned with the views or aspirations of their Mohammedan neighbours, their aim is to secure the comforts and to lead as far as possible the life of Western Europe. Thus they find themselves in conflict with the Oriental spirit, and demand its abolition or subjection for their own convenience. They are naturally drawn towards those natives of the Turkish Empire who make parade of European manners. Surrounded by the wealthy Levantines, attentive to the gossip of the Embassies, born Europeans who espouse the life of Pera adopt in time the Pera point of view, forgetful of its radical injustice. For Pera is unblushingly, fanatically parasitical, its population preys upon the empire with intent to kill, and the same may be said with truth of the Christian quarter of almost every seaport town in the Levant. That the views of cultured European residents in Turkey should be usually formed in such unfriendly centres is a great misfortune for the Turks and for the Moslem world.

Five years ago, at the Revolution, there was a chance that all the Christian subjects of the empire might become good Ottomans. The one thing needed to secure that end was for the Christian Powers to act in strict accordance with their protestations of good-will towards the new régime in Turkey. The worst elements of the Christian population, then as ever, looked to Europe for their orders. What they saw convinced them that those orders were unchanged. The Russian and the Austrian Embassies, with others, continued to expend large sums of secret-service money annually for the purpose of increasing their influence in the Ottoman Empire. The new and inexperienced Government was harassed and attacked on all sides, with the result that the progressive Turks, with but a few enlightened Christians, were left alone to work for the new national ideal. It is little wonder if an unskilled Government, which had counted on the protection of Europe and the support of native Christians, finding its hopes betrayed, and threatened by the forces of reaction, acted rashly. The wonder is that educated European residents should view the conduct of the Powers in this and former dealings with the Porte as unimpeachable, even in the region of ideas, and associate it in some way with Christianity.

Sir Edwin Pears, in the February number of this Review, replying to an article 'For El Isâm' in the previous number, has accused me of 'pouring abuse upon the churches' and 'slandering missionary effort.' I had merely stated with what emphasis I could command (the statement being greatly needed at the time of writing) that European interference, whether missionary or political, with the internal affairs of Turkey has always tended to advance the Christian at the expense of the Mohammedan elements in the population, and that the record of the Moslem world for toleration is, to say the least of it, as good as that of Christendom. It is the simple truth. For this unheard-of crime my article was misrepresented and misquoted. I was blamed for the inaccuracy of minor details by a writer whose own facts, produced against me, were not invariably accurate, and had cited against me as unquestioned authorities a set of seventeenth century writers, whose witness, as against Mohammedans, would be accepted by no serious historian. Sir Edwin Pears is a distinguished writer upon the history of the late Byzantine Empire—the Turkey of its day. As such, it is but natural that he should be interested in the Christian rather than the Moslem population of the Ottoman Empire, and value curious old Christian books. But it is surprising that he should so strongly have resented the statement of another and more modern point of view, still more, that he should have judged it necessary, at a time when Turkey was receiving less than justice from the Press in England, to stand forth as defender of the Powers of Europe. Surely the Christian Powers required no champion.

The distrust of Moslems and the tendency to disbelieve in Moslem progress prevailing among Western Europeans are a convention, of which the pedigree might easily be traced back to the incubations of old pilgrim writers, who preferred a Christian fable to a Moslem fact. A majority of those who now deplore the state of Turkey, and despair of her regeneration save by Christian conquest, seem completely to forget that our industrial perfection has its drawbacks; that more hopeless, sordid misery exists in England than could be found in the Ottoman Empire, and that religious fanaticism, as expressed in massacres, is not unknown in Christendom even at the present day. The condition of France in the years which followed the Great Revolution was far more hopeless and distracted than the state of Turkey now.

The new régime has not had five years' trial, and in that time has not had six months' peace. Its founders needed some years of tranquillity, if only to mature a plan of government. Tranquillity was needed for the work of education which they rightly viewed as chief among the country's needs. Instead of that they were attacked unmercifully. The intention of the Powers to take advantage of their time of weakness became at once apparent. The need of haste was seen, and haste produced rash projects, ill-considered measures. Among the leaders there were men who, having spent their lives in exile, had more knowledge of the needs of France than of the needs of Turkey, and more sympathy with French agnostics than with pious Moslems. Sad mistakes were made. An attempt to centralise the Empire upon European lines and impose the Turkish language on its races, against all Ottoman and Islamic tradition, roused much bitterness. Needless offence was given to devout believers. Some officers of the army not only scorned to go to prayers with the men but mocked the latter for beliefs which they pronounced exploded. They wished to show themselves completely formed upon the very latest European pattern. Some thinkers even wished to promulgate an edict that all the empire should discard the fez and take to hats; supposing that it was that difference of head-dress which made the Europeans hate the Turks. It is pathetic, having in mind the sequel, to recall those errors, which proceeded from blind adoration of something non-existent: a heart or conscience in collective Europe. Then came the internecine strife of parties, plots, punishments and vengeance, with all the hatred of a blood-fest between individuals. There are well-intentioned men to day in Turkey who have inherited a trick of plotting from the old régime; who cannot yet conceive the mere ideal of a patriotism which shall include various opinions; nor perceive that any government, if permanent, is better for their country now than any change. Their presence makes a certain harshness necessary in the attitude of either party when in power; which harshness, in its turn, begets the lust of vengeance. The death of Nazim Pasha in last January's revolution possessed the minds of the reactionary party to the exclusion of the very notion of their country's good. Their one idea was vengeance—wholesale and complete. Nothing less than the extermination of the Committees of Union and Progress would content them. They did not scruple to take counsel of their country's foes. A revolution, involving the murder of about five hundred men of note, was projected to avenge the death of Nazim. It went no further than the murder of poor Mahmud Shevket Pasha—the best hope of Turkey at the moment. The firmness of the Government repressed it. But most of the conspirators still lurk in hiding. They are waiting for the popular excitement which is sure to follow on the loss of Adrianople in order to destroy the whole progressive party. The fact that this extremely bitter party feeling is the property of comparatively few persons, and has no relation to the needs or aspirations of the country at large, that the programmes of the parties hardly differ in essentials, makes the quarrel more deplorable. This anti-patriotic fond among the ruling classes, causing men of talent and of prowess to sulk in dudgeon when their country had most need of all her sons, is the most disheartening fact in recent Turkish history. It is, however, not without a precedent in other lands: accounted highly civilised. The last five years have been a time of struggle, of transition hindered and confounded from without, and what it will produce is not yet evident.

But those who say that nothing has been gained at all by the revolution are either Europeans whom the former tyranny did not affect or men who drew their profit from the old régime. The atmosphere of Turkish life has been transformed. People now meet their friends, transact their business, speak and write their thoughts, free from the terror of the spy, the dread of murder or imprisonment. The gain has been enormous, and it will increase as liberty becomes the natural habit of the people, and its difference from licence and coexistence with the Ottoman tradition become fully recognised.

"The Turk is incapable of learning from experience, therefore his rule is doomed" is the kind of verdict that one often hears. It is not altogether just.

The Turks have learnt a great deal in the past five years. Mistakes made at the first are now acknowledged by the men who made them, and are in the way of being remedied. The new Law of the Vilayets, if sensibly applied and given logical development, should satisfy the aspirations of the different races in the empire. Every thinking man now sees that to ape Europe, to study French and German rather than Turkish and Arabic, is a wrong road for Ottoman education, leading nowhere. It is to be hoped that, on this change of view, the cultured Turk will sometimes condescend to travel in his own country instead of flying to Paris, the Riviera, or Switzerland for amusement and instruction. The reluctance of the better sort of functionaries to leave Constantinople in the way of their employment, unless for European courts, their dislike to undertaking even tours of inspection in the provinces, have been among the causes of bad govern-

ment. Part of the fault is with the Turkish ladies, most of whom regard the provinces with horror and flatly refuse to go there. In proportion as the means of communication are improved, this reluctance will diminish and eventually disappear.

"If Europe gave us twenty-five years' peace we should be saved," I hear Turks say, and I myself believe it. Ten years, I think, would be sufficient, with a little help. On the other hand, it is declared that even ten years is too much to ask of Europe's patience, and that the Turks have not vitality enough to cope with their immediate difficulties. There are troubles in Syria and Mesopotamia; troubles in Kurdistan (which Europeans call Armenia). But are they of so serious a nature? The Arab races have been angered by the centralising projects of the Young Turks, by an attempt to force on them the Turkish language, still more, perhaps, by the gratuitous contempt of their opinions, which at one time found expression in the Turkish Press. They have no real desire to separate from Turkey. If, for a moment, they did entertain the notion of such separation, it was owing to neglect and careless insult. All they demand is a fair say in local matters, a fair share of consideration from the central government. This is promised, with the result that the Syrian difficulty, which three months ago seemed grave indeed, has almost disappeared. The disturbances at Bagdad and Bussrah, which have been represented as fanatical, are no more than a demand for education and reforms. The demonstrators in the latter city have made protestation of their loyalty. They only wished to make their voices heard, fearing to be forgotten at Constantinople. The Law of the Vilayets, they say, is good, if properly applied, but in the contrary event would simply have the effect of putting more power into the hands of a bad Vali. They ask for an assurance from the Government.

The case of Kurdistan is much more serious because of the near neighbourhood of Russia and the certainty of Russian intrigue. The ignorant Kurds, incensed by so-called 'Christian' attacks upon the empire, were inclined at one time to take vengeance upon their Christian neighbours—so it was stated in a petition which the Armenian Patriarch presented to the Grand Vizier. If that is true, it was a great injustice; for the Armenians fought magnificently for the empire in the recent war. As soon as that is generally known in Kurdistan the feelings of the Kurds must change. But men who know that country intimately seem to think that many of the deeds complained of by the Patriarch are mere acts of brigandage, which has grown rife owing to the slackening of the reins of government during the war. The agrarian dispute, according to their view, is much more serious. In the hope to settle this by conferring with all parties on the spot, a mixed commission has been sent to Kurdistan where, as elsewhere, a demand is growing for education and reforms of all kinds—a most hopeful symptom. Indeed, it seems as if the central government need only henceforth give attention and what expert aid it can secure, the provinces having found the way, and being prepared with slight encouragement to do the work of progress. With such enthusiasm for reform among the people, I cannot take a hopeless view of Turkey's prospects.

And something has been done in these five years of trouble. Improvements have been made in every branch of the administration. These, since they make for honesty and plain speaking, do not always please the European men of business, who have been used to more obsequious treatment. The Turks, they say, are suffering from 'swelled head,' and they go to regret the good old days of Sultan Hamid. Schools of a national character have been founded, school books, modern and efficient, have been compiled and published in the Turkish language. These last, of which I have examined a good number, are worthy of all praise. The duties of free citizens, patriotism, religious toleration, kindness to animals, the dignity of work, the need of cleanliness, perseverance, method, and good discipline are taught practically and sensibly on firm Islamic ground, in terms well calculated to appeal to the imagination of the scholars. The coming generation is the hope of Turkey. Reformers, who have been discouraged by the downpour of misfortunes, smile and their faces brighten when one speaks of it. The present generation suffers from the enervation of long years of tyranny, and many of the Turks themselves have lost all hope of it. In this there may be something of the languor incidental to the climate, which puts off lightly till to-morrow what it does not feel disposed to do to-day. But while some Turks are sentimentalising on the beauty of the project, other Turks are really working for its execution. Even in the present generation there are men of parts and energy, whose one desire is to restore the prosperity of their country and reform its institutions, that the rising generation may be able to advance in earnest. Moslem *khojas* tell their pupils of the tolerance of their religion, of its patronage of science in old days, naming it as the friend of progress and all honest liberty. It truly is, if rightly understood. English people, who have long been used to hear that each man's duty is to work for others; that perseverance is a virtue, discipline a blessing in disguise, and so on cannot imagine the effect of such instruction on the Turkish children. It is here a new and

striking mode of teaching, which, linked to the great nation breeds high enthusiasm.

I heard two young men talking in the train. One was a Kurd from Diar-Bekr, the other an Arab from Damascus. Both lamented the mistake the Turks had made in thinking more of Europe than of Asia. Then 'Is there hope of progress in your distant country?' asked the Arab. 'Praise be to Allah! There is much,' was the reply. 'Praise be to Allah! May it come to fruit!'

It is a return to the great days of El Islam. In the true Islamic spirit a good friend of mine is paying for the education of thirteen poor boys, keeping in touch with all of them and personally superintending their studies as if they were his own children. Of the youths who are leaving the Government schools this year I know some not undistinguished students who are going in for farming, engineering, or some other private business. This is good; for a course of Turkey in the past has been the tendency of all her youth of promise to seek posts in the bureaucracy. It seems to show that the new tone of education has turned ambition into healthier, more useful channels. Europeans say that this, like other Turkish movements in the past, will bring forth nothing but fine words and good intentions. Who can tell? It is far more than a merely Turkish movement; it is a movement of the whole Islamic world. To impede it more than has been done already would argue strange short-sightedness upon the part of Europe, and of England in particular, for it owes its inspiration largely to the work of Englishmen. To treat it as a danger is to make it one, to beat a plough-share into an offensive weapon. To stop it altogether is beyond all human power.

All good Moslems and the great majority of Orientals, rightly or wrongly, dread the growth of Russian influence as a deadly foe to Eastern progress, and England's evident support of Russia's Oriental policy has sent a painful shudder through the East. There is a widespread rumour among Orientals that we now contemplate with equanimity the loss of India in the not far distant future, and the natives of that country—nor they only, but all the East which thought of England as the friend of progress—feel themselves betrayed. It is only just that we should bear in mind, in view of trouble in our Eastern Empire, that the agitation is not anti-British. It is anti-Russian, born of terror, the result of our inaction in the past.

The Balkan war, as everyone now knows, was preconcerted under Russian auspices. It is Russia who is now demanding that Turkey shall be forced to give up Adrianople, being well assured that popular fury on that occasion would complete the ruin of the Turkish Empire. The Turks, who still preserve the sentiment of national honour, prefer to go down gloriously, fighting the whole world if need be. And the whole East feels with them in this crisis of their fate.

It looks as if the Powers of Europe had agreed together to try all means in their power to stop the East's progressive movement, of which I personally have conceived high hopes, in spite of much which chilled me at a first approach.

Only I could wish for some tribunal here to sit in judgment upon European institutions and ideals before adopting them. Our industrial civilisation is imperfect, and, in the opinion of some thinkers, far from durable. It is, moreover, ill-adapted to the life of Asia. The wholesale introduction of machinery, ruining the old handicrafts, and reducing the number of the hands employed in agriculture, should be deprecated. And some attention might be paid to the old system, in its nature democratic and local, yet observant of central authority, by which the heads of guilds and trades, the chiefs of villages, were the responsible representatives of the people. A council of the trades in every city, a council of the villages in every vilayet, could easily be formed and, with experience, could easily be made to serve the country's needs. The study of their own country, which till now they have neglected, its institutions and resources, ways of thought and natural tendencies, with a view to their development on natural lines, is chiefly to be recommended to the Turks; and that in the interests not of Turkey only but also of the world at large, to which it is at present in their power to set a great example.

"If Europe would but grant us twenty-five years' peace!"

Constantinople MARGARET PICKETAIL in the *Nineteenth Century*.

Asiatic Turkey.

RESOURCES AND TRADE POSSIBILITIES

IN VIEW of the prospect that the Turkish Empire will shortly mean the Asiatic possessions of Turkey, with some slice of European territory, a correspondent of the *Times* devotes an interesting article to explaining what those possessions really are and what are their commercial and industrial possibilities?

Few people (he writes) seem to realize the extent of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey. Asia Minor alone—Anatolia—has considerably more than double the area of Great Britain. The

total area of those dominions, not including the independent semi-independent portions of Arabia, amounts to within a fraction of 700,000 square miles being equal to the combined areas of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The population of this vast territory is certainly 20,000,000; Asia Minor represents about 11,000,000, Syria about 4,000,000; Armenia and Kurdistan, 2,500,000, Mesopotamia, 2,000,000; and the Arabian provinces another 1,000,000. The population is small for so great an area, and even after making ample allowance for extensive tracts of desert and inhospitable highlands, there remains an immense margin for its growth. While the Turkish race dominates the whole of these regions, and in Asia Minor forms a dense mass of some millions, the greater portion of the population belongs to races who take more kindly than do the Turks to agricultural pursuits or to certain manufacturing industries and at the same time a keen and vigorous trading community mainly concentrated towards the Aegean coast, penetrates to every part. Hardly and industrious upon the whole, these peoples need nothing but reasonable conditions of government in order greatly to enlarge the existing and to create new and prosperous communities.

THE BAGHDAD AND OTHER RAILWAYS.

Nearly 3,000 miles of railways are now open, certain portions under French and British control, the rest under the direction of the German Gesellschaft der Anatolischen Eisenbahnen. The sole right to build railways in Armenia and the north east of Asia Minor is claimed by Russia, who has yet done nothing in that way. On the other hand, Germany, who holds a railway monopoly covering the great central plateau of Asia Minor, has done much. In the Baghdad Railway, which she has so carefully nursed through more than one trying period Germany holds not only a great political asset, but the means of developing immense and hitherto regions which only call for appropriate engineering to surpass in fertility and human activity the greatest days of their famous past. This railway, starting from Haidar Pasha on the Sea of Marmora now stretches in a rough diagonal right across the peninsula to beyond Bulgarli, east of Eregli, and over the whole of that extent is in regular operation. It has now to be pushed through the Taurus Mountains a difficult task, but one quite within the powers of the modern engineer. Operations on a certain scale are being conducted on the other side of the mountains; and now that a definite understanding has been reached between the United Kingdom and Germany as to the terminus of the railway, there appears no reason why the estimates of the engineers should not be realized, and the railway be in operation in 1918. At one time it was feared in certain quarters now hoped in others that this remarkable railway would constitute a new route to India. It will, of course, but it is now recognised that the value of the line will be much more in the aid it may lend to the commercial and industrial development of the regions through which it will pass, than in the alternative route it may provide between Europe and the Far East. This line, naturally aims to connect, through Constantinople, with the European railway system, the French and English lines, serving the west and south of Asia Minor on the other hand, aim to connect through Smyrna and the sea routes with the Mediterranean and British ports. Apart from the lines now working, extensions and projects are in hand which represent between 2,000 and 3,000 miles. Electric tramways are in operation in Smyrna, Damascus, and Beirut.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

For some time, and doubtless, commercial interest in Asiatic Turkey will continue to be concentrated mainly upon Anatolia and indeed that region will justify a much further exploitation than it has yet received. It is one of the most remarkable portions of the earth's surface. Possessing every variety of climate, from Arctic severity to extreme tropical heat, and every form of physical conformation, it is rich in both agricultural and in mineral resources. Its lands are nearly everywhere fertile, and in certain regions remarkably so. Even the great treeless plain which constitutes so striking a feature of the country is well provided with wells, and where cultivated proves highly productive. The range of the agricultural products of this country is well illustrated by its fruits which comprise, at the one side, apples, pears, plums, and cherries, and at the other, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, olives, dates, and pomegranates. Statistics relating to this territory are very largely estimates, but it is probably safe to say that the area under cereals is about 11,000,000 acres, producing 150,000,000 bushels of wheat, 110,000,000 bushels of barley, and probably 50,000,000 bushels of oats, rye, and maize. The United Kingdom during the three years 1909-11 took nearly £2,500,000 worth of barley from this country. The wheat of Syria a province in the north of the peninsula, is famous and is exported to the United States. Vines grow nearly everywhere except in the highlands, the area under cultivation being about 1,500,000 acres. The area under cotton and flax may be put at 800,000 acres, the province of Adana on the Mediterranean produces about 80,000 bales

A cotton year. Tobacco is at present cultivated under a monopoly but the monopoly expires in another year, and in any case this industry is almost certain to be greatly extended. Mohair, the beautiful wool of the Angora goat, is one of the peculiar products of Asia Minor, but sheep and lamb's wool are also produced on a large scale.

Silk is being cultivated with some system and vigour, and admits of immense development. The value of the silk obtained from the Turkish Empire during 1911 by France alone amounted £1,600,000, a large proportion being obtained from the Asiatic provinces. To these great staples must be added, in addition to the fruits already mentioned, coffee, rice, opium, valonia, galls and other tanning and dyeing substances, cane sugar, the gums, benzoin, tragacanth, and others; mastic, liquorice, locust beans, saffron, salop, sesame seeds, sunflower and cotton seed, olive oil, hazel nuts (Germany has taken as much as £175,000 worth of nuts and kernels in a year) alone, anise and coriander seed, hides and skins, and eggs. The United Kingdom took nearly £3,500,000 worth of fruits in the three years 1910-11, and Germany nearly half that value. The value of the eggs imported by France from these regions in the year 1911 was close upon £500,000.

MINERAL PRODUCTS.

While agricultural products will doubtless provide, for some time, probably always, the principal materials of the commerce of Asia Minor, the country is singularly rich in minerals. There appears, indeed, to be hardly any mineral of economic value, with the exception of that rare metal, tin, which is not known anywhere in this country. Coal and lignite are worked in the north west of the peninsula, the output being about 500,000 tons a year; there is every likelihood that copper mining will develop on a large scale, silver-lead ores are being obtained to the amount of about 20,000 tons per annum; chrome ore is being worked at Kutais, the output being about 15,000 tons; zinc ores are found at Karasu, Aidin, and elsewhere, the present production being about 5,000 tons annually; antimony is produced on some small scale in Brussa; meerschaum is an important product of Eski-Shehr, emery of Smyrna, Aidin, and Adana and crude borax of Panderma. To these minerals, which are all worked on a commercial scale, must be added—as minerals which have been obtained on some scale during recent years or are known to exist in payable quantities—mercury, wolfram, manganese, nickel, sulphur, iron including magnetite, kaolin, fuller's earth, arsenic, asbestos, alum, magnesite, and rock salt, whilst asphalt is found in Syria and in the valley of the Euphrates. The valley of the Meander (Mender) contains an extraordinary number of thermal springs, and, like many other regions, would probably furnish rich rewards to systematic exploitation. It is a little surprising that amongst this wealth of mineral products mineral oil does not appear. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the near future will see it included. Various forms of bitumen are already known and used, and, indeed, the most ancient accounts we possess of bitumen and asphalt relate to regions now included in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey.

Manufactures are not yet on any considerable scale with the exception of hand woven carpets, in which a considerable business is done. Finally, in addition to her other resources Asiatic Turkey possesses a commercial asset the value of which could be greatly increased, in her sponge and pearl fisheries.

New Turkish Battleship.

The new Turkish battleship *Reshadieh* is to be launched to-morrow (Sept. 2) at Barrow by Messrs. Vickers, Limited. The ship is of the largest class, both in regard to displacement and gun power, and this fact, coupled with the knowledge that no new battleship has been built for the Turkish Navy since 1885, when the old *Hamidieh* was launched, lends additional interest to to-morrow's ceremony.

Provisional contracts for the construction of the *Reshadieh* and a second ship of similar type were placed with a British syndicate, consisting of the firms of Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth, and Co., Messrs. Vickers, and Messrs. John Brown and Co., in May, 1911, and confirmed about three months later. The keel of the *Reshadieh* was laid at Barrow on December 6, 1911, and that of the second vessel at Elswick early in 1912. In November last, a few weeks after the outbreak of the Balkan war, work on the ships was stopped pending developments. The *Reshadieh* had been built well up to the protective deck, but her sister ship was much less advanced, and it is understood that no further progress has been made with her. The *Reshadieh*, however, has come along rapidly since the resumption of work, and is expected to be ready for sea some time next year. The doubt as to whether the Turkish Government would be able or willing to take over the ship when completed inspired rumours of a probable

transfer to the British Fleet, and, while nothing definite is known, it is still within the bounds of probability that such a transfer may take place. The attitude of the Admiralty was explained in November last by Mr. Churchill, who, when questioned on the matter in the House of Commons, said that "the ultimate destination of the powerful vessels referred to in the question is, however, a matter of interest to the Admiralty, and will receive attention from time to time."

Design of the Vessel.

The *Reshadieh* is a contemporary of the British battleships of the King George V type, and resembles them in displacement, engine power, speed, and heavy armament, but has a more powerful secondary battery. Her displacement is 28,000 tons, the length being 525 ft., the beam 91 ft., and the draught of water 28 ft. The ship has Parsons turbines of 31,000-h.p., supplied with steam from Babcock and Wilcox boilers, the corresponding speed being 21 knots. The turbines are arranged on four shafts, and both coal and oil are used for fuel. For protection, the ship has a main belt of 12 in. thickness from below the water-line nearly to the main deck, tapering to 6 in. at the ends. From the top of this 12 in. belt to the main deck there is another of 9 in. thickness, and from this to the upper decks a third of 8 in. thickness extending from the second to the fourth barbettes. There is a complete protective deck worked at water-line level throughout the vessel, and a series of underwater bulkheads encloses the vital parts.

The armament of the *Reshadieh* is notable as embodying an advance over that of contemporary British battleships. The main battery of ten 13.5 in. guns, mounted in twin turrets on the centre line, is similar to that of the King George class, and so is the method of raising the second and fourth turrets to fire over the first and fifth, enabling four guns to be trained either ahead or astern. The two forward turrets are placed on the forecastle and boat deck levels and the two after turrets on the levels of the upper and flying decks respectively. The secondary battery includes sixteen 6 in. guns in armoured casemates, so disposed that eight can fire on either broadside and six ahead or astern. The King George and her sisters mount sixteen 12 in. guns in this battery, and it is not until the Iron Duke class of the following year that the 10 in. gun is introduced of which, moreover, only twelve are mounted. In this respect the Turkish authorities are only keeping in line with the current practice in America, France, Russia, Italy, and other countries, which have ships building to carry 20 or more guns of 10 in. or 12 in. calibre in their secondary armaments. The armament of the *Reshadieh* was recommended by an ordnance commission which was presided over by Commander Hakkı Bey.

It is particularly interesting to compare the *Reshadieh* with the Greek battle-cruiser *Salamis*, now building in Germany, not only because both vessels are intended for service in the Near East, but because the Greek vessel, designed about a year afterwards, represents a later trend in design. In her armament and speed are the predominant characteristics, other elements of efficiency being sacrificed to them. The displacement is only about 19,000 tons, but there are eight 14 in. and twelve 6 in. guns, and the designed speed is 28 knots. The *Salamis*, which is the smaller vessel by 4,000 tons, is, therefore, two knots faster than the *Reshadieh*, but weaker in offensive power by two heavy guns. Given the same displacement in both vessels, the principles adopted in the *Salamis* appear to be those most in favour with naval constructors at the present time, although in the case of the Greek vessel the limited tonnage and consequent inferiority of armament nullify the advantage derived from the superior speed and the opportunity it gives for choice of range.

The Crime of Bulgaria.

One of the most ghastly tragedies of the Balkan war is being made known by the revelation of the dreadful atrocities which, it is now beyond doubt, were committed by the Bulgarian troops after the capture of Adrianople.

It is declared that more than 200,000 non-combatants, including thousands of women and children, were outraged, mutilated, and massacred in the province of Thrace. It is not denied that horrible excesses were committed by the armies of all the belligerents, but there appears to be no parallel for the crimes of the Bulgarian soldiery. The *Express* is able to state that official reports received by the Great Powers place beyond doubt any question of the truth of this historic butchery.

Some idea of it may be formed from the lurid story which is told by the deputation of Turks, Greeks, and Jews of Adrianople which has arrived in London, after visiting other capitals, to plead

that Adrianople and Thrace shall not be handed back to the Bulgarians. They laid their case in the absence of Sir E. Grey, the Foreign Minister, before Sir Louis Mallet, the Under Secretary, who will shortly proceed to Constantinople as Ambassador.

Rechid Safvet Bey, who is head of the delegation, told his story briefly to a representative of the *Express*. "You have already been enabled to gather from the sources," he said, "that the horrors committed in Thrace surpass anything that the human imagination is able to conceive.

"The population has been outraged to such an extent that in the event of a reversion of Thrace to the Bulgars, the inhabitants have determined to abandon the country in a body rather than exist under Bulgar rule.

"It is not only the Turks who have come to this solemn decision, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Catholic Bulgars even are in agreement as to this.

"To find anything like a parallel for the atrocities committed by the Bulgars in Thrace," declared Rechid Bey, "we would have to go back to the days of Attila and even he spared many towns and thousands of persons at the entreaty of the women. Not so the Bulgars.

"They set a precedent in history by massacring even young children after having subjected them to the most infamous outrages.

"The Bulgars themselves admit that they killed more than 500 disarmed prisoners of war at Eski Zagra.

"At Adrianople they bound together, with ropes forty nine Greek notables and flung them into the river.

"The provisional Bulgar commandant at Tcherven declared in an official report that in that locality alone he had destroyed 200 Turkish houses and burned the whole of the adjacent villages. At Dogan Aslan, Couron Tchiflik, Cavak Boulondja and a score of other places they murdered nine tenths of the inhabitants. The wells are choked up with corpses and heads, and the hair of women adheres to the scorched and blackened walls.

"At Adrianople Riza Bey, the artist, was locked to pieces with sabres.

"On two occasions, Turkish as well as Greek and Jewish widows were made by the soldiers to dance around the fires in which the bodies of their murdered husbands were being burned.

"Not content with mutilating the living, the Bulgars actually went to the extent of forcing open the coffins of long buried dead. Thus at Kochen they disinterred and defiled the remains of Sheikh Sulaiman.

"The Greek inhabitants of Vize declare unanimously that the Bulgars burned to the ground the Greek Episcopal residence there.

SHOT IN GROUPS.

"To the south of Duzbe, near the Maritza, were discovered the dead bodies of twenty inhabitants bound together and shot *en masse*. Close to the spot lay three dead women, their arms, noses, and breasts cut off. Their bodies bore more than twenty knife wounds.

"At each step you find blood-spattered paths and the long hair of females notwithstanding that the heavy rains have washed away many of these traces of barbarism. Scores of bodies were found with their eyes gouged out.

"I will not now weary you by dwelling on what must have been the sufferings of the hundreds of persons who perished under the ruins of their bomb-exploded houses or of the thousands who died of starvation.

"From Constantinople to Adrianople nothing remains of the whole country but one smoking mass of ruins. A vast charnel house.

"More than 200,000 non-combatants, women and children have been outraged, mutilated, and massacred in the provinces of Thrace. Thousands of others died of misery in their flight to Constantinople.

"We are now going to gather together and bury our dead," declared Rechid Bey in conclusion, "and there is no power on earth that can make us abandon our cemetery, the fields of death where lie our parents, our brothers, our wives, and our children.

"Not the Turks alone, the Christians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews prefer Ottoman rule to Bulgar. They have solemnly declared that they will on no conditions consent to live with men who have massacred their families, destroyed their homes."

The Case for Turkey.

WAR AND THE AFTERMATH OF WAR.

Once, not so very long ago, British and Turkish troops fought side by side, and the soldiers of both armies learned to love each other, writes Edwin Sands in the *Express*. But since then England has afforded the Balkan States much help, and looked on with evident pleasure while they fought and conquered. Rightly or wrongly, England refused to believe the reports from English eye-witnesses which told of the most terrible and barbarous atrocities perpetrated on Turkish women and children, and on the Christian population in one another's arms by each and all of the Allies.

Our own Government had to admit in Parliament that the tales of such atrocities were reasonably supported by official reports. Then swiftly the veil was torn assunder before our eyes. Truth was out. It had been said that when the Turks would withdraw peace would reign. It was war instead. Those who know the Turks rejoiced sentimental but misinformed friends of the Allies felt a pang of mental agony, for they had obviously been labouring unwittingly in the cause of brutality, of lewd bestiality. Still, they clung to the belief that, however bad the Allies might be, the "terrible" Turk was worse. But day by day the tales grew in volume. More massacres took place in one week than in ten years while the Turk was there. Finally, it dawned upon us that we may have been guilty of a great injustice, due to false information.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT.

Then two political axioms gradually permeated the consciousness of democracy. If Serbia becomes greater, Russia increases in strength, what then of the poor, pitiable subject-race of Russia? Are they not worse off than Bulgars and Greeks were ever under the Turkish yoke? The greater Russia becomes the less chance there is for her oppressed peoples. The second axiom was more disturbing still. If Turkey is left crippled in Asia Minor, what is to become of the attempts, however feeble, of England to introduce a little order and a little civilisation in other parts of Asia? If Russia succeeds in extorting an indemnity from Turkey for her fellow-Slavs, it, at the other end of the Turkish Empire, her provocative agents carry out their work of arson-inciting, of murder prompting among the nomadic Kurds who live in the two or three districts of Asia Minor which are inhabited also by sedentary Armenians, how is England's mission to be enforced?

Economically and financially crippled by strangers, ill-defended abroad by ill-informed supporters ill-used by the supporters of her enemies, lacking in information or in veracity, Turkey once more turns her eyes to England. When the late British Ambassador to the Porte arrived to take up his duties, he was received enthusiastically by a trusting nation. Through his or his chiefs' lack of perspicacity, that influence for good was relinquished. Now we have our chance once more. In minute work, in political support, in economic help, England's good will is now being anxiously sought and generously promised. Germany far from evincing jealousy is glad to see that the one country on whose honour Europe can rely has accepted the task of helping Turkey to reorganise on modern lines her State and economic machinery. France, albeit tied to Russia's policy, cannot disapprove of any move of ours that serves the ends of peace and civilisation.

WHAT TURKEY HAS DONE.

The best help we can afford Turkey at the present turning point of her life is to learn and study the various problems that confront her. There has been prejudice based on ignorance, spread by well intentioned believers of the tall tales that always spring from the Balkan soil. Time after time, for instance, to the personal knowledge of English Consuls and travellers, Greek villages were burnt down by Bulgarian bands. Albanian villages by Serbian outlaws. This happened in Macedonia under Turkish rule. Therefore, the terrible, fanatic Turk was guilty of those outrages. But Greeks and Bulgars, Serbians and Albanians fought savagely before the Turk came in. Their fight as unflinchingly now that the Turk has been "thrown back into Asia." Proof is now evident that the Turks did not foster troubles, but merely repressed as best they could, and according to the low standard of civilisation of the Balkanic populations, the troubles which seem to be the daily life of Bulgars and Serbs.

But all the dead are dead, and we can but pay for them and pay the survivors expelled from their homes. The less we hear about massacres the better. It is now pretty obvious that we all regret having been misled into sympathising with savages. Let the past be buried and let us face the future.

WHAT TURKEY MUST DO.

What does England expect from Turkey? From the political point of view, we hope that Turkey will retain her Asiatic provinces; from the humanitarian, that she will improve her relations with her subject races, and especially the relations between the latter, from the economic, that she will build railways and a system of roads, develop her soil, and organise her industry. From every point of view it is in our interest that Russia be afforded no opportunity to interfere in Armenia, that a quieter life be possible in neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, and that Turkey be set up on a sound financial basis, not crippled, driven to bankruptcy by the extortion of the war indemnity which Russia and the Balkan nations insist that she should pay.

Powerful and influential committees are now at work in Turkey, regenerated, let us hope, by fire and blood. They will work outside the field of politics, in the domain of practical reforms. Everything has to be done. Education, a new land system, the economic opening of Asia Minor all things they will attempt by private enterprise.

Bihar Educational Conference.

The Bihar Educational Conference met at Bankipur on September 21st in the pandal of the Parsi Ripon Theatre, which was fully crowded. Delegates from almost all the districts of Bihar, including some from Calcutta and Chota Nagpur, were present. Rai Bahadur Gangadhar Prasad, President of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. In course of his speech he urged that regard being had to local conditions and requirements day scholars must be admitted into the colleges of the proposed Bihar University, if they were to be admitted, the University must be located within Municipal limits. He urged the establishment of Engineering and Medical Colleges and the placing of the matriculation and school final examination under the control of the University.

Babu Ganesh Dutt Sinha proposed Mr. S. Khuda Buksh to the chair and the motion being duly seconded, the President was given a rousing ovation when he got up to deliver his speech.

Mr. S. Khuda Buksh, President, in the course of his address, said that the creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa meant that the people of the Province must stand on their own legs, unassisted by their "senior partners," the people of Bengal, to whom they should acknowledge indebtedness, as Bengal had done signal services to India by showing the example of what unity, combination and organisation could realise and achieve.

Turning to the question of education, the President said that the time had come when the people should revise, reform, and remodel their educational system. The great outstanding feature of the present system was the unnecessary character of education. "Learning for its own sake" was disappointing. In the task of education the people had never taken the least trouble to ask themselves what they were arriving at. They acquired a smattering of half a dozen subjects and the mastery of none. What they really wanted was that the education given should be directed to the highest ends, and not the education which aimed at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength or mere cleverness, apart from intelligence and justice. Men saturated with love and genuine enthusiasm for knowledge to work and co-operate with the people in the cause of learning were required.

With reference to the nature and constitution of the University of Bihar, the President suggested that no great or momentous step, in matters educational, should be taken without a full and assured belief that it had behind it the deliberate and considered sanction of the community, and said that educated Bihar regarded with disfavour the introduction of a compulsory residential system at the proposed University. Hindus and Muhammadans, under a residential system, must live away and apart, and it was hardly desirable that at their Alma mater they should feel that the gulf between was too wide to be bridged over and differences too deep to be adjusted and harmonised.

As to the site of the University, the President suggested that the University should be located in Bankipore. Bankipore had a good library and they would get the full advantage of it. The President thanked the Government for the new University, and said that in order that education might make more and more progress and be within the reach of the means of His Majesty's subjects, it must be cheap and it must be widely diffused.

The President asked all to help forward the realisation of freedom, education, and perfection of mind.

THE RESOLUTIONS

Mr. Hakim proposed, and Babu Arikshan Sinha seconded, the resolution urging that day scholars should be admitted without any restriction into the University College.

Babu Ajodhya Prasad proposed, and Chowdhury Abhinas and Babu Parmeshwar Dyal supported, the resolution urging the maintenance and improvement of the existing colleges.

Babu Banwarlal proposed, and Messrs. C. B. Sahay and Tejeshwar Prasad supported, the resolution urging the re-creation of the Monghyr College.

Babu Parmeshwar Prasad Varma proposed, and Babu Rajeshwar Prasad seconded and Bhagabat Sinha supported, the resolution urging the establishment of schools and colleges at important centres to meet the growing requirement of the province.

Maulvi Huseinjan proposed and Babu Shrikishna Prasad seconded, the resolution urging that powers of affiliating schools should rest in the hands of the University.

The Hon. Brij Kishore Prasad proposed that the introduction of the school final examination managed by officers of the Education Department either as an alternative or substitute for the matriculation examination is calculated to retard the progress of higher education. Messrs. S. K. Sahay and Amir Hussain supported the resolution which was also passed, urging that the aggregate cost of a resident student, including boarding, messing, and tuition charges, may not exceed Rs. 12 a month; (2) that the Bihar University should have colleges for Oriental studies, for the training of teachers and medical, Law and Engineering colleges. Babu Mathurannath Sinha moved that the Senate of the Bihar University should be so constituted as to afford adequate representation to the various colleges and educated

public, so as to secure a non-official majority: that the examinations should be held by compartments; deploring the Government's refusal to affiliate the Bhagalpour College to B. A. Honours standard in English and protesting against unnecessary interference with the University by the Government.

An animated discussion took place on the question of the site of the University.—*Statesman*.



Ead-ul-Fitr Celebrations in Edinburgh.

THE Muslims of Edinburgh celebrated the Ead-ul-Fitr on Wednesday, the 3rd September, in the Carlton Hotel under the auspices of the Edinburgh Islamic Society. Some thirty Muslims, representing India, Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia, etc., were present and took part in the prayers. After the prayers and *khatba* there were some recitations.

At 1 p.m. the company sat down to luncheon, together with the many guests—Hindus and Christians. Mr. Mirza Hasan Ali Khan, the Hon. President, presided over the luncheon and in extending a hearty welcome to the guests, he said the occasion had an extra touch of importance since it had occurred during a time when there existed such a chaos in the Muslim sphere and the citadel of Islam—namely, Turkey. It is more than gratifying to think that even non-Muslims took an interest in the welfare of Turkey and had helped to keep the flag with the Crescent and the Star waving.

He referred to the medical and financial help that the Hindu section of the population of India offered to Turkey which, combined with that of the Muhammadan share, redoubled the effect, which might have been only just significant and considered as a matter of course. Had it not been an impossibility for obvious political reasons, India would have deemed it an honour to supply Turkey even with her sons, who would have been only too glad to shed their blood in return for justice and humanity (Applause). The butchery and brutality Turkey had suffered at the hands of her opponents, was enough to turn a monster sick. The atrocities of Bulgaria were not believed until the Powers began to fight amongst themselves. Seeing that England had among her subjects more Moslems than perhaps any other existing Power at the present moment, every Moslem eye was turned towards England, but her diplomatic silence cast a shadow of grief and disappointment in those loyal hearts who always believed John Bull to be a just and conscientious man. The war had aroused the Moslem world from the deep slumbers of luxury and the narcosis caused by the self-satisfaction of the past victories. It had been a cruel awakening from a pleasant dream, but he hoped that this awakening would bring its good results in the near future. He hoped that the little assistance and sympathy they had shown their Turkish brethren would not end with war. He prayed that the little spark of enthusiasm that was present now would brighten up into a huge flame of patriotism, and would aid them in helping the progress and prosperity of Moslem world for ever and ever (Applause).

FUTURE OF THE MUSLIMS.

Mr. Abdul Lateef Sayeed, in proposing the toast of the Moslem peoples, said that the calamities which had threatened them were not accidents, but warnings from Providence. They were essential in bringing about their regeneration. The methods of Providence might appear cruel to their understanding, but there was every justification for optimism as to the great future of Moslem people. Events had helped to demonstrate to the world the hypocrisy of the so-called Christian allies. Had Moslems been the monsters, as they were so often alleged by their enemies to be, they could in the days of their undisputed power easily have wiped out the Christian population. That this was not even attempted was a historical fact. It was a fact that Turkey as well as other Moslem countries made regular State grants and contributions for the maintenance of Christian religious institutions, and this falsified the accusations laid at their door. They had no quarrel with the Christianity of Christ—they ceased to be Muslims if they did not believe in the prophethood of those that preceded Mohammad (may the Heavens shower blessings be upon him), among whom Christ occupied a prominent place. They did not believe in the Divinity of Christ, but so did not the members of the some of the Christian churches.

The Christian propaganda in the East was not the purely religious one it was represented to be. It was political. (Applause). In the religious sphere it had admittedly accomplished nothing. He had no doubt that a great future awaited Islam.

Mr. Mirza Raza Khan, who had just returned from hospital work in the Balkan War, gave an account of his work as a member of the Indian Medical Mission. The audience listened to it with great interest.

In the end before the Company adjourned for the photograph, a subscription list was handed round to collect subscriptions to relieve the sufferings of the widows and orphans in the Cawnpore Camp. The subscription promised amounted to £4 5s.

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Amount previously acknowledged	4,02,094	8	6
Less amount in total mistake	2,339	15	0
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Selections.

How the Chinese Revolt Was Engineered.

THE Tokio correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* tells a very remarkable story to-day of the methods of the Chinese revolutionaries.

Regarding what has gone on behind the scenes before the present revolt—he writes—there is little accurate knowledge, sentiment simply favouring the South because it believes that the Southern leaders have just cause, coupled with disgust at the innumerable summary executions in Peking. In common justice I find it necessary to publish a jealously guarded secret, known only to a few persons.

The reason why Yuan Shih-Kai so precipitately marched Northern troops on the Yangtze and prepared for war was the fact that he was poisoned by arsenic in the month of May by Southern agents. Only the most violent medical methods saved his life, and he was left in a state of collapse for many days.

The alliance of such murderous and desperate elements with the genuine Republicans completely alienated Yuan Shih-Kai, and rendered the question of the government of the country purely a matter of saving his life.

The pessimism in Japanese political circles, where this extraordinary fact is unknown, therefore becomes the more significant. It is generally expected here that the autumn will see fresh complications in China, induced by financial stringency and new outbreaks. It is as yet premature to say what action Japan may take.

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE

While it is a fact that Japan stands in an entirely different relationship to China from the rest of the Powers, owing to geographical and racial influences, she will not, says the *Telegraph* correspondent, force any precipitate action.

It is necessary to point out, however, that it is already held that certain Powers have begun to take separate action in the matter of railway concessions and other advantages, thus jeopardising the principle of an equal opportunity for all and tending to recreate the old spheres of influence. Should these tendencies become more marked Japan will undoubtedly take counterbalancing steps to safeguard her interests and to avoid any pledging to foreign creditors of areas which are considered as falling under the shadow of her flag.

The Chinese struggle, indeed, is now entirely regarded here as a money matter, military operations being destined to be largely confined to guerilla tactics. The fact that Yuan Shih-Kai is now ready to pledge the land-tax—a course never before attempted in the history of the country—is considered as particularly ominous, for any failure of this revenue, if the land-tax bonds are taken up in large blocks in Europe, must bring some form of foreign occupation, which is what Japan particularly dreads.—*Englishman*.

Italians in Tripoli.

THE Italians have met with another untoward incident in Tripoli. According to a message from Rome it would appear that an Italian force was ambushed by the enemy and badly cut up losing two officers, including the general in command, and eighteen men killed, and three officers and seventy men wounded. The account of the engagement gives the impression that the force narrowly escaped complete destruction, being saved by the arrival of timely reinforcements. The affair recalls the mishap which occurred recently in Somaliland. Such incidents have to be reckoned with as part of the day's work in warfare with the tribes of the African desert, and their effect, if any, is only to render this unprofitable warfare all the more difficult to terminate.—*Statesman*.

H. H. Sir M. O'Dwyer's Speech.

HIS HONOUR SIR M. O'DWYER, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, while delivering his first speech in his Legislative Council,

held at Simla on the 19th instant, has given utterance to some important remarks on the various topics concerning his Province. He has dealt with the increase of crimes in the Punjab in very strong words which portion of H. H.'s speech we give below:—

"Gentlemen, you do not expect from me at this stage any general declaration of the policy of Government. The principles of that policy in all matters of importance are determined by the Government of India, and those of you who have the privilege of bearing or reading His Excellency the Viceroy's eloquent and statesmanlike enunciation of those principles and of their application to present conditions in the Imperial Council a few days ago will need no further enlightenment. I may, however, invite your attention to His Excellency's remarks on the necessity of repressing lawlessness and restoring security in the north-western districts of the Province, remarks which apply with equal force to some of the central districts. The alarming increase in violent crime and the failure of the administration to cope adequately with it constitute a blot and a disgrace which must be wiped out. Government will do its part by strengthening the police and the magistracy, by improving the working of those agencies and by encouraging and rewarding those of the public who come forward to assist them, but complete success cannot be achieved till the public at large awake to a sense of their duty as citizens and range themselves actively, as in western countries, on the side of law and order.

"One of the main causes which prevent the growth of this sense of public duty is the increasing tension between different communities. It is a deplorable fact that the spread of education and of newspapers, instead of allaying, has to some extent tended to embitter racial and religious feeling. In the remarks I made at Rawalpindi Durrani last month I appealed to the Press to use its influence on the right side. I am glad to be able to say that my appeal was well received by the public generally and by a large section of the Press, and I take this opportunity of stating that a large and influential portion of the Press in this Province appears to be actuated by a genuine regard for the public welfare, and, though it does not always fully appreciate the difficulties of the administration, is ready to give Government the credit of honestly striving towards the same end. But there is another and less reputable section of the Press, and, I regret to say, it is not confined to one community, which from blind, sectarian partisanship or other and even more unworthy motives has been outstepping all bounds of moderation and which seeks notoriety by scurrilously striving to stir up and embitter sectarian feeling, to vilify the adherents of other creeds, to attack and malign all that they hold sacred and finally to distort and misrepresent the motives and actions of Government. On that section my warning has fallen unheeded, and Government has therefore in the public interest been compelled to take action as authorised by law, in some cases to demand security from, in others to forfeit the security already given by, the offensive press or publisher. This action has been taken with reluctance and only after Government was assured that it would meet with the approval of those (and they are the vast majority) who have at heart the interests of the community as a whole. I trust that the action taken will have the effect of restraining violent and inflammatory appeals to prejudice and passion and obscene and scurrilous attacks on followers of different creeds, not only in the Press but also on the platform. But, if it should not, Government will deal with the offenders as with any other individuals who break the law by promoting disorder or disaffection, and will employ all the means the law places at its disposal (and of these the taking and forfeiture of security is the least) to maintain public order and decency and to secure for all classes and creeds the fulfilment of the guarantee given in Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858, namely, 'that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or discriminated by reason of their religion, faith or observances, but that all alike should enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law'."

"Hindu Marriage Reform League."

A PUBLIC meeting of the Hindu Marriage Reform League was held on September 13th at Rivett's Hall, Simla.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sri Ram, C. I. E., member of the Imperial Legislative Council and President of the Lucknow Branch of the League, presided on the occasion. The hall was filled to its uttermost, there being over seven hundred present, and among whom were all the members of the Imperial Legislative Council, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, and other distinguished visitors in Simla.

The meeting proved a great success and each speaker was enthusiastically applauded. The Chairman delivered an eloquent speech and in the course of his remarks he said that the object of the meeting would appeal to all lovers of India, and the result of such a reform would improve the moral, physical and economical condition of its people.

He said that the League had existed since December 29th, 1909, and spoke very highly of the founder, the late Rai Bahadur Norendra Nath Sen of Calcutta, who, by the use of his powerful

pen in the columns of his journal—the Indian Mirror, advocated the cause of marriage reform, and there could be no more fitting memorial to his name than to carry out the aims and objects of this League.

He spoke at length of the two successful all-India tours made by Miss O.A. Tennant, the Honorary Travelling Representative, the obtaining of the sympathies of the leading Maharajas of India and the extent of the work accomplished.

He quoted startling statistics from the census of 1911 of child-wives and child-widows between the ages of 5 and 10 after which the following gentlemen addressed the meeting with short stirring speeches:

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Joti M Chitnavis, K C I. E.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Vasdeo R Pandit, the Hon'ble Ghunshan Borna, Swami Nitya Nanda (Hindi), the Hon'ble Maharaja of Cassimbazar, Sardar Jogendra Singh and Swami Visheshwara Nanda (Hindi).

The closing speech which was made by Miss Tennant was very impressive and the following report was then given by one of the Simla Joint Secretaries, Sardar Dayal Singh—

Ladies and gentlemen, we should consider ourselves fortunate to avail ourselves of the opportunity to hear the very fine speeches which our humble and illustrious patrons have been pleased to deliver this evening calling attention to the urgent need for marriage reforms in this country. And I have not stood up to add anything to what has been said. I stand here, gentlemen, only to thank you for the perseverance and zeal you have shown in listening to the proceedings of to-day's meeting, which convinces us that the people are realizing the need of reforms. It would be as well, however, if you could give me a few minutes to place before you the report of our League for this season. Surely you will not mind hearing this important part of the proceedings too.

A large number of our friends who are present at this time are aware that a similar meeting was held at Simla last year and it was found desirable to establish the summer headquarters of the League at Simla. An office was opened on June 1st this year at No. 52, the Mall. Literature has been given out free during the season in English and in the different vernaculars. Letters have been received from all parts of India, Ceylon and Singapore asking for the free literature and readily complied with. Books on reforms have also been for sale at the office. A list of those has been given to all present here this evening, and if any gentlemen require any of them they can easily have them from P. Ram Nath B.A., one of the Secretaries, here in this hall.

Visitors are always welcomed at the office and many have called, some of whom were distinguished gentlemen who seemed to be keenly interested in the work of the League. Miss Tennant attends the office daily from 11 A.M. to 6 P.M. except Sundays and receives callers. You will also be interested to hear that at the request of persons calling at the office during the season it has been arranged for the next year to have a larger accommodation and there start a reading room and a circulating library which will be of great interest and utility to the public. The premises known as the Simla Institute, No. 8, the Mall, has been leased for a term of 2 years on a rental of Rs. 450 a year.

Gentlemen, it would be well that I should inform you of the initial expenses incurred this year in establishing, furnishing, printing, &c., of the office up to this date. They amount to Rs. 380, which of course does not include the expenses of to-day's meeting, incurred on hiring the hall, chairs, &c., a sum of Rs. 180, which is still to be met. With the exception of donations aggregating Rs. 212, the rest of the expenses have been borne by Miss Tennant. The donors were

H.H. the Maharaja of Nabha, Rs. 100; the Hon'ble Ahluwalia, Rs. 32; R. D. Munshi Prag Narain, Rs. 30; S. Jogendra Singh, Rs. 30; and R. B. Dhillendra Chandra Ghosh, Rs. 20; total Rs. 212.

The fact that the expense for propagating a cause for the amelioration of our country by an American Lady out of philanthropy and charity is an ever-lasting boon to us, since it is to her efforts alone that the Marriage Reform League has so many branches and she will not rest until she convicts to each and every one of Indian Hindu community and general public the warning against the evils of early marriage and of other reforms consistent with the aims of the League. How noble on her part! But, gentlemen, if we as a member of the community have not to shirk our duty towards it, are we justified to expect so much from her if we do not make some sacrifice for the noble cause ourselves. Is it to our credit that an American Lady should bear these expenses for our betterment alone? Her honorary services alone are most invaluable to us. Her heart and soul is in the advancement of her sisters, the Indian Womanhood. I would urge upon you to follow such a noble example and loosen the strings of your purses to give liberal donations for defraying all these expenses and making a reserve fund for the maintenance of the Summer Headquarters of

the League.

Miss Tennant will shortly hold a ladies meeting, and I would request gentlemen that you should make it a point that it should be well attended. Before I sit down I once more thank you on the patient and kind attention you have given for hearing this brief report and hope that you will not mind contributing something to the cause.

Montenegrins in Albania.

MISS M. E. DURNAM writes to the Times:—Count Voinovich's letter of August 1 surprises me. He accuses me of "casting reflection" on Montenegro. All the world is aware that the present misery existing in Albania is due to the late war waged there by the Montenegrins. The war was waged, astonishingly, against the Turks. The heaviest sufferers are the luckless Albanian peasants in whose lands the fighting took place.

Whether or not similar atrocities have been committed in other wars is not to the point. The misery caused thereby exists all the same. It may or may not have been necessary to fell great olive gardens. Their owners are, in any case, reduced to starvation. As for food supplied to the Albanian Malsori (as correctly spelt) in 1911, I consider that as that insurrection was entirely engineered by Montenegro, who supplied the arms and ammunition, invited the Malsori to come to Montenegro, and promised never to desert them till they had won European recognition, a pittance of maize was no more than their due. They lost all they possessed in the way of houses and stores—much cattle, too, not to speak of loss of life. It was Montenegro's preliminary step—not towards giving Albania her rights—but towards the taking of Scutari. The Malsori recognized this fact too late, and were considerably disenchanted.

As for the bazar being burnt, I stated merely that it was burnt the day before the Montenegrins evacuated Scutari. Count Voinovich's conscience seems uneasy as to who fired the place. The fact remains that a number of honest tradesmen were thereby ruined.

As for the report that Catholics and Moslems have been forced to declare themselves Orthodox—the facts of the death of Padri Palich were gone into by a specially appointed commission which established the truth of the accusations. I cannot believe that the wretched refugees who relate with horror the reign of terror that went on for some time in Plava and Gusinje can be "well known foreign agents." Footsore peasants, arriving from the mountains half-starved and wretched telling the things they have witnessed, they do not at all resemble "foreign agents," and are certainly not "well known." That Count Voinovich had the honour of contributing in 1901-2 to an agreement between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches has nothing to do with the case. Many agreements even more recent have proved fruitless.

Nor has the fact that he himself, a Catholic and by birth an Austrian, is employed by the Montenegrin Government any bearing on the subject. That Government, as do others employ such as serve its purpose. Before being employed as a Montenegrin delegate to London the Count had been employed in Serbia and Bulgaria, and his varied experience was doubtless valuable.

As for the statement that the Montenegrins committed no depredations during the war, I can only say that I daily witnessed the arrival of women loaded with loot. That I spoke with them often, and they boasted of it. For example, I remonstrated with a woman who said she had taken a lot of clothes of women and children and said that the children would die of the cold in the winter. She replied, "Let them die, God willing—they are Turks." As for burning of villages, too, when I saw some flaming at the beginning of the war the Montenegrins themselves told me they had burnt them in vengeance. As for "no cruelties" having been committed, it depends how you define "cruelties." I consider myself that the cutting off of noses and upper lips is cruel. That this was done repeatedly I am certain. For I have seen in all nine so mutilated and during the 12 weeks in which I worked at helping the wounded and sick (enteric, dysentery, smallpox, &c.) in the Montenegrin hospitals my patients related to me the details of their exploits in nose-cutting.

As for throwing blame for destruction of property on "marauders who followed the Montenegrin Army," it reflects but little credit on the discipline of the Montenegrin Army if it could not prevent this. In Kossovo Vilayet a large number of Serbs, who were Turkish subjects, were armed by Montenegro. They used to fetch rifles from Andrijevitz all through September, when the war was being prepared.

Montenegro, having armed them, is surely responsible. I have, indeed, not met Montenegrins who denied the facts. Most of them have justified them, many boasted of them, and told things so horrible that I trust they were exaggerated.

But what is done—is done. All that can now be hoped is that help may be given to the survivors—to the destitute, homeless women and children.

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--Morris

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needs to be considered. The Turco-Bulgarian combination, however, adds the paper, is quite equal to its task.

King Constantine leaves London for Athens to-morrow.

Constantinople. The Turco-Bulgarian peace treaty has been signed.

London, Sept. 30.

The signature of the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty appears to mark the opening of a new era in the Balkans, uniting at a critical time two of the hitherto fiercest foes. The signature was followed by extremely cordial speeches and assurances from the Grand Vizier and General Savoff, Bulgarian Plenipotentiary, that apart from an improved frontier line the treaty made most liberal and extensive concessions in favour of Mr. Idris, both in Old Bulgaria and in the new provinces. The privileges given to Moslems could only be compared with those enjoyed by Christian communities in Turkey. The Porte expects that the treaty with Bulgaria will serve as a basis for the treaty with Greece.

Bulgarian losses in the two wars were 44,892 killed and 104,589 wounded.

London, Oct. 2.

Belgrade. A Serbian Army has re-entered Dibra and Ochrida. Reports that Bulgaria is mobilising, though unconfirmed, are disquieting commercial circles. The outbreak of a third war is feared.

Much interest has been aroused by the announcement of the visit of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand to England as a guest of the King at Windsor for a week. The Vienna press welcome it as likely to strengthen and improve Anglo-Austrian relations. Greece has ordered the evacuation of Dedeagatch in view of the signature of the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty, and is taking defensive measure owing to alleged Turkish equivocations. Seven classes of naval reservists have been called out.

The underwriters have received coldly recent enquiries for rates for Greek steamers trading to the Black Sea to be insured at War risks.

Athens. Naval Reservists have been summoned to join the colours within three days. All departments of national defence are taking every measure dictated by the uncertainty of the situation. Greece regards Turkey's latest pretensions to retain a number of the Aegean Islands as adding to the seriousness of the situation. Greece accuses Turkey of persistently delaying a settlement and of now attempting entirely to alter the basis of negotiations, in regard to which only two small points were outstanding. Greece, while ready to discuss these points, absolutely refuses to reopen the question of the islands.

London, Oct. 3.

Austria has emphatically pointed out to Serbia the necessity of observing the decisions reached by the Conference of London with regard to Albania. Serbia has replied that she is acting only on the defensive and does not intend to seize Albanian territory.

The Week.

The Balkan Crisis.

London, Sept. 28

Constantinople. The Porte has informed Greece that it will resume peace negotiations immediately peace with Bulgaria is signed. The Embassies have received telegrams reporting a massacre of two hundred Greeks in Western Thrace.

Ottawa: It is officially stated that the Montenegrin casualties during the war were 10,881.

Constantinople. The Council of Ministers has decided to despatch a special emissary this week to Athens with the Porte's counter-proposals to Greece. There is reason to believe that the attitude of the Porte has stiffened, partly owing to Turkey's understanding with the Bulgarians and consequently Greece may be confronted with a serious situation. The Turco-Bulgarian treaty contains several clauses referring to cases of forced marriages of Moslem women which Bulgaria agrees to consider as not binding. They also provide for the release and restoration of kidnapped children of either sex.

London, Sept. 29

Constantinople: The Turkish press is beginning to adopt a very menacing tone towards Greece. One paper warns Greece to take timely warning, otherwise she will be driven from Salonica and Epirus. Another journal says that Greece and Serbia are quite powerless against the combined Turkish and Bulgarian armies and that only Rumania

London, Sept. 30.

A telegram from Vienna, dated Sept. 29, states that according to Serbian reports, the Albanian rising is spreading. Prirend has been surrounded by the Albanians for three days. The Serbian garrison is still resisting, but disorders are spreading in the town among the Albanian inhabitants.

A telegram from Cetinje states that Montenegrin troops have occupied all the strategic points in order to defend the frontier fixed by the Powers. So far, there have been no encounters between the Montenegrins and the Albanians, the latter concentrating their efforts against the Serbians.

Reuter learns that Holland has accepted the invitation of the Powers to organise a number of Dutch officers to report on the existing conditions with a view to ascertaining the number of officers that will eventually be required.

London, Oct. 1.

The situation in Albania is complicated by continued rivalries between Essad Pasha at Durazzo and the Provisional Government at Vlorë. The European Commissioners are beginning to assemble in their respective fields of operation, but the task is likely to be difficult while the country is as disturbed as at present, and while so many racial animosities are rife. M. Pasic, Serbian Premier who is visiting Paris, stated in an interview that Serbian concentration would be complete within a week, when a decisive blow would be struck against armed encroachment by Albanians into territory assigned to Serbia.

A telegram from Salonika says it is reported from Durazzo that Admiral Burney has restrained Essad Pasha, holding him responsible for any sufferings of Christians. It is believed that he has acted in a similar manner regarding Ismail Bey, President of the Provisional Albanian Government, concerning the murders of Christians at Oranovo. Essad Pasha insists on reformation of the Cabinet and transfer of the capital to Durazzo.

Bombay, Sept. 30

The Ottoman Consul-General in Bombay has just received a cable from His Highness the Grand Vizier at Constantinople stating that the treaty of peace was signed between Turkey and Bulgaria yesterday at 7 o'clock in the evening.

Indians in South Africa.

JOHANNESBURG. A mass meeting of five hundred Indians yesterday passed a resolution to begin the passive resistance movement immediately unless the Indian demands were granted. It was also decided to ask for the Imperial Government's help.

Mr. Gandhi declared that the Indian women of Johannesburg had decided to throw in their lot with their imprisoned sister.

In a leader on the passive resistance movement in South Africa, the *Times* says that the denunciation of the Union Government is totally unjust, but further steps are obviously necessary to prevent the serious injury which the prolongation of passive resistance would inflict upon South Africa and the Empire. The *Times* asks whether the situation would not be more easily remedied if the Government of India sent its own official representative to South Africa to discuss the problem at first hand.

Johannesburg: The Indians of Vereeniging, held a meeting on Sept. 29 to support the passive resistance movement. The meeting congratulated its brothers and sisters for suffering imprisonment for the honour of India, and looked for help from England and Johannesburg. At a meeting of the Chamber of Mines the President showed an improvement but discharges exceeded enlistments. A further shrinkage was therefore inevitable.

A telegram from Volksrust states that four Indian passive resisters, who were deported across the border, immediately re-entered the Transvaal, whereupon they were arrested and subsequently sentenced to three months' hard labour.

Lord Ampthill, replying to a correspondent in the *Morning Post*, on the subject of Indians, denies that the South African problem is insoluble. He says it can be solved immediately by ordinary fair dealing and honest fulfilment of the pledges of the South African and Imperial Government.

Pottermaritburg. Small parties of Indians are departing daily in an endeavour to cross the Transvaal border.

Volksrust. Of sixteen Indians, incarcerated on the 23rd ultimo, two, including a relative of Mr. Gandhi, have refused to be vaccinated. They have also declined food for two days. The authorities fearing that the hunger strike will spread have removed both to Durban.

Johannesburg: Four Indians, including a son of Mr. Gandhi, have been fined one pound or seven days' imprisonment for unlicensed hawking. They went to jail.

The Johannesburg correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* says:—The Indian resisters are not finding much money for the martyrs. One Indian merchant when approached said "But for Gandhi all this agitation would never have arisen; nothing is to be gained thereby". A Conference of Indian delegates have decided to retain in their own hands the funds subscribed. These previously have been handed to Mr. Gandhi.

Durban: In response to the protests of the Indians, vaccination which two Indians in prison refused to submit, has not been insisted on.

Lord Kitchener has returned to Cairo.

China

A TELEGRAM to the *Times* from Peking, dated September 29th, states that the bankers of the international consortium announce the dissolution of the three Power, four Power, and five Power banking agreements, excepting that section of the five Power agreement relating to State loans for administrative purposes. The effect of this change is to leave the Governments concerned free to support any application for concessions in China.

With reference to rumours of Japanese activity in the Yangtze district and the alleged intention of Japan to take action calculated to lead to the dismemberment of China, Reuter's Agency has received an authoritative assurance that Japan has no intention whatever of embarking on any course likely to lead to such undesirable consequences. The report of the increase of Japanese forces in Hankau, of the landing of a large number of troops at Nanking, and of the despatch of an ultimatum are entirely baseless, only two hundred marines have been landed at Nanking to patrol the Japanese settlement. The Japanese warships will be withdrawn as soon as order is restored. Japan has had troops at Hankau for the purpose of patrolling the Japanese settlement for many years. Any fresh troops have merely been sent to replace those proceeding home. According to the latest information the affair at Nanking, in which three Japanese civilians were killed, may be regarded as settled, as China has promised to fulfil all Japan's demands, including the removal of General Changhann. Japan's policy with regard to China is entirely in agreement with the obligations of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Japan does not intend to take any action likely to lead to differences between the British and the Japanese Governments. Japan is as sincerely desirous of maintaining the integrity of China as her ally.

A telegram to the *Times* from Tokio says despite Changhann's apology Japan will still insist upon his resignation from the post of Kiangsu and the punishment of those who took part in the outrages at Nanking.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables on Oct. 1:—The *Daily Telegraph's* Peking correspondent says—Russia, after a decade of quiescence has resumed the advance on China, openly in Mongolia, which she has virtually annexed, surreptitiously in North Western and Central China through the agency of Belgian Railway concessions. Japan has resumed her rivalry and adopted the policy of planting garrisons without territorial leave, thereby guaranteeing the integrity of China by forestalling others. The Hankow garrison, temporarily amounting to nearly 2,000 men, is to be retained, and another possibly placed at Great Tates. The iron mines near by will be demanded and Nanking, Allo, Fuchow, Amoy and other places in the event of trouble arising. Japan has to-day the whole Chinese revolutionary part virtually under lock and key at Tokio. She holds out her hands to England, knowing the alliance is more important and more necessary than ever. I believe there will presently arise an opportunity of far-reaching importance which should furnish brilliant results.

Peking: A meeting of the Diplomatic Corps agreed in the principle of the recognition of the Republic which will probably occur immediately after the election of President, which is expected to take place on the 8th proximo. Yuanshikan's election appears certain.

Washington: Surprise is expressed in the State Department and in the press at a despatch from Tokio that Japan will seek a new commercial treaty with the United States. Unofficial information indicates that Japan, instead of seeking a substitute for the Knox Treaty of 1911, desires an agreement which in conventional terms will recognise the right of the Japanese to own land in any State of the United States on equal terms with the citizens of any other nation. The attitude of the State Department to such a proposition remains to be developed.

TETE À TETE



MR SHAUKAT ALI has sent us a letter for publication which he has received from Tayeba Begum Sahiba, daughter of Nawab Inad-ul-Mulk Syed Hsain Bilgrami. We know both the father and the daughter well, and can honestly say that they possess hearts of real gold burning

with zeal for the cause of Islam. Any appeal for the service of Islam never goes unheeded, and the Grand Old Man, in spite of his age, and his brilliant daughter are ever ready to help. All they possess they gladly offer. We saw this when the University Fund was started, saw it over and over again during the Tripoli and Balkan troubles, and Cawnpore was not an exception. Mrs Khedive Jang as a true daughter of her father, devotes all her time and energy in the service of her people. During the last Balkan War she used to go about from house to house, collecting the much-needed funds for the unfortunate Turkish men and women. The Subscription lists published in the *Comrade* bear witness to her work. She was the first Muhammadan lady to join the Khuddun-i-K'aba, even much before her most distinguished father. She nearly broke her health and neglected her studies. She, in spite of the worries of keeping a house and looking after her charming children, was going up for her B.A. degree. All honour to Tayeba Khatun Khedive Jang Begum Sahiba. As long as there are women like these, and we know there are many, though not so well-educated, we have no fear for the future of Islam. Nawab Inad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, from the first day that he met Mr. Shaikat Ali, took a fancy to him and has always called him "his son" and to this day treats him as such—an honour of which anybody would be proud. We are sure Mrs Khedive Jang's appeal would touch every Moslem heart. "I am writing these few lines to ask a favour of you. You have devoted your life to the good of our community, and what good can be of greater importance to us than the removal of all sorts of misrepresentations and misunderstandings about Islam from European minds and from the minds of Englishmen especially. Now do you not acknowledge that this is the work done by our most honoured and capable brother Khwaja Kamaluddin in England? Is it not our duty then to support his magazine? Who can do the work of

بہتر than he? I am afraid his efforts without proper pecuniary assistance will ختم (God forbid) come to an end. It

will be a crying shame if we let such thing ever happen. We must somehow or other strive to keep up that magazine. Let us at once open a fund for the benefit of this *Review*. Write to our father, and write to all friends and others also to buy this *Moslem Review* and subscribe towards this fund. I hope all our people got the *Review* and have read it. If they have not, they cannot appreciate it. I shall also write to all my friends. You must induce as many people as you know to buy the *Review*. It will be موجب خیر (in any house, and

no house ought to be without it. I shall be proud to be the first subscriber in this good cause. I shall give Rs 500 (H.S.) by two instalments. I plead, beg, beseech and entreat you to take this good work in hand at once. It is of vital importance to us that this work began by our honoured brother, at a great cost to himself, be kept up. I am in a position to know that it simply cannot go on without pecuniary support. Let all things go, but do not let this paper, the harbinger of hope to decaying Islam, slip through our fingers. Do make an effort dear brother for my sake, if for nothing else. Brothers are not supposed to deny their sisters anything, and you must not refuse me this. I shall consider it very unchivalrous and unkind of you if you did. What is more, you must begin

it without any loss of time. Please let me have a favourable reply by the return of post. I assure you, of all the good works you have ever done this will be the best."

THE SITUATION in South Africa is becoming more acute every day, and it is no exaggeration to say that the eyes of all the educated Indians are intently watching that part of the British Empire.

A battle of an overwhelming importance is being fought out there, and the combatants are the domiciled Indians of South Africa on the one hand and the Executive authority of the Colony on the other. This struggle, which has been going on for several years, has of late assumed a very important phase. With the so-called Passive Resistance movement, which our brethren there have organised, our interest in the struggle has become more intense; and we, who are living so far away from them, feel the same indignation and mortification at the recent legislation which excludes Indians from South Africa which our countrymen out there feel. Mr Gandhi, the leader of the South African Indians, is a man who is well known in this land for the patriotism and the power of self-sacrifice which he has been displaying for the sake of a righteous cause, and it is men of his calibre and singleness of purpose of whom India should be proud. In a world-wide Empire such as the gods have given to England, all sorts of difficulties are bound to arise, and it is the duty of those who are its well-wishers to try and find out the best ways of removing them. All that tends to split up the Empire, and all that brings in one law for its white and another for its black subjects, can never be a source of much strength to that Empire, and the sooner such dangers are removed the better it will be not only for that particular Empire but for the rest of humanity as well. The so-called Passive Resistance is the strongest arm in the arsenal of an unarmed people, who have to fight a Government which wishes to be acknowledged as a humane Government. If it had not been claimed for the British Empire that it is desirous of treating all its subjects alike and that one of its chief aims is to show to its subjects that no difference of creed and colour will be a bar in the doing of justice or even prove an obstacle in their enjoyment of equal rights then the very soul of the present resistance in South Africa would have been non-existent. The present attitude of our brethren is nothing but the demand of those equal rights which figure so conspicuously in the Proclamation of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, which constitutes the Magna Charta of the 300,000,000 Indian subjects of His Majesty King George V. One of the most important characteristics of a nation, that owns for its subjects human beings whose religions and customs whose colour and mode of thought are as different from each other as is the sun from the moon, should be Toleration, and unless that is made the key-stone of the Empire there will ever be the danger of a sadder collapse. Not the least interesting amongst the many facts connected with the situation in South Africa is the attitude of the Indian women. They too have made up their minds to undergo all those punishments which the unjust laws of the colony have decreed as the fate of those who break them, rather than acknowledge them as just. And this is a conclusive proof of the fact that the movement, which is only just beginning to be organised, is one which will be continued with all its intensity as long as the present laws are not repealed. The very sympathetic utterance of H.E. the Viceroy in his recent speech about our difficulties in Africa has brought us great joy and much hope, and with him to stand and fight for us we feel certain of our victory, which will prove to the world that Right is Might—a saw which has of late been conveniently forgotten, and has again to be proved before people can believe in its truth.

THE RECENT anarchist outrages in Bengal have again shocked those who have the real interest of India at heart. Anything that is based on the bloodshed of those who are guilty of naught save the fact that they carry out their duty is bound

to be a failure, and the sooner this is understood by those who advocate the destruction of innocent people the better it will be for our country. To the Muhammadans, however, it is a matter of great pride that, in spite of the fact that at the present moment the indignation of the entire community is very intense on account of the Cawnpore incident, not one man has exceeded the bounds of dignified and constitutional agitation. We strongly deplore this reappearance of the sinister bomb and wish for its quick disappearance from India.

MANY of our readers have been enquiring the date on which Mr. Tyler, the Cawnpore Magistrate, will appear in the witness-box, as many of them are anxious to hear him cross-examined by Mr. Norton.

Mr. Eardly Norton
at Cawnpore.

We do not know the exact date, but the case begins from the 18th October in the Sessions Court, and so probably it would be about 21st or 22nd that he would give his evidence. Mr. Eardly Norton is the finest cross-examiner in India, and it will be interesting to watch the case on those days.

We give elsewhere a full account of the meeting recently held at Delhi on the 1st of October under the presidency of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur. There were many misgivings about it, as the whole affair due to the mistakes of Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan was kept in the dark. He who has jumped into the arena of politics after doing such grand things for the reputation of the Aligarh College of which, at an unfortunate moment, he was elected as Secretary.

A Conference of
Ulama.

We will discuss the meeting elsewhere, but would point out here that the Mussalmans would welcome it if the Cawnpore Mosque affair was settled to the satisfaction of all. We still maintain what we have been pressing from the very beginning that it is strictly a question of Muhammadan law, and as such must be decided by the *Ulama* and lawyers. Neither officials nor journalists nor any other layman has anything to do with it. The Mussalmans cannot unfortunately accept any compensation for the demolished portion. The land taken was a part of the mosque and so must be given back and the mosque rebuilt on it. If this statement of the Mussalmans is doubted, then a council of all the important *Ulama* of the country should be held either at Delhi or Lucknow or elsewhere, and let them thrash out amongst themselves the whole question, and both the Mussalmans and the Government should abide by their decision. We beg His Excellency the Viceroy to kindly intercede and settle the affair which is most painful to Mussalmans. Whatever may be the decision about other matters, the question of the mosque itself is simple and H. E. would earn for himself and for the Empire the everlasting gratitude of seven crores of Moslems by giving back the land taken without any conditions. Let His Excellency trust Mussalmans fully, and trust will beget trust. We cannot say what the officials feel, but the Mussalmans are feeling very uneasy and this continuous strain of the last three years is telling on their nerves, which may go to pieces at any time. All honour for their forbearance and moderation, and we doubt if any other people could have behaved with greater self-control under such provocations. We hope a deputation would soon wait on His Excellency the Viceroy and request him to help the Mussalmans. He and his noble consort and his Council showed real strength on the 23rd December 1912, when a vile attempt was made on his life, by sparing Delhi and its innocent people. By such acts Empires are built, and as long as England can produce such strong men her rule will last. We request His Excellency to save the situation again.

The United Provinces Government has appointed a committee to collect subscriptions and organize relief for the widows and the orphans of those Moslems who were shot by the Cawnpore police on the 3rd of August. The United

Cawnpore Fund
Committee.

Provinces officials had done their best to discourage any practical sympathy being shown to the unfortunate sufferers, but their efforts failed and people continued subscribing their mites. They now come out with a rival committee to those of Lucknow and Cawnpore. We are informed that H. E. the Viceroy had sent in his donation some time ago, but it was kept secret and not announced until this committee was formed. Without imputing any bad motives, (though there will be many who will do so) we feel sorry to see they cannot do the right thing in the United Provinces. Not only they are incapable themselves but even when opportunities are offered for wiping off past blunders, they are ignored. This donation of H. E. the Viceroy was just the opportunity as it was meant to be by a good, honest, sympathetic and far-sighted Englishman, who happens to be at the head of the Government, but his efforts have been thwarted. If this donation of H. E. the Viceroy were sent to Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque's Committee for distribution to the widows and orphans the effect would have been most wholesome, and a good deal of the soreness, now prevailing, would have disappeared.

We know Mr. Wyndham, the Secretary of this Committee, for a strong and straightforward English gentleman. It is not too late even now let him utilize the services of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque's Committee as a distributing agency and send on the money to it for distribution to the widows and the orphans instead of to the local officials. We know Mr. Haque well and that he is an honourable man. He will not abuse the trust placed in him, and the result would be good for all. We hope our advice would be accepted and a great mistake rectified. We think it is just and fair to speak out frankly. There is a general feeling both amongst the Mussalmans and the Hindus that H. E. the Viceroy and other high officials, who fully realize the changed conditions in the country and genuinely desire to remove all causes of friction and bring about a better understanding between the official and non-official world, are being thwarted by that powerful clique—the Civil Service. The Civil Service is certainly a powerful body, but we warn it that in this struggle it will find the solid wall of public opinion against it. The obstinacy and weakness (strength is a different thing) of district officials would make their work very difficult and demolish their official prestige. Genuine sympathy and a real effort to understand people is indispensable. In our opinion lip-sympathy is as bad, if not worse, as lip-loyalty. In the meantime we appeal to all to support Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and his Committee and keep on sending them as much money as they can. God will reward them—

اجرش دمد خدا، که کرد است باوري

باآن کان که باورو ناصر نداشتند

WHETHER it be the "Arran Cabinet" or the "Carson Circus", between them they are setting such a fine example for the edification of a poor lesson for India! "Orientals" that we shudder at the consequences. If we have a partiality for any, it is certainly for the "Carson Circus," which is by far the more amusing. We brought "people" in India may very innocently ask what is the Government doing in England? Where was the majesty of law and order? Where was the Press Act? Is there no little Regulation of 1818 to gag and muzzle such knight-errants, who openly flirt with arms and use such sweet and loving language even about the sacred body of the King? Is there no Mandalay near about there, where these gentry could be lodged and led at the King's expense? These are some of the questions which we being asked. And wonderful still, even there the "Vakil Raj" is paramount. The "Arran Cabinet" and the "Carson Circus" are governed by them. Why the "mighty undaunted, sweet-tongued Carson", the promoter and organizer of the show, himself a Vakil, and his leading artist Mr. H. Smith another Vakil. That is rather comforting to our own "Vakil Raj". If they err, they err in very good company, but we doubt if they can err one-tenth as much as their luckier "brethren of the gown" in the congenial climate of Great Britain. But we are surprised to find our own great General Richardson, the gallant Commander of the Tiwana Lancers, in that crowd, and more so at finding the Sedate *Pioneer*, while applauding him, teaching us a new kind of lesson. Says the *Pioneer*: "It is unnecessary, writing in India, to say that General Sir George Richardson, who has consented to stand forth as Commander in Chief of the Ulster loyalists, is the officer who for several years commanded the 18th Tiwana Lancers, of which regiment he is now the Colonel, and whose last appointment was the command of the Poona Division. After retirement Sir George Richardson settled in Ireland, in Waterford County. As there was no more popular soldier in India than General Richardson, so we may be sure that the King has no more loyal subject. These are evil times when a man of his quality finds it his duty to take up a position of antagonism to His Majesty's Government. Sir George Richardson cannot of course but realize the risks he is running personally in taking such a course—risks far greater than those of the ordinary citizen. If he has accepted all these it can only be because he feels that the cause is now the highest call; and it is certain that if things are allowed to go on to the bitter end there are hundreds of men of high character in England who will feel bound to follow his example." Could not we ask, if there may not be circumstances under which loyal people in this country, for a cause much higher and nobler than that of Irish Home Rule, may be obliged to do their utmost to bring strong-headed officials to book for their misdeeds? As for Home Rule itself, we have no fears about it, though both Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson may be shouting "full steam ahead," to their crews.

The Comrade.

"A Rally of the Moderates."

WE PUBLISH elsewhere a very interesting account furnished by our special correspondent, of an important gathering of a number of Mussalmans which was held on the 1st October in Delhi. News had early reached us that a meeting consisting of Moslem "leaders" was to be held over which His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Rampur would preside. It was also rumoured that the meeting would be held with closed doors, and that only such persons had been invited to attend it as could be trusted to vote for resolutions made to order. It was further stated that an attempt would be made to decide certain important questions in a manner likely to compromise the self-respect and honour of the community, and subsequently approach Government with a request for a surreptitious settlement of certain matters which the general body of Mussalmans would resent. We, however, preferred to wait and see how these rumours materialised. The account given by our correspondent is graphic enough, and we need not set forth in detail the proceedings and achievements of the portentous meeting that had created such a noise in Delhi and abroad. As our correspondent says, it was a grand futility.

This sorry affair, however, suggests certain important considerations. In the first place, we regret to find the association of the name of His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Rampur with a demonstration which seems to have been engineered by a few self-seeking "leaders" in order to recover their lost rôle as dictators of the community. His Highness was no doubt inspired by the best of motives, and had nothing but the good of the community at heart. As a Mussalman he must have felt with deep concern the existing condition of Moslem affairs in India and his readiness to descend from his pedestal and share the burdens of his community will ever be regarded with gratitude. It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that interested or impatient advisers should have prepared the Delhi fiasco for him and very nearly compromised his position. No one can question his privilege to call upon the Mussalmans to take counsel together in communal matters. Every Mussalman will readily and gratefully respond to such a call. But as we know, in this affair an attempt was made by those who had gained the ears of His Highness to keep the entire community in the dark, impose unknown decisions on Mussalmans and possibly mislead the Government. The Delhi experience must have given a correct measure of his advisers to His Highness, and we are sure he has fully realised how far the community has travelled from the steady, forcible which summed up the political wisdom of an absolute generation of Moslem "leaders."

The meeting has been described in some quarters as "the rally of the moderates." "Moderation," as the term goes, has various shades of meaning. It is the sole weapon of protest for every reactionary extremist. He is loudest in preaching it when he is most violently fanatical in asserting his narrow and hidebound shibboleths about the general scheme of things. The meeting at Delhi was for the most part composed of the extremists of this description, and we are sorry to note that Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahib, the Hon. Secretary of the Aligarh College, was largely in evidence as a leader of this group. It is commonly believed that he induced H. H. the Nawab Sahib of Rampur to call a meeting in which Nawab Viqueer ul-Mulk Bahadur and the Hon. the Raja Bahadur of Mahmudabad could not be trusted to take part. At the meeting itself he made himself ridiculous by his outbursts and aberrations. It is perhaps time to state frankly that many people have begun to question his fitness for the high position he holds.

The net result of the meeting seems to have been a number of lessons which we hope have been learnt with some profit. It has been finally made manifest that the Moslem community can no longer be duped or hustled in the good old ways. It is alert and alive, and fully knows its own mind. Those who are glibly talking of Moslem "aristocracy" and its usual "good sense" are most directly working for a split in the communal ranks. If "the aristocracy" and the common people are driven into hostile camps by the subtle machinations of wire-pullers it would be a grievous disaster. Demagogues know, however, how to pull through in crisis, and the aristocrats that have opposed their weight and prestige to the popular will have been crushed and flung aside on the rubbish heap. This is the supreme lesson of history. This was the lesson which, we believe, was brought home to those who came post-haste to Delhi to witness their own futility.

The official account of the meeting tells us in a bald, smooth way that it was a "preliminary consultative meeting" of the Mussalmans.

The account, by the way, has been furnished to us by Mr. Idris Ahmed of the Moslem University office, Aligarh. We wonder what business had this official of a University that has yet to be, who is paid a large salary for unknown services out of the University Fund, to come to Delhi and send official reports of the meeting. Was it at the suggestion of Nawab Ishaq Khan Sahib that Mr. Idris Ahmed was utilised for the purpose? Well, this "preliminary consultation meeting" has ended as it was expected to end, and we only hope that the next meeting will be a more creditable affair, actually representative of Moslem views and feelings and fruitful in good results.



The Delhi Meeting.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Oct. 2, 1918.

A cynic—who had failed as a journalist, and ever after cultivated a lofty disdain for the Profession, once said that the right of public meeting is exercised in India for three different objects. There was first the luxury of indulging in "political" grievances *en masse*. A species of mortal—of Indian clay—loved nothing so much as uttering red-hot defiance and breathing convulsive hatred into space with the glad-some assurance that he will soon hear the echoes of his own voice. Then there were those who lived, moved and had their being in the atmosphere of placid "Loyalty." They never missed an opportunity to meet—in public, and never failed to create one. It was the breath of their nostrils—the right of public meeting. It was their instrument of self-realisation even more than that of their compatriots of the Constitutional Agitation. (An official threat to suspend the right of public meeting would send a shiver through the ranks of embryo Khan Bahadurs and Nawabs in incubation.) Lastly, the coming together in public was the last refuge for many from the terrors of that extensive region of twilight and shadowed existence which divides the agitator from the loyalist. The cynic set down the major part of all social and pseudo-religious activity in India to the nervousness of persons inhabiting the neutral zone. We may or may not agree with the cynic in his classification. It is as clever as it is uncharitable. But one cannot help rummaging over his cynicism when one has to classify, label and ticket down the assembly of important Moslem personages that came off on the 1st of October in Delhi.

Your correspondent has known many sorts of Moslem assemblies since the late Sir Syed's Educational Conference grew into a quite respectable and orthodox institution. He has seen the ways of conferences of lesser repute, of Anjumanas, of committees, select and general, financial, advisory and educational. He has witnessed one man's shows as well as undiluted mob demonstrations. He has had access to wisdom of every hue, cynical, devotional and that rare variety which is garnered in moments of spiritual exaltation. But in spite of all his pretensions to label and tabulate mankind and its doings he confesses, shamefacedly enough, that he is unable to classify the meeting which gave every wag in Delhi and outside it a strenuous week of his life.

Rumour has been the pet aversion of every Philosophy since Confucius dragged the Celestials into a state of ineffable calm. But the man in the street has often loved and admired what the philosopher has hated and shunned. It would be idle to attempt to measure the rival hates and loves in terms of sanity. It is enough to know that in the wider scheme of things Rumour has its uses as much as—Vice, if you will. At least the Delhi ruminations about the meeting were a vital force and achieved results fully commensurate with their vitality. Delhi has been a fertile ground for the growth of rumours which have left grim and scarlet patches on the pages of its history. An insubstantial vision of a hashish-den led directly to Nadir's massacre. A meeting, an important meeting of a certain class of Mussalmans, was known to have been decided upon in *high places*. It was to be held in Delhi, and H. H. the Nawab of Rampur was to preside. Forthwith Rumour began to speak through a hundred tongues. It wove spells of brilliant texture. There was rich embroidering and artistic fancy-work. Even bores of confirmed intractability became artists the while and had a fearful vogue for days. As long as this carnival of fancy lasted, life in Delhi became lyrical and intoxicating like a dance. Fancy was, however, not wholly idle, as might be seen from every notice-board that bore an impassioned appeal, a protest, or a repudiation. The "Nawabs" and "Khan Bahadurs" were warned in flaming words by the common people of Delhi—the "mob", if you please—against daring to betray the community or barter away its birth-rights. Telegraphic warnings were addressed to those who were

to be the moving spirits of the new combination. The common feeling was that the tin-gods of the old Dispensation would come together to hatch some plan in secret in order to deprive the community of the power which it had recently won in tears and in blood. They had taken alarm at their own dwindling authority and importance and were about to make a supreme effort to regain their old position. The class-instinct was at work in their breasts with all its virulence. The democratic instinct had felt this ill and was roused in defiance. It was also felt that the outraged guardians of vested interests would pose as the interpreters of communal sentiments on certain important matters and try to repudiate those who were fearlessly voicing the real views and hopes and fears of the community as a whole. Such, in brief, were the apprehensions that were felt by the Moslem community in Delhi, and even if they were partially or even entirely baseless, they pointed to one wholesome, unmistakable fact, that the process of awakening amongst the common people had reached an advanced stage, and that it was no longer possible for every self-styled "leader" to trade on the confidence and goodwill of the community.

At last they met, on the 1st of October. I mean the gentlemen whom H. H. the Nawab of Rampur had specially invited to Delhi for some purpose known to him or his advisers. They met some three miles out of the city, at a place called Rambagh. The place of meeting had never been published, of course, nor was the date or the programme. The "gods," even if they come down from Olympic heights, must not let things of common clay come between the wind and their divinity. Advertisement is a mere democratic vulgarity, and they abhor it—unless it is purely personal. But democracy is as full of curiosity as it is arrogant and self-assertive. The place fixed for the meeting was soon discovered and by 10 A. M. on the 1st of October it was being announced from the house-tops all over Delhi. With a few other dare-devils I had long resolved to try and invade, if possible, the penetralia of the "gods." We succeeded with the help of brazen faces and the irrepressible instincts of the Yankee interviewer. Unfortunately, we were a little late. The proceedings had already begun, and the presidential address was over. As we entered the hall, we felt an atmosphere of hush, in which the well-tryd tongue of Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Barrister of Lucknow, was cracking wisdom. Mr. Hamid Ali Khan is a gentleman who had hobbnobbed with the Congresswallahs in his early manhood and has ever after remembered the fact, at least with as much pride as his authorship of a pamphlet on Diabetes. He was addressing men of considerable weight—the chairs audibly groaned under some of them. They were men of weight and authority—as the *Pioneer* would say—from the United Provinces and the Punjab. They were men well-known in the ante-chambers of the Provincial Governments, who had commanded influence in their day and had been reckoned among the "great" ones of the land, many of them well-meaning gentlemen who had rendered useful services to the State and laboured for the public weal according to their lights. Their faces bore a perplexed and almost helpless air—they had lost their self-assurance. They seemed to have lived their day and run through their orbit of experience. The new forces of thought and feeling, which they are unable to understand and absolutely unfit to control, have swept them aside in a backwash. They are trying to struggle on their feet again and crying for the old earth and its ancient landmarks. The spectacle is not without its pathos.

But to resume. As I have said, Mr. Hamid Ali Khan was expounding his views on certain matters to the assembly as we entered the hall. He was apparently replying to some objections which had been raised by the Hon. Mr. Riza Ali—an uninvited guest like a few others—against the holding of the meeting itself. The objections seemed to be to the effect that the meeting was a hole-and-corner affair, and that it could not be a representative meeting of the Mussalmans, as the approved leaders of the community like the venerable Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and the Hon. Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad had been deliberately left out. Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, however, could feel little respect for these objections, inasmuch as he had been known to be the extremist of extremists in his days, and had always held independent views on things in general and Indian political questions in particular. He had great respect for the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, but he could not see why they should be regarded as *clippings* (the indispensable "tailoring") of every meeting. Some of "the uninvited" protested against this insult to the Moslem leaders whom the entire community held in great esteem, and the "independent thinker" of early nineties had to explain away his latest effort at phrase-mongering. After he finished, discussion became general, i. e., irrelevant, loud, and clamorous. Many had to say many things, which mainly turned on self-vindication. Invited editors of certain newspapers, whose practice of immoderate "moderation" had grown fatuous and assile

long before "moderation" was authoritatively declared a virtue, loomed large to the entire satisfaction of themselves and the confusion of others. Nawab Sarbuland Jung exploited the situation with admirable courage. First of all he restored the self-respect of many by avowing that the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur were not the only leaders: the Mussalmans had the good fortune to possess, but that they all of them were leaders of great prominence and were quite competent to prescribe for the ills of the community. And, then, he without the least hint, shook a vast load of opinions, inherited as well as acquired, which he wanted to fling at the devoted heads of the audience. It was perhaps his first "public" appearance, and he wished to utilise the occasion in full measure. He went on thinking aloud, and it was soon felt that the process would be interminable. There were some signs of revolt, but they were promptly suppressed by the speaker with curious threats and still louder self-assertion. He was silenced only when he was reminded of the fact that every assembly had its bore, but that they were not quite so irrepressible. The din and confusion did not abate a jot. The President retained wonderful self-possession and smiled affably all around. It was his tact and good sense alone that preserved some semblance of order and prevented the meeting from drifting into an irretrievable chaos. I need not retail all that was said there. Some of the speeches were temperate and inspired with sound sense, but they could produce little effect in that heated atmosphere. Nawab Muzamilullah Khan's speech is worthy of note. He appealed for mutual confidence amongst different sections of the community. He reminded his hearers of the critical state of Moslem affairs and of the supreme need for communal unity. He scoffed at the battle of "leaders" and said he alone could aspire to the title who enjoyed the confidence of the Mussalmans and fearlessly gave the lead. A little later the Hon. Mr. Shafi, who was apparently waiting for the right psychological moment, rose to interpret the sense of the meeting. He said the advice given by the President was timely and valuable, and it would be better if a representative meeting consisting of Moslem leaders from all parts of India were called at an early date to take the advice of the President into careful consideration and concert measures accordingly. The suggestion was hailed as the only relief. It was soon embodied in the form of a resolution and carried.

But another battle royal raged round the question as to who was to call the meeting, and issue invitations to that effect. The "uninvited" few suggested that both H. H. the Nawab of Rampur and the Hon. the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad should issue the necessary invitations. The President, however, disapproved of the idea. This led to another heated discussion. Several suggestions were made and rapidly rejected. There was a great uproar and Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Hon. Secretary of the Aligarh College, was betrayed into an unseemly exhibition. He, all of a sudden and to the utter dismay of all present, flew into a terrible passion and called on the President to quit the meeting and declared that he himself would follow suit. And so saying he forthwith ran out of the room. He was, however, brought round after a good deal of persuasion. Such a childish freak amused many and disgusted all. When everybody was feeling an utter weariness of the flesh as well as of spirit, it was decided by a majority of votes that H. H. the Nawab of Rampur should alone call the next meeting of representative Mussalmans. A few voted against the resolution, including the Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, Mr. Muhammad Yaqub, Vakil, Moradabad; Mr. R. M. Gulam Husain, and Mr. Azar Ali of Lucknow. The great and portentous meeting at last dispersed.

Moralising after the event has never been my favourite pursuit; but one may well ask: What does this grand futility mean? There is no doubt that H. H. the Nawab Sahab of Rampur had meant well and was moved by a genuine desire to do good to his community. His address to the meeting was conceived in a happy vein. It called attention to the great crisis in Moslem affairs, exhorted the Mussalmans to exercise prudence and thoughtful care and take counsel together with a view to end the existing situation and clear the path ahead. The whole substance and tone of the speech were unexceptionable. Then why this great fiasco? It was because the advisers of His Highness had led him into a false step that the meeting ended as it did. They wanted to ignore the community and settle important things over its head, and the result has, we trust, taught them some wholesome lessons. They had almost compromised the position of His Highness in the eyes of the community. They had mistaken their own strength and misjudged the power of the popular voice. Only a few voices sprang from the heart of the people have shattered their most carefully calculated plans and they have been sent adrift on a sea of bitter doubts and disappointments. I hope they have learnt the error of their ways and will try to adapt themselves to the new environment. It is no longer possible to live on such husks as prestige and titled glory.



The Title-Hunting Association of Noisy Jeehuzoors.

KHAN BAHADUR ABUL WAFI MIRZA JOHUKUM B. reviewed the history and services of the title-hunting association of boisterous Jeehuzoors in a speech of remarkable force and eloquence which he addressed to the members of his society the other day. It would be cruel to withhold it from your readers who, I am confident, will derive no end of edification from an intell'gent perusal of it.

THE SPEECH.

Gentlemen and fellow loyalists, Khan Bahadurs, actual and potential, Khan Sahibs present and prospective,—We have assembled here to celebrate the third anniversary of the great institution of modern India—I mean the title-hunting association of blatant *jeehuzoors*. The association is barely three years old, but during this short period, it has won a reputation of which we can legitimately be proud and exhibit an amount of vitality staggering and bewildering to our critics. Our resolutions couched in the forciblest of language, have compelled the reluctant attention of progressive India which once pretended to ignore us and even treat us with contempt. Some of them have been hailed by eminent Anglo-Indian dukes as the thoughtful pronouncements of incredibly sensible Indians on current questions. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad has embraced us with a most buoyant grandmannered effusiveness. We take this opportunity to solemnly assure the *Pioneer* that we shall give it no reason to regret that seemingly rash and unrepresentative investment of paternal interest and affection which it has taken in us. We may also point out with pardonable pride that it could hardly have made a better choice for the lavishment of its confidence.

Gentlemen, when I first suggested that our resolution affirming the proposition that nothing could be sacred which a District Magistrate had acquired and condemning all agitators for the cancellation of his orders as an affront to his infallibility should be extensively wired and printed, you had the folly (I can't use a milder expression because you don't deserve one) to object to it on the ground of the expense it would involve and the widespread indignation it would excite. After the note of a great Anglo-Indian oracle which hailed our resolutions as the soundest piece of wisdom which had ever emanated from the ever-erring non-official services, are you not prepared to sincerely confess—not as a concession to the wishes of your President whom you rightly respect, but as a recognition of an unshakable truth—that you are fools.

The veracity of an announcement may be open to question, but the wisdom of it is not. Before this year is over, some more of you will be Khan Sahibs, the proud recipients of invitations to "At Homes" and parties in which the Collector would be the central figure—the cynosure of gaping loyalist eyes.

To your list of friends will be added the names of immortal Khansamahs and head cooks of imperishable fame. Your record of loyalty—brimming over with *Dalis* benignantly received and salaams

smilingly acknowledged—will dazzle uninitiated India with its extraordinary brilliance. You will go down to posterity, laden with the *parwanahs* and testimonials of Burra Sahibs, the printed encomiums of the *Pioneer* and the blessings of well-tipped chaprassis. Our critics say—I can't speak of them with any degree of self-restraint and patience, you will forgive me if I call them fools (Hear! Hear! Do please, and call them asses too)—that we are doing nothing and wasting our time and great talents. Nothing could be farther from truth than to say that. Our record is here to belie and negative this fondest of accusations. To recount our splendid services, we have resurrected the half-defunct loyalism of the last decade—a loyalism which left India and its affairs to the pleasure of the Bureaucracy and the mercy of the *Pioneer*, which shrank from all legitimate criticism of the Government and its measures as an abomination, and nobly consecrated its attention and energies to perpetually enligning the officials. We have restored Divinity to the Collector, infallibility to the bureaucrat, tip to the red turbaned chaprassi and omniscience to the Anglo-Indian daily.

Gentlemen we have encouraged incipient ambition, supported struggling impudence, developed embryonic *jeehuzism* and assisted youthful but promising evophanes. We have transformed the nervous, hysterical and perturbed Khan Bahadur of yesterday with the cool collected and self-possessed being of to-day, conscious of his great mission in life and confident of his powers. He sat trembling on his *masnad* of official patronage. We have quieted his fears, dissipated his gloom and removed his misgivings. He is once more able to look on the crowd without superfluous trepidations and embrace his tehsil staff with his old cordiality. His *parwanahs* have emerged from the privacy of dust and companionship of worms to which they had temporarily retired from the necessity of press ridicule to claim their old prominence of position.

The Khan Sahib was sulky and glum and looked as if he was about to confess away the loyalty of a life-time and services of his whole tribe. We have come between the world and the greatest of tragedies it has ever witnessed. We have restored him to his old humour, we have reassured him. We have given him back his railway guard to entertain, his vaccinator to patronize and his pound-keeper to bully.

I can't let this opportunity pass without expressing my sincere admiration for those gaudy survivals of a half-forgotten past, those living anachronisms who have made Oudh, the one refreshing oasis, in a frightfully arid desert of India. They have solved one of the greatest problems of the age. They have penetrated a Divine secret hitherto withheld from inquisitive humanity. They have discovered that God gave them tongue in no mood of indiscriminate and reckless generosity. He had a definite object in so doing. The terrestrial Collectors and Commissioners would have gone unpraised and the *Lat Sahib* would have come to Lucknow and departed from it, without the usual laudatory addresses being read out to him—What a noble achievement! (Hear! Hear! Loud Applause.)

CORRESPONDENCE



Moslem Unrest.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—I hope I will not be branded as an alarmist if I availed myself of the medium of your esteemed paper to draw attention to a growing discontent and unrest among the Muhammadans which I can at once put down to the incompetence and want of tact displayed by the U. P. officials in handling the Cawnpore Mosque question. The unrest is not only real but pervades all classes of Muhammadans, whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated, throughout the length and breadth of the country. Another feature of this discontent is that it has not grown out of any desire for Swaraj or similar political concession, but from a genuine belief that their rulers have ceased to have any respect for their religion—a belief, no doubt, produced in their minds by the proceedings and the measures adopted by the local officials in the recent Cawnpore affair. The conduct and attitude of the U. P. officials strangely contrast with the recent sympathetic and reassuring speech of the Viceroy, and the conclusion becomes irresistible that the pronounced policy of the Government is not apparently being carried out on account of the disloyalty of its subordinates. In the Cawnpore affair the main issues involved have always been evaded, and no proper enquiry has been made into the legitimate grievances of the community. Where genuine grievances exist resentment follows, and it is only natural that these should find vent in the newspapers not only to draw the attention of the higher authorities, but also to obtain the support of the public opinion. In such a case it is the plain duty of those responsible for the Administration to institute a prompt inquiry to ascertain where the wrong lies and to apply the proper remedy speedily. Instead of following this reasonable course authorities are trying to gag the Press and the public speakers and thereby committing the same fatal error which eight years before resulted in the formation of secret societies and the growth of anarchism among the Hindus and Marhattas much to the discredit of both the rulers and the ruled. The Press Act gag may serve to shut the mouth of the public organs and speakers, but it can never stifle feelings and sentiments, and such a remedy only proves worse than the disease itself. The closing of the ordinary outlets for ventilating grievances can only serve to exasperate the people thereby adding fuel to the fire. Ever since this unfortunate Cawnpore affair the authorities have started a campaign against the Muhammadan Press. Newspapers are being indiscriminately proscribed and securities demanded of them and forfeited on the merest pretext. The judgment in the suit brought by the Editor of the *Comrade* in connection with the proscription of the pamphlet "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us" leaves no doubt of the fact that the Executives are taking undue advantage of the unusual powers reserved for them in the Act. Sir Lawrence Jenkins has sufficiently indicated that a proper use has not been made of the Act in that case. The recent Press Act proceedings against the local Urdu journal *Al-Hilal* shows that even the present liberal and advanced Government of Bengal are being gradually influenced and drawn into committing the same blunders which has become now a leading feature of the Administration of the United Provinces.

With the anarchism still remaining uneradicated and the Agents of the secret societies watching for their opportunities to take in new recruits, I shudder to think what the effect of the present official indiscretions may be upon a yet unsophisticated and traditionally loyal community whose only fault has been an excessive love for religion. The situation is extremely grave and requires delicate handling, and it is to be hoped that their Excellencies Lords Hardinge and Curzon should rise to the height of the occasion and resolutely set their face against a repetition of the

mistaken policy which has largely been responsible for the anarchism and lawlessness and the creation of the unfortunate estrangement between the rulers and the ruled.

A LOYAL MUSSALMAN.

The Bombay Moslem Loyal Association and the Cawnpore Mosque.

SIR,—I shall feel very much obliged by your finding a corner for the following in your esteemed journal. My purpose in writing to you is to remove the misunderstanding that has been created by certain incidents in which the Moslems of Bombay are intimately concerned.

I have noticed with some surprise that important journals like the *Pioneer* and the *Sun* have taken to give prominence to certain proceedings of the "Bombay Muhammadan Loyal Association" on the question of the deplorable Cawnpore Mosque incident, and giving eulogy to a body whose right and credentials to represent Moslem feeling and opinion in Bombay, are indeed questionable. Nothing that this Association has done in its short life, entitles it to represent Moslem Opinion in Bombay. Imagine an Association possessing no social or political status, suddenly foisted on the general public as the representative of the Muhammadans in Bombay. The Moslems of Bombay would like to know whether any of the much belauded meetings of this Association at which some astounding resolutions were passed, had been attended by any of the representative members, or the leaders of the Muhammadan community in Bombay. Will the Secretary of the Association favour the Moslem public with the names of any?

I have always held that Moslem representative Associations are a great power in doing useful work for a community and that the field in this respect for Moslem Associations is vast and unlimited, the opportunities for doing good solid work for the regeneration of Moslems being many and so promising. But, Sir, any Association with such laudable objects cannot embark upon its career of usefulness unless it has the confidence and support of the leading members of the community in whom the Moslems can repose its implicit faith and trust.

An Association founded merely by a flourish of trumpets cannot expect to be recognized as the mouthpiece of a great community by just passing a certain number of resolutions behind a screen. Proceedings of such nature generally invite ridicule rather than high encomiums, and it would be interesting to know what led these excellent journals to give undue prominence to this particular Association at this precise moment of anxiety and suspense. It is due to the Government and the public, that the true position of this Association were clearly defined, before its much vaunted resolutions can be accepted as representing Moslem opinion.

I regret that much cannot be said in its favour. Its birth did not inspire the slightest confidence. It announced with a loud boom that some of the leading Muhammadans like the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, the Hon'ble Mr Fazalbhoy Dinnoy, Mr Miyan Mahomed Chotani and other prominent Muhammadans had joined the Association. These gentlemen flatly denied having done anything of the sort. This at the outset hardly speaks well in favour of an Association that pretends to represent the Muhammadan community.

The infant Association then essayed to air its views on the pilgrim traffic to Hedjaz by welcoming the proposed monopoly to one Shipping Company with a system of return tickets. It is an indisputable fact that the Muhammadans throughout India have unanimously condemned the proposal in an unmistakable manner. Surely this audacious attempt at openly flouting Moslem opinion will hardly go to raise the Association in the estimation of Muhammadans. The apparent object of this mischievous policy is probably to parade the loyalty of some busy bodies, but the effect produced among the Muhammadans is anything but satisfactory. It has caused much excitement among people, and is likely to cause much friction between the rulers and the ruled. The mass of the people view all such attempts with suspicion. It spalls manufacture. The regrettable incident at Cawnpore has evoked the sympathy of all Moslems in Bombay, towards their unfortunate co-religionists in their trials and sufferings at the present moment. May I ask the Secretary of this Association to kindly publish the names of the Muhammadans who adopted a resolution of contempt at the incident—in their meeting?

The sensible person can justly challenge the good faith and benign intentions of our Government, in the matter of administrative reforms.

but at the same time, one cannot deny that any Government with the best of intentions may at times commit errors of judgment. We are after all human, and are all liable to commit errors. Our Government, however just and enlightened, cannot be infallible. But our Government guided by the highest sense of political wisdom, can easily discriminate the value of genuine public opinion of Moslems in general, and the boomed opinions of isolated individuals.

To cap the absurd resolution of this Association noted above, the Secretary announced in the local Press that no subscription will be opened in Bombay to relieve the distress caused to the unfortunate widows and orphans at Cawnpore, or for helping the defence of any of the accused who may be innocent. I am, however, in a position to state that a subscription list has already been opened by the well-known Anjuman-i-Ziaul-Islam, and a goodly sum has been collected. The general feeling is to assist the helpless widows and orphans, and such of the accused who are innocent. This is but natural. The proceedings of the meeting of the abovesaid institution have been published in the local Urdu papers. It is a pity that the proceedings of the Public Meeting of the Moslems of Bombay held in the Anjuman-i-Islam Hall, at which Mr. Haji Usuf Subhani presided, were not reported in the local Press. The meeting was very largely attended, and the enthusiasm was intense. Never in my public life of over twenty-five years did I witness so strong a feeling as displayed on this occasion. The resolution praying His Excellency Lord Hardinge to order the restoration of the demolished portion of the Cawnpore Mosque, was carried unanimously amidst the most intense excitement. I appealed to my Moslem brethren to be calm and patient and continue to appeal in a loyal respectful, and constitutional manner. And I am proud to say that my fervent appeal met with a ready and enthusiastic response. I must here remark that the loyal Secretary as well as the loyal members of the Loyal Association were conspicuous by their absence from this meeting. There was not a single dissentient voice at this public meeting of the Bombay Moslems. If this previous loyal association were imbued with any genuine spirit of loyalty it could have aired its opinions at the meeting. The absence of these gentlemen implied consent, and it is not consistent on their part now to come forward and pass resolutions antagonistic to those of the Anjuman-i-Islam Meeting.

The question before Government is that of Moslem Law. If Moslems approach Government in a constitutional way and convince them that the Moslem Law absolutely prohibits both the sale as well as the demolition of a Mosque or even a portion of it, Indian Moslems may be sure of a satisfactory solution from such a just and humane ruler as Lord Hardinge.

Sir James Maston's reply to the Moslem Deputation was not satisfactory. He mixes up the incident of the 3rd August with the question of the demolition of a portion of the mosque. I cannot make up my mind to approve of the course adopted by the Cawnpore Moslems in restoring the demolished portion of the Mosque while the case was *sub judice*. They ought to have waited and taken all constitutional measures of appealing to higher authorities. But in spite of this mistake of the Cawnpore Moslems for which they have received severe punishment, the legal problems to be solved by our Government is whether according to the *Shariat* or pure Moslem Law, it is permissible to alienate or demolish a mosque or a portion of the same. A *wakf* property is dedicated to God in perpetuity. Our Government are in a position to consult their highest legal officers on Moslem Law and come to a definite conclusion on the authoritative *fatwas* on the Moslem Law. Therefore if His Excellency Lord Hardinge is pleased to reconsider the judgment of Sir James Maston and orders the restoration of the demolished mosque, he will immensely enhance the reputation and prestige of the British Government throughout the Moslem world, and permanently win over the grateful hearts of the Indian Moslem whose deep and sincere loyalty to the Crown is always based on the solid and firm foundation of British toleration in religion and liberty of conscience. The upon mandate of the Holy Koran to the Faithful is to be absolutely loyal to any Government which respects their religious rights and privileges and ensures peace and order under its *regis*. Indian Moslem under the Koranic injunctions are absolutely loyal to the British Government. The present indeed is a golden opportunity for His Excellency Lord Hardinge to upset the calculations of the enemies of British Rule in India, as by one stroke of his pen he can restore complete confidence among the Indian Moslems and issue an order that all mosques throughout the length and breadth of India including that of Cawnpore shall henceforth remain inviolate. All sensible Moslem are willing to acknowledge that in demolishing a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque Sir James Maston was not actuated by any intention of hurting the religious feelings of the Moslem community, but they have not the least doubt that his order was the result of a hasty and mistaken judgment.

England's greatness has always been in upholding the noble principles of toleration, liberty and justice which she has eternally adopted as her motto, and to the true and lasting glory of England it will be recorded in golden letters in the history of British India that English officers were so just and tolerant that if they were convinced that an administrative mistake had been committed, they were generous enough to correct and satisfy the religious rights and aspirations of the subject races committed to their beneficent care by the All-wise-Providence. The question has now taken the form of a National appeal to the Viceroy, and Indian Moslems should adopt all constitutional measures to respectively impress upon His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the religious aspect of the question as seen through the eyes of Islamic jurisprudence. The great Persian poet *Sadi* has wisely said "If high personages make a condescension it is worthy of great veneration and respect."

I am, therefore, confident that His Excellency Lord Hardinge who is a diplomat of high standing and has solved many Imperial problems will give justice. But the whole blame will rest upon the Indian Moslems if they fail to bring the religious and legal aspects of this case to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Bombay

BADRUDIN ABDULLA KOOR.

Government Officials and Cawnpore Relief Fund.

SIR,—It is with great surprise that we have learnt of a scheme on the part of Government officials to subscribe for the relief of widows and the orphans of the *shahseeds* of Cawnpore. We are unable to understand on what principle this special favour to those poor sufferers is justified.

If the departed *shahseeds* (may they rest in peace!) and the present prisoners at the Bar are guilty of an offence punishable by the Indian Penal Code, what differentiates them from other ordinary criminals in their view, and why should their relatives and dependants be shown a special and novel treatment?

In India, many a time riots have been committed before this and the latest were at Ayodhya and Deoband, but never a pie was forthcoming from the official pocket for the relief of the sufferers. Then, it appears, there must be some mitigating circumstances in the occurrence at Cawnpore which has determined the Government officials to come forward for relief aided by Muslim notables.

If this Cawnpore calamity which has stirred the Muhammadan world in the entire length and breadth of India to its deepest depths be only a blunder on the part of the Local Government, then, the persons most deserving of justice and special treatment for the unjust hardships that they have undergone, are the prisoners themselves now rotting in the Cawnpore Jail. The *shahseeds* have departed to their eternal rest where they are no more in need of any human or Government assistance. The only remedy now left to the Government, consistent with justice, is to immediately release the prisoners in the Cawnpore Jail.

As to relief for the dependants of the dying and the dead, the Muhammadans themselves have done enough and more than enough for their Cawnpore co-religious brothers and sisters and will continue to collect funds so as to be able to afford adequate relief. In this respect they do not stand in need of outside help, nor in the present circumstances will the demands of justice and self-respect allow the Muhammadans to stretch the hand of want before the officials.

But, if these indications of sympathy are brought forward with an ulterior motive then they have grossly mistaken to gauge the present situation and have not adopted the right method to attain their object. What the Muhammadans need most at the present juncture, is justice and the strict observance of the Royal Proclamation of religious non-interference. Nothing short of that can satisfy them or allay the popular unrest and excitement.

At present for the Muhammadans to accept the funds collected by Government officials, as the price of the blood that has reddened the Cawnpore ground and has dirtied the waters of the Ganges, would be an act of disgrace and dishonour. The large amount of money that was estimated that the Muhammadan community would be in need of was based on the calculations that the Cawnpore affair would go as far as the Privy Council and to His Majesty the King-Emperor himself.

If that matter according to the dictates of the impartial British justice be amicably settled by the Supreme Government then the Muhammadans themselves can afford full and adequate relief to the Cawnpore sufferers. The Government officials shall not then be under necessity of taking trouble for the poor Muhammadans,

who demand no more than justice, which, as subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, they have every right to demand.

What we have been unable to understand of this novel practice of the Government officials is that either they have real sympathy with the Cawnpore sufferers or that by this action with disguised features of sympathy, the deep affliction and unrest is sought to be removed.

That the latter method, which we ourselves are averse to believe, would not only prove unsuccessful, but 'productive of more unrest and dissatisfaction. A few thousands cannot in any way affect the attitude of the Muhammadans, and the misunderstanding on the part of Government of the extent of deep grievance of the Moslems would seem still more aggravating.

But taking the first hypothesis to be true, we are unable to understand the rewarding of the Cawnpore Police. The ways of the world are strange, and here is one more puzzle. As we have stated above, the proper and the just course for the Government now is to order the restoration of the demolished portion of the Cawnpore mosque, and the immediate release of the prisoners. If the Government cannot see its way to do this, then for the Muhammadans to accept the offer of the officials would be to prove themselves even unworthy of the sympathy of the Government. To say that is to say a great deal.

QAZI NAJMUDDIN AHMAD.

The Tramways Company.

SIR,—Our attention has been drawn to the article in the *Standard* of the 29th ultimo regarding Tramways Accident. This article contains very serious misrepresentations against the Company which we should be glad if you will correct at the first opportunity.

2. In the first place you suggest that Tramways Accidents are as the "plague" or "cholera," etc. The only inference to be drawn from this statement is that Tramways Accidents are killing hundreds of people in Delhi every year. We beg to inform you that the total number of persons killed, or who have died directly in consequence of injuries from Tram Car Accidents between June 1903 (when the system opened) and the present date, is sixteen, i.e., at the rate of three per annum. We deeply regret these accidents, but would point out that a large number of the Delhi people are accustomed to walking in the middle of the streets without looking where they are going, and without listening to bells or other warning sounds from vehicles. We are of opinion that it is very remarkable that the number of accidents are not many times greater than in the case, and we think that the greater credit is due to our Drivers that the number of accidents is so low.

3. You state that the accidents are due to cars running in narrow streets, but the accident you refer to occurred in Sadar Bazar which is one of the widest streets in Delhi. In the narrowest street, i.e., Lal Kosh, there have been only three fatal accidents in the five years' running.

4. The information given by you as to the accident in Sudder Bazar on August 22nd, is exaggerated. Our Drivers and Conductors concerned were immediately chaled by the Police, and were called off their cars and sent to Subramani Thana. Further the injured person was taken to the Hospital by Mr. Savodra, our Traffic Superintendent.

5. We trust that you will allow us to point out that you appear to have entirely overlooked the great boon which the Tramways of Delhi are to the Delhi citizens. We are now normally carrying considerably over a lakh of passengers each week. We suggested to you that this speaks for itself as to whether the Delhi people wish for Tram-cars to run in Delhi streets or not. The fares at which these passengers are carried, and the other facilities given, are the most favourable to any Tramways system in India, the maximum fares in Calcutta and Bombay being one anna against one pice in Delhi.

6. In England, public opinion forces the Municipal authorities to put down Electric Tramways in practically every town of any size, and from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 60,000 per annum is paid out of the public rates for the maintenance of these Tramways in a very large number of cases. In Delhi the public not only obtain the Tramways system without having to make such contributions to their maintenance, but they are able to ride at rates which are undreamt of in Europe, or even in Calcutta and Bombay.

7. As we feel sure that your article was based on exaggerated information supplied to you, and that you are anxious to present to the public a fair statement, we should be much obliged if you will give this letter equal publicity to that given to the article of which we are obliged to complain.

J. G. GRIFFIN,
General Manager.

Electric Tramways and Lighting Company.

Ode.

The Awakening of the East.

1

From East to West the Orb of Day
Sublime, through boundless æther, wheels his flight :
Then backward darts each quivering ray
Across the shadow-haunted realms of Night
And lo! the brightest gems adorn
The brow of fresh-awakened Morn,
Which wears once more a soft and roseate glow;
And the fairest flowers that blow
Her bosom deck and on her lap are strown.
While, from her lofty, glittering throne,
Her hand, with sovereign bounty, scatters round
Fair Nature's precious gifts upon the smiling ground.

1-2

So in the past thy light divine,
From East to West, O Heavenly Wisdom ' Sped,
And as Night flees before sunshine,
So from Man's heart the shades of darkness fled
First in the East Religion rose,
That dared the gates of Heaven unclose '
First in the East heaven-eyed Philosophy
Taught the Soul how to be free
From earthly trammels which the senses bind
About her wings when, unconfined,
She fain would take her daring upward flight
To soar in cloudless realms of Empyrean light '

1-3

Westward they moved with radiant mien,
Hopeful, steadfast and serene
Night and Chaos passed away
And proudly rose the new-born Day.
And Law and Justice and the gentle Arts
That Peace to cultured life imparts,
Grew when those glens where superstition trod
Did hail the new-found light and owned the unknown God !

2-1

And Nations rose and States were planned
And gorgeous cities built and far and wide
Fare Europe over Sea and land
Untarled the banner of her power and pride.
And o'er dark regions, once unknown,
The gleaming light of truth was thrown,
Till the fierce savage left his quivering prey
Learnt to tremble and obey '—
All won the while, in dreams of bygone days,
The East looked on, with heedless gaze,
Upon her youthful rival's growing power,
And dreaming, still looked on—and lost the precious hour !

2-2

Awake ! arise ! With throbbing breast
And wistful look she views the path before.
Sighs for the past—and from the West
Seeks to learn her long-forgotten lore '—
Behold ! from Neptune's sunset strand,
The generous West her guiding hand
Doth over the far-echoing waves extend as a sister,—as a
friend !—

And share with her the gifts herself hath won
From earth and heaven, while the sun
Through labour-crowded centuries hath rolled—
Rich gifts, more precious far than all her gems and gold !

2-3.

A fairer dawn with brighter ray—
Herald of a glorious day—
O'er the far horizon's rim
Dissolves the long-rung shadows dim '—
And Oh, what gorgeous winged visions rise
And sail athwart the sapphire skies !
What glowing forms, that godlike semblance wear,
What heav'n-aspiring strains float on the sunlit air !

3-1.

Voice of the past ! that silently
Hast stirred within my country's bosom long,
Voice of the future ! proud and free—
In one loud strain your blended notes prolong !
Come forth ye wise and good and brave
From out the cradle and the grave !
The spell is broke ! and from the awful gloom
Of the dark and silent tomb
Bursts forth, arrayed in all the light of thought,

Each mind that deathless work hath wrought ;
Starts from the cradle too, a glorious band
To hail the mighty dead—the guardians of the land !

3-5.

'Tis theirs, the song ; 'tis theirs, the light—
That fills the air with triumph, gilds the sky !
It swells more proudly, burns more bright
And pure, Britannia, 'neath thy favouring eye !
Britannia ! thou by Heaven's decree
The Foster-mother of the free !
Thou, deemed in every age and every clime,
Nurse of patriot hopes sublime !
Nurse of high thought and deeds of high emprise,
Nurse of the brave, the just, the wise !
Smile on their sunrise songs,—for they are thine,
Who bidst the Past revive, the Future's glories shine !

3-8.

Shall fainter grow that melody—
Lost in long futurity ?
Fading slow, those visions gay
In the dim distance die away ?
Ah, no ! that music fails not—though mine ear
Its distant warblings fail to hear !
Those visions fade not—though my failing sight
See not their lights afar, that burn for ever bright !

NIZAMAT JANG.



Reminiscences of The Railway Police.

II.

In my first letter of these reminiscences, I mentioned about the line from Jubbulpore lying within the limits of my jurisdiction, and it was pleasant to escape from the intense heat of Allahabad in the summer to the comparative coolness of that station. Besides in these days there were only two trains from Allahabad to Jubbulpore and by leaving the latter place in an afternoon, you were not bothered by your official *duties* till the following night, when ready to start on the return journey. Time, therefore, was available for any local inquiries on hand and for making a cursory inspection of the Police Office. Usually one had sufficient leisure to drive out of an evening to "eat the air" of Jubbulpore and admire the national picturesqueness of that pretty station. The conveyances I purchased on such occasions were tongas, drawn by a pair of trotting bullocks and quite as comfortable as the average glory of the United Provinces. It was at Jubbulpore that my first case in which Europeans were concerned took place. A man called Ampton—originally Hampton I fancy but the aspirate, though long disuse, had been dropped—was proceeding from Bombay to fulfil an engagement he had entered into at the Railway workshops at Jamalpur. He had nearly a hundred rupees, in cash, with him, and reported that—while sleeping in the second class Waiting Room—somebody had robbed him of this money. The Railway Police Sergeant posted at Jubbulpore was a broad old soldier and his suspicions were directed towards the assistant stationmaster—a person who was popularly credited with a knack of making friends with travellers and persuading them to stand him free drinks. He being gifted with plausible manners and a glib tongue. His accomplice in the theft was said to be an European agent, who filled the billet of bum bailiff for Cantonments and Civil Lines. I held that there was enough evidence to justify my arresting the two accused, since the Waiting Room bearer swore that he had watched the men referred to—*arcades ambo*, both birds of a feather, and that one of sable hue—"going over" Ampton's garments, while he slept off the potatoes he had partaken of. The case was tried by a Joint Magistrate and created considerable interest among the railway community. Luckily for the defendants they had means enough to secure the help of Mr. Y.—since filling a high appointment in Hyderabad—to act as their Barrister. He first of all raised an objection to my conducting the prosecution because I was dressed in *muft*, and the Police Regulations directed one to don uniform when attending Court. This obstacle I removed by explaining that officers lately appointed had been advised not to provide themselves with uniform till some contemplated changes in the Dress Regulations were published. So the proceedings began, and I wondered how I should manage, being unaware of what might constitute leading questions, and other details of procedure. I was saved long suspense in this respect, for I had hardly examined one witness, when Mr. Y. brought forward a second objection, more valid than the master of appropriate counsel. I had arrested the two accused—their being Europeans

rendered this necessary—so was not entitled to fill the rôle of prosecuting officer. An Inspector was borrowed from the District Police, and I had to remain a silent onlooker at the trial. Under the able handling of the defence Barrister, the hapless plaintiff had to enumerate the number of "pegs" he had consumed during his stay at the railway station, and their total must have convinced the Court that Ampton could not have been fully cognisant of the events of the previous day. The District Inspector took no interest in the case, busily signing piles of Urdu papers brought to him at intervals from his office, and moreover was afflicted with a deafness which prevented his hearing all the statements given. Vainly did I hand him slips with notes about essential points to be elicited. He read the slips, but scorned to ask the questions suggested. My chief witness, the Bearer, was discredited by the Station Master being called upon to give the height, etc., of a screen that played an important part in the Bearer's tale. He—quite correctly—stated that it would be impossible for a man to have looked over the said screen, whereas the Bearer in reality had stood on a low form, and the upper portion of the screen had openings in the carved wood work, through which anybody might see all going on in the Waiting Room. The result was a foregone conclusion, the Court rightly deeming that there was not sufficient proof forthcoming to justify his committing the accused for trial. I went back to Allahabad rather crestfallen, my only consolation being that a Barrister of Mr. Y.'s skill had thought it needful to debar me from acting as prosecutor. So far as I know, two of the parties in this case have long since joined the great majority, but I noticed the name of the hapless plaintiff quite recently in one of the daily papers. He now occupies a decent position on an Indian railway and probably has resolved to "forsake sack, and live cleanly" in future—warned by the loss of his money under the circumstance described above.

The only other occasion in which I had to take a European into custody was a comparatively trifling matter. An urgent telegram reached me one night, asking for my immediate presence at Moghul Serai, the Refreshment Room Manager having "gone fantee" and assaulted the handful of Railway Police at that station. The Sergeant chanced to be away on leave, so nothing was left for me to do except quit a warm bed and proceed to the scene of the assault and battery by the first train. An Indian almost invariably exaggerate such occurrences imagining that their self-importance is increased by so doing. The present instance was no exception to that rule, for on looking at the constables—said to have received appalling injuries at the hands of the savage Manager—I could find no worse tokens of the struggle than a solitary black—very black—eye on one man, and a small rent in the coat worn by another of the valiant Police. In fact, the Manager had suffered more in respect of bodily injuries than his captors, for—once overpowered—he had been hauled very roughly and tied to a pillar, until the Station-master entrusted with the Police for their excessive zeal. During the previous evening the Manager had been his own best customer, and would have gone to sleep peacefully had not a constable on duty seen fit to peer at him—as did the sons of old Noah at their inebriated sue. A brief free fight ensued, but the combatant parties were soon separated by the European station staff. The Manager was released with a fine and some good advice from the trying Magistrate at Benares, but I was sorry to learn—lost his post. Perhaps an environment of bottles was unfavourable to his moral constitution. It is part of the duty of a Railway Police Inspector to keep a sharp eye on all "Weary willics" travelling on the line and submit their descriptive roll and all particulars procured regarding their destination and whence they had come from. Often one ran across weird individuals, even what akin to the lazier Macintosh Jellaladdin so accurately portrayed by Kipling in his story "To be Filled for Reference." Had a good winter permission to read the annual volumes of the Secret Abstract, he would be furnished with enough material for a score of Plays, a like number of Poems, and short tales unnumberable. Novels of greater length would be less easy to produce from the confidential journals alluded to. The habitual criminal, in the shape of professional railway thieves and poisoners, who carry on their trade in third class compartments, were sometimes heard of on my Beat, but the former generally travelled from Bombay to Jubbulpore and no further, while the latter found the Oudh and Rohilkhand system—then without a regular Police force—happier hunting grounds than the East Indian. I had a couple of detectives placed at my disposal, one of whom took keen interest in his work and frequently rendered valuable assistance to the Investigating staff, but the other man did little save earn T. A. and was a "cheap fodder" where sweetmeat-sellers and other platform hawkers were concerned. The *modus operandi* of the professional poisoner may be worth recording, in a future article, also the manner in which a joint inquiry into accidents on a line is commonly conducted.

A. N. G.

The Islamic World.

Bulgar Atrocities.

Pierre Loti's Impressions.

VISIT TO ADRIANOPLE.

M. PIERRE LOTI, the celebrated French writer and member of the Académie Française, author of the "Pêcheurs d'Islande," "Madame Curyssanthos," "Fantôme d'Orient," "Les Désenchantées," and many other works, lately stayed with the *Daily Telegraph's* Special Correspondent in Constantinople, Count Leon Ostrogorsky, and paid a visit to Adrianople.

He has embodied his impressions of recent events in the district in the following long, vivid, and interesting despatch to the *Daily Telegraph*.—

Constantinople, Saturday, May 24.

I wish simply to tell in all simplicity what I have seen with my own eyes, seen in the desert which the Bulgarians have made of Thrace. Oh, how it surpasses in abomination everything that I had been told, and all that I imagined! With what fury have these Christian liberators worked in order to accomplish so much destruction in a few months.

A desert, I said, and the most tragic of deserts, because one knows that the place was once a smiling province, and that the earth is full of freshly-killed peasants. Nothing more.

In the military motor-car which carried me at full speed I was able to travel miles and miles without perceiving a human being. Here and there the carcasses of beasts and flocks of crows. In the distance heaps of stones and the ruins of little walls—all that was left of villages. If one approaches so near as to discern a timorous face, contrasted with pain, rises from the debris, it is that of some one who has escaped the great massacres, and is sheltering himself under a roof of branches in what was his house.

PHANTOM VILLAGES.

Of these phantom villages I will describe one, Hanoza, for example, where I stopped for half an hour. But there are hundreds and thousands of others where the horror is the same. So, choosing at random, let us take Hanoza. It contains nothing but broken walls, ruins, debris. Here is the mosque. From a distance it seemed to be less destroyed than many others; doubtless there was not enough time for razing it properly. Inside a few sick and wounded, with cadaverous faces, are stretched on heaps of rags. The fine sculptures in white marble at the windows and the Mihrab had been smashed with sledge-hammers. The Turkish prisoners and wounded were condemned to carry out this sacrilegious task, while the Bulgarians harassed them with their bayonets. One must ascend the minaret to see the most shocking part of the business; the Bulgarians went there every day and committed unbelievable acts of horror, whose signs can clearly be seen on the cupola. Around the mosque is the cemetery. All the columns have been broken, the dead have been exposed and men amused themselves by defiling the scattered bones.

Here is the well of the village; a sinister odour arises from it. Into it had been thrown the bodies of women and children violated by the soldiers, and on top of them, to make them sink, have been heaped the stones torn from the graves.

FORTY OUT OF A THOUSAND.

Out of a little more than a thousand inhabitants there remain about forty who have escaped massacre. Somebody has told them by name, and they come and surround me, rising from behind the ruins like spectres. Poor, brave people! How is it that even in this lost village they know that I am making an attempt to proclaim the truth to so-called Christian Europe? But, yes, they all know, and they come to press my hand. And then they describe their martyrdom. One says "I have neither wife nor children, house nor flocks. Why am I not dead?" Another, a bent old man, tells me: "I had a little grand-daughter, 10 years old; she was my joy. Four Bulgarian soldiers came in to violate her. They nearly killed me with their fists because I wanted to defend her. When I recovered consciousness I could not find her."

Where is his granddaughter? No doubt in the well, rotting with the others, under the broken marble. All along the road which traverses these infinite and desolate solitudes, is a continual stream of soldiers, baggage wagons, artillery, guns on carts, Kurdish or Bulgarian cavalry, and camels loaded with provisions. From all parts, even from the depths of Asia, people are coming by forced marches to the succour of beautiful Adrianople which has escaped by a miracle, but which Europe against all sentiments of humanity,

obstinately desires to give back to the savage assassins who will not leave there one stone upon another, and who will turn it into a charnel-house.

TERRIBLE PLOT FOILED.

Adrianople! The evening after the long funeral tour, she appeared on the horizon above a green belt of trees. Crowded with her minarets and her domes, she is still marvellous. But perhaps, alas, her days are numbered. There is joy in her beleaguered streets—the unthinking joy of one who awakes at last from the most horrible of nightmares after spending so many days under the knife of butchers, whose trade is in human flesh. It is known by what a miracle she was saved. The Bulgarians had everything ready for the final slaughter as soon as the Turks returned. They were to massacre the Mussalmans, while the Armenians, armed by the Bulgars, were to be summoned to massacre the Greeks. Each man had been assigned his task. Moreover, guns had been trained on the beautiful chief mosque to destroy it. And this last night of the Bulgarian occupation was particularly terrible; it was when Greeks, tied four and four, were thrown into the river. The only survivor of the *noyade* described it to me in details which made me shiver, and which I will give later. On this last night, then, there was slaughter, pillage, violation practically all over the place. I will give one example from a thousand. In one house which I knew there lived the widow of a Turkish officer and her two young daughters. A band of Bulgarian soldiers entered by violence and remained until the morning. All through the night the neighbours heard the harrowing cries of these three women.

ARRIVAL OF THE TURKS.

Men also occupied themselves with piling their loot into cars which were to leave at daybreak. What a lamentable pillage! It included even the furniture and mattresses of the poorest people—everything that fell into their furious hands. But at daybreak, thank God! appeared those who were not expected so soon. A shout of deliverance spread throughout the city—"The Turks, the Turks are coming!" They were only expected the following morning. And the Bulgarians had thought themselves to be so sure of the ensuing night for bathing everything in blood! What a prodigy! Had these disturbers of the feast been able to march fifty miles in twenty-four hours. But there they were and Adrianople felt that she was saved at least for a time. And Mussalmans, Greeks, and Jews trembled and wept for joy. The Bulgarians took the time to throw into the wells a few last prisoners of war. Then they fled in disorder. They returned to capture a young Turkish officer. Rehid Bey, son of the great Fikri, who approached too close to their claws. They tore his two eyes from their orbits, out of both his arms, and then disappeared. That was their last crime, at least for the time being.

SLAUGHTER OF PRISONERS.

Poor Adrianople, whom I have seen en fête, bedecked with flags and illuminated at evening in honour of Ramadan, possibly has lost Ramadan! Behind this joy of the people in the streets there remained the recollection of the atrocities of the preceding night. In the Turkish quarters I was shown demolished mosques, and doors and windows that had been beaten in by robbers or satyrs. I was taken to see the island of anguish, that island in the river where forty or five thousand Turkish prisoners of war were herded together in order that they might die of hunger. There I saw the trees, just up to a man's height, naked and white, despoiled of their bark, which the famished prisoners had devoured. It is known that at the end of a fortnight of this torture the Bulgarians came and cut the throats of those who persisted in living. If I had collected only Turkish testimony I should risk being charged with exaggeration. But the most overwhelming evidence is that which was applied to me by the Greeks and Jews. The Greek Metropolitan, upon whom I called in his old episcopal place, authorising me to repeat it, told me how the Bulgarian general spoke to him after having summoned him in the rudest manner.

"Is it a fact that you like the Turks?"

"Yes, because for four centuries they have allowed us to live happily."

"Good. I am going to have you executed."

"Then kill me immediately."

"No, no. A little later, when it pleases me. Get out."

And in a neighbouring room the sides-de-camp spoke in the same language to all the Greek notables who had been summoned. But the lightning arrival of the Turkish forces...

"WHAT WILL EUROPE DO?"

During an "iftar" (Ramazan dinner) given by the Vali in his Government palace I was able to form an opinion of the fraternal understanding between the Mussulmans and the other religious communities of Adrianople. Among generals and officers of all grades, the Grand Rabbi of the Jews was seated at table between two turbaned hodjas. The Greek Metropolitan smiled as he chatted with his left-hand neighbour, the chief of the dervishes. Also, over the joy of deliverance which united them hung the anguish of Europe's to-morrow. What will Europe do? What will she demand? Confidence prevailed, however, confidence in French hearts and English hearts, and perhaps in spite of all, in Russian hearts. At the end of the repast the beautiful voice of a muezzin filled the palace. Through the open windows one saw the splendour of the full moon and the minarets illuminated for Ramazan mounting heavenward like sharp arrows.

It was the hour of evening prayer, and I went with the Vali and his suite to the marvellous mosque of Selim II., where already thousands of men were prostrating themselves. And that evening the hodjas chanted as though in a delirium. Their beautiful clear voices seemed to soar towards the sonorous dome, while the innumerable muffled and heavy voices of the kneeling faithful accompanied them like a subterranean rumbling. Never in any mosque have I heard such exaltation of prayer—prayer of action and of grace, and, at the same time, what supplication and terror.

A WARM APPEAL

In a few days, also, if Europe brings the Bulgarians back here, what will become of all those imploring men, what will become of these beautiful mosques which the believers fill with their ardent psalmody? After what the barbarians have done once and have not had time to finish, one can easily imagine what their return would be when they will be maddened by having been driven away. Alas, this is a very serious moment. I can see the Press sold or muzzled as at the worst of times; I can see my protestations placed on the index, even in France. But I still have hope. What a crime, impossible to qualify, it would be to hand over these splendid sanctuaries to the merciless destroyers, and particularly to condemn this population to torture and a horrible death! Europe, warned, will hesitate to commit it, if only in order to avoid creating an abyss of hatred between the Christian and the Mussulman world. I said that the Turks hoped even in Russian hearts. And so do I. I believe that the Russians are misled, that they are mistaken, that they do not know. When they know all the monstrous truth they will understand this to take up the cause of this small, deceitful, and ferocious people, this opprobrium of the great Slav family, would be to soil their history with an indelible stain.

PIERRE LOTI,

(of the Academie Française)

P. S.—The Turks are reproached with having gone beyond the limits which they fixed themselves. I have spoken about this with their officers, who said to me: "But we do not want to establish ourselves there. Only when distracted women, both Greek and Mussulman, cry to us, 'Kill us, or deliver us from the Bulgars!' how can we refrain from going to their aid?" Is it known in Europe that at Dedegatch, a town which diplomacy conceded to Ferdinand of Coburg, the Turks and Greeks have sworn to emigrate *en masse* to Asia before the arrival of the Bulgars, and that they are preparing raft for their flight?

Finally, I have just received from a little town in Thrace the following telegram, signed by a hundred Greeks: "We beg you to do everything in the world so that we shall not fall into the hands of the Bulgarian monsters"—P. L.



Selections.

Rabindranath Tagore.

India's great national poet, Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, who returned by the S. S. *City of Lahore*, landed on Saturday at the Ballard Pier, where he was received by Professor N. G. Velinker, on behalf of the Prarthana Samaj and the Students' Brotherhood, and by a deputation of Bengali residents of Bombay. He was warmly welcomed by his Indian admirers and was garlanded by Mr. A. O. Chatterjee, the local agent of the Associated Press of India. Mr. Tagore was the guest of Mr. Chatterjee for the short time that he was here. He spent only a few hours in Bombay and left at 1.30 by the mail for Calcutta.

As it was not possible for him to stay in Bombay, owing to his having to make all arrangements for his school in Bolepur before

the Puja holidays in Bengal begin, he was not able to comply with the request of the Students' Brotherhood to attend their anniversary. However, he promised to come here sometime next year.

HOW HE LIKED LONDON.

"It grows on you," Mr. Tagore replied cautiously in reply to a request for his opinion of London. "I had been to England twice before. Once when I was 17 years of age in 1878 and again only for a few weeks some years later. But I was then too young to form any opinion. On my recent visit everything was so new and strange. At first I thought it dismal: it was gloomy and rainy, and I was all at sea. I did not like the hotels (I have never liked a hotel life), but latter I got lodgings in Hampstead, and became acquainted with many nice people. Then I grew to like London."

"I did not go to the India Office nor to any other political circle. I have not seen many famous places, as I do not believe in rushing about from place to place sight seeing. Mr. Montagu once came to hear me while I was giving a reading of one of my dramas and he was very kind and appreciative."

Mr. Tagore, like all artistic natures, is modest and averse to advertisement and it is difficult to get him to talk about himself. There can be no doubt, however, that he has had a remarkable vogue in London, and was the literary lion of the season. Many people are seeking to learn Bengali, in order to read his works in the original! "I gave lessons in Bengali to some of my friends both in England and America and some of them picked it up wonderfully in a short space of time." The translation of his short poems for the use of children and his lectures are to be published in October, and some early love poems are to be published before Christmas.

"HOW LITTLE THEY KNOW OF INDIA"

"One great thing that struck me in England, was how little the English people know of India. I also was unable to follow what was happening in India because the papers paid so scanty an attention to our affairs. It seems an anomaly that India should occupy such a tiny and insignificant space in your paper in London. There should be, I think, a more complete transmission of news from India to London."

"Take, for instance, the case of the terrible floods that occurred at Burdwan recently. A lady of my acquaintance came across a detailed account in a German paper, and she thought it must have been exaggerated, because she had seen nothing about it in the English papers, which had given just a bare paragraph. It is surely curious that London should be so little interested in such a terrible calamity in India and should accord it only a few lines, while the German Press published a full report! A man run over by a motor-car in a remote part of France, and things like that, are given prominence in by the London papers, but one of the most devastating floods we had in India is hardly noticed."

"Why should not Englishmen know what was going on in India."

"All of a sudden they hear of somebody committing a rash act in India, and they condemn him, but they know nothing about the question, and have not followed the trend of life or thought in India. They are content to leave everything to the authorities, and they don't like to think about it."

A SCHEME FOR DISSEMINATION OF INDIAN NEWS.

"It is therefore essentially necessary that we should now direct our efforts for forming a very influential committee both here in India and in England with a view to keep the British public informed of all that happens in India. I spoke to some of the leading journalists in London and they also were of opinion that it would be highly beneficial to Indian interest if such committees were formed—the Indian committee wiring sober information devoid of all exaggerations and the English committee disseminating it throughout the country, with a view to keep the British public informed of the important Indian events of both local and imperial interest and how generally affairs are managed here in the name of the British people and the King-Emperor."

Mr. Tagore also assured our representative that he intended moving in the matter as soon as he has settled down. Asked as to the treatment he received in London and elsewhere, Mr. Tagore said: "You see, I had a limited circle of friends, and acquaintances in London and they were all literary people who were very kind to me. On the whole, I was not disappointed."

"I had a varied, wonderful experience" he said. "On coming to the boat, however, one could see the difference at once. Most of the people I met on the voyage back were like soldiers without culture and refinement. Of course they came to know me as the 'Poet Tagore' and they were all very nice to me. They would often ask me to join them in cards and betting and drinking, which I politely refused."

"Two zealous missionaries I met on board used to preach Christianity to me with a view to make me a convert. They bothered me so much that at last I lost my patience and had to tell them that I was too old for all that and enquired why they did not preach to their own people, who were always drinking and gambling."

In New York.

"I had an unpleasant experience with the customs-house people" — "but not so bad as it is here," he added parenthetically "and directly I landed some interviewer who was prowling about caught sight of my turban in the distance, and just pounced upon me. He asked me my opinions about things, and what I thought about America. I said I've not had time to form any opinion about it."

"He didn't know who I was, but he was persistent and said 'Well, give us some talk about your India, any way'."

"It is too large a subject," I replied. I was never interviewed in America, and although I was constantly besieged by newspapermen, my friends protected me from their incursions. I had to lecture, though, the Americans have an inordinate appetite for lectures, and I was forced into lecturing especially in the Universities. Although I did not like New York I liked Boston and Chicago, where I found literary circles of friends which was just the thing I wanted. These places are generally very quiet and it helped me a great deal in my literary pursuits."

"The American is much more curious than the Englishman. In the States my Indian dress attracted embarrassing attention, and in New York great crowds followed me everywhere. That is curious, because it is a cosmopolitan city, and the people are accustomed to the sight of Turks, Arabs and Semythians."

"On the other hand, the people scarcely noticed me in London, and I could walk through the crowded streets in my turban and Indian dress without attracting any attention."

In his travels Mr. Tagore visited America and he was asked for his opinion of New York. He was not enthusiastic "It is so crowded, noisy, distracting," he said, and one can well believe how his artist's spirit, loving the open air and the sunshine, felt imprisoned amid the deafening roar of traffic and industry. He spent most of his time in the capital of the U. S. A.

THE MAUD ALLAN CONTROVERSY

Mr. Tagore made a few pertinent remarks with regard to the visit to and performance in India of Miss Maud Allan, the famous dancer. Mr. Tagore, it must be said, has only heard of Miss Allan and the "Salome" dance. He has so far taken only an ordinary interest in the art of dancing.

Further Mr. Tagore left England a few days before the controversy in the Press commenced and he had not therefore known anything of the agitation that has been engineered against the proposed visit or the objections urged against the visit. Mr. Tagore very smilingly expressed surprise at it. He was told that the Europeans who oppose her coming out to this country hold that by her public performances their prestige in this country would be lowered. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Tagore said that dancing was an art which had its own merits like every other art and it really produced good as it gave expression to beauty and emotion. If it was considered bad as was most part of literature, and Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley and Swinburne among others should be interdicted. Especially poems of Swinburne would have to be banned. If literature was admitted to be good, every form of art was good.

Taking the analogy of general literature it would be found that there were things in it which were peculiarly European, and it had effects on Indians and Indians might think why they should be asked to dabble in that literature. Possibly it had some disturbing influence in Indian minds in the early days of English education, but that was subsequently overcome and English literature had become part of our life. After all it had given rise to no evil results but was ever doing great service. Beautiful and idealised movements of the body had certainly most elevating influence, and ill consequences only followed when these movements were made in a deliberately voluptuous manner.

On the subject of loss of prestige of the Europeans in India, Mr. Tagore said that no more untenable suggestion could be made. There was no question of prestige in the public appearance of an artist who gave her own expression of beauty and it was not through an artist the character of the whole community was judged. But Mr. Tagore said that in the life of Europeans there were many things which were incomprehensible to the Indian, their ideas on the fitness of things, and especially the social dances, at which before servants, men and women take part and act in a manner highly distasteful to Indian sentiment. If Europeans were mindful of their prestige why should they, instead of putting a stop to these social events, encourage them. If there were nothing to complain of in these performances in England and elsewhere then it was quite

plain there was nothing against their performance in India. It would be better to leave to the people to discriminate between the good and bad and take the risk themselves, and it was not a wise step to hold that Indians must see only good things, and that what was good for Englishmen was not good for Indians.

Calcutta High Court Bench.

A CALCUTTA contemporary gives currency to a rumour that the Hon Mr Justice Hassan Imam is dissatisfied with his life as a judge and retires from the Calcutta High Court Bench. It would be a matter for sorrow indeed if this statement turns out true. We do not know the composition of the atmosphere surrounding the judge, but if it should contain uncongenial elements it is necessary they must be removed as otherwise they would preclude eminent men from accepting a place on the bench. During the short time Mr. Hassan Imam has been judge he has earned reputation for ability and impartiality and has considerably risen in the estimation of his countrymen. The Calcutta High Court bench would be undoubtedly the poorer by his retirement. But there would be cause for joy viewed from another standpoint. In the present state of public life in India, when there is a lamentable dearth of leaders and workers, the country cannot afford to lose the services of any of her prominent sons. The retirement of Mr. Imam will mean an acquisition to the public life of Behar and of India generally.—*Behares*.

We hear that Mr Justice Chadhuri will be confirmed as a Judge of the High Court. Sir R. Craddock, we hear, opposed the confirmation for the usual reasons which induce executive opposition to judicial efficiency, but Lord Hardinge has had the sense to overrule this latest attempt to stifle independence among the Judges. It is the first time that Lord Hardinge has asserted himself since his illness and we congratulate him on his recovery.—*The Indian Daily News*.

Short Studies.

THE TRIANGLE.

Nothing is true for ever. A man and a fact will become equally decrepit, and will tumble in the same ditch: for truth is as mortal as man, and both are outlived by the tortoise and the crow.

To say that two is company and three is a crowd is to make a very temporary statement. After a short time satiety or use and wont has crept smugly between the two, and, if they are any company at all, they are bad company who pray discreetly but passionately for the crowd which is censured by the proverb.

If there had not been a serpent in the Garden of Eden it is likely that the bored inhabitants of Paradise would have been forced to import one from the outside wilds, merely to relax the tedium of a too-sustained diet. There ought to be a law that when a man and a woman have been married for a year they should be forcibly separated for another year. In the meantime, as our lawgivers have no sense, we will continue to invoke the serpent.

Mrs. Mary Morrissey had been married for quite a time to a gentleman of respectable mentality, a sufficiency of money, and a surplus of leisure. Good things? We would say so if we dared, for we are growing old, and suspicious of all appearances, and we do not easily recognise what is bad or good. Beyond the social circumference we are confronted with a debatable ground where good and bad are so merged that we cannot distinguish the one from the other. To her husband's mental attainments (from no prepossessing dizzy peaks did he stare. It was only a tiny plain with the faintest of hills in the centre), Mrs. Morrissey extended a courtesy entirely unmixed with awe. For his money she extended a hand which could still thrill to an unaccustomed prodigality, but for his leisure (and it was illimitable) she could find no possible use.

The quality of permanency in a transient world is terrifying. A permanent husband is a bore, and we do not know what to do with him. He cannot be put on a shelf. He cannot be hung on a nail. He will not go out of the house. There is no escape from him, and he is always the same. A smile of a certain dimension, mousetraps of this inevitable measurement, hands that waggle and flap like those of automata—these are his. He eats this way, and he drinks that way, and he will continue to do so until he stiffens into the ultimate quietude. He snores on this note, he huggles on that dissonant, unescapable, unchanging. This is the way he walks, and he does not know inside and out, catalogued, dictated, and he cannot be packed away.

Mrs. Morrissey did not yet commune with herself about it, but if her grievances were anonymous, it was not unknown. There is a ladder to every mind, as to every house, and a ladder to the mind of Mrs. Morrissey.

it houseroom, the knowledge sat on her very hearthstone, whistling for recognition.

Indeed, she could not look anywhere without seeing her husband. He was included in every landscape. His moustaches and the sun rose together. His pyjamas dawned with the moon. When the sea roared so did he, and he whispered with the river and the wind. He was in the picture, but was out of drawing. He was in the song, but was out of tune. He agitated her dully, surreptitiously, unceasingly. She questioned of space in a whisper. "Are we glued together?" said she. There was a bee in a flower, a burly rascal who did not care a rap for anyone, he sat enjoying himself in a scented and gorgeous palace, and in him she confided—

"If," said she to the bee, "if that man doesn't stop talking to me I'll kick him. I'll stick a pin in him if he doesn't go out for a walk."

She grew desperately nervous. She was afraid that if she looked at him any longer she would see him. Tomorrow, she thought, I may notice that he is a short, fat man in spectacles, and that will be the end of everything. But the end of everything is also the beginning of everything, and so she was one half in fear and the other half in hope. A little more and she would hate him, and would begin the world again with the same little hope and the same little despair for her meagre capital.

She had already elaborated a theory that man was intended to work and that male sloth was offensive to Providence, and should be forbidden by the law. At times her tongue thrilled, silently as yet, to certain dicta of the experienced aunt who had superintended her youth, to the intent that a lazy man is a nuisance to himself and to everybody else, and, at last, she disguised this saying as an anecdote, and repeated it pleasantly to her husband.

He received it coldly, pondered it with disfavor, and dismissed it by arguing that her aunt had whiskers, that a whiskered female is a freak, and that the intellectual exercises of a freak are—he lifted his eyebrows and his shoulders. He brushed her aunt from the tips of his fingers, and blew her delicately beyond good manners and the mode.

But time began to hang heavily on both. The intellectual antics of a leisured man become at last wearisome. His methods of thought by mere familiarity, grow distasteful, the time comes when all the arguments are finished, there is nothing more to be said on any subject and boredom, without even the covering, apologetic hand, yawns and yawns and cannot be appeased. Thereupon two cease to be company, and even a serpent would be greeted as a cheery and timely visitor. Usual indeed, and not infrequent, is that time, and the vista therefrom is a long, dull yawn, stretching to the horizon and the grave. If at any time we do revalue the values, let us write it down that the person who makes us yawn is a criminal knave, and then we will abolish matrimony, and read Pink again.

The serpent arrived one morning hard on Mrs. Morrissey's pathetic pressure. It had three large trunks, a toy terrier, and a volume of verse. The trunks contained dresses, the dog insects, and the book emotion—a sufficiently envenomed trilogy. Miss Sarah O'Malley wore the dresses in exuberant rotation, Mr. Morrissey made friends with the dog, and life at once became complex and joyful.

Mr. Morrissey, exhilarated by the emotional poetry, dived with an instinct too human to be counted, more and more in the direction of his wife's cousin, and that lady, having a liking for comedy, observed the agile posturings of the gentleman on a verbal summit, up and down and around which he flung himself with equal dexterity and satisfaction—crudely, he made puns—and the two were further thrown together by the enforced absence of Mrs. Morrissey into a privacy more than sealed, by reason of the attentions of a dog who would climb to her lap, and there with an angry nose, put to no more than temporary rest the nimble guests of his jacket. Shortly Mrs. Morrissey began to look upon the toy terrier with a meditative eye.

It was from one of these, now periodical, retreats that Mrs. Morrissey first observed the rapt attitude of her husband, and instantly, life for her became bounding, plentiful, and engrossing.

There is no satisfaction in owning that which nobody else covets. Our silver is no more than second-hand tarnished metal until someone else speaks of it in terms of envy. Our husbands are barely tolerable until a lady friend has endeavored to abstract their cloying attentions. Then only do we comprehend that our possessions are unique, beautiful, well worth guarding.

Nobody has yet pointed out that there is an eighth sense, and yet the sense of property is more valuable and more detestable than all the others in combination. The person who owns something is civilized. It is man's escape from wolf and monkeydom. It is individuality at last, or the promise of it, while those other ownerless people must remain either beasts of prey or beasts of burden, grinning with ineffective teeth, or bowing stupid heads for their masters' heads, and all begging humbly for lost straws, and getting them.

Under a sufficiently equable exterior, Mrs. Morrissey's blood was pulsing with greater activity than had ever moved it before. It raced! It flew! At times the tide of it thudded in her head, boomed in her ears, surged in fierce waves against her eyes; her brain moved with a complexity which would have surprised her had she been capable of remarking upon it. Plot and counterplot! She wove webs horrid as a spider's. She became, without knowing it, a mistress of psychology. She dissected motions and motives. She builded theories precariously upon an eye-lash. She pondered and weighed the turning of a head, the handling of a sugar bowl; she read treason in a laugh, assignations in a song, villainy in a new dress. Deeper and darker things! Profound and vicious depths plunging stark to where the devil lodged in darkness too dusky for registration! She looked so steadily on these gulfs and minks that at last she could see anything she wished to see; and always, when times were critical, when this and that, abominations indescribable, were separated by no more than a pin's point, she must retire from her watch (alas for a too sensitive nature!) to chase the enemies of a dog upon which, more than ever, she fixed a meditative eye.

To get that woman out of the house became a pressing necessity. Her cousin carried with her a baleful atmosphere. She moved cloudy with doubt. There was a diabolic aura about her face; and her hair was red! These things were patent. Was one blind or a fool? A straw will reveal the wind, so will an eyelash, a smile, the carriage of a dress. Ankles also, one saw too much of them, let it be said then. Teeth and neck were bared too often and too broadly. If modesty was indeed more than a name, then here it was outraged. Shame, too! was it only a word? Does one do this and that without even a blush? Ever vice should have its good manners, its own decent reticements. If there is nothing else, let there be breeding! But at this time the world might look, and undemand, and censure, if it were not brassbrowed and stupid. Sneak! Traitor! Serpent! Oh, serpent! Do you slip into our very Eden? Looping your sly coils across our flowers, trailing over our beds of narcissus and our budding rose crawling into our secret arbors and whispering places, and nests of happiness! Do you haunt and sway your crested head, with a new hat on it every day? Oh that my aunt were here, with the dragon's teeth, and the red breath, and whiskers to match! Here Mrs. Morrissey jumped as if she had been bitten (as indeed she had been) and retired precipitately, eying the small dog that frisked about her with an eye almost petrified with meditation.

To get that woman out of the house quickly and without scandal. Not to let her know for a moment, for the blink and twitter of an eyelid, of her triumph. To eject her with ignominy, retaining one's own dignity in the meantime. Never to let her dream of an uneasiness that might have screamed, an anger that could have bitten and scratched, and been happy in the primitive exercise. Was such a task beyond her adequacy?

Below in the garden the late sun slanted upon her husband, as with declamatory hands and intense brows he chanted emotional poetry, ready himself on the slope of opportunity to roll into verses from his own resources. He criticised, with agile misconception, the inner meaning, the involved, hard-hidden heart of the poet; and the serpent sat before him and nodded. She smiled on enchantments at him, and alliments and subtle, subtle disagreements. On the grass at their feet the toy terrier bounded from his slumbers, and curved an imperative and furious hind leg in the direction of his ear.

Mrs. Morrissey called the dog, and it followed her into the house, frisking joyously. From the kitchen she procured a small basket, and into this she packed some old clothes and pieces of biscuit. Then she picked up the terrier, cuffed it on both sides of the head, popped it into the basket, tucked its humbly agitated tail under its arched ribs, closed the basket, and fastened it with a skewer. She next addressed a label to her cousin's home, tied it to the basket, and dispatched a servant with it to the railway station, instructing her that it should be paid for on delivery.

At breakfast the following morning, her cousin wondered audibly why her little, weeny, tiny pet was not coming for its brecky.

Mrs. Morrissey, with a smile of infinite sweetness, suggested that Miss O'Malley's father would surely feed the brute when it arrived. "It was a filthy little beast," said she, brightly; and she pushed the toast-rack closer to her husband.

There followed a silence which growled and buzzed to eternity, and during which Mr. Morrissey's curled moustaches straightened, and grew limp, and drooped. An edge of ice monstrosities around Miss O'Malley. Incredulity, frozen and wan, thawed into swift comprehension and dismay, lit a flame in her cheeks, throbbled burningly at the lobes of her ears, spread magnetic and brickling over her whole stung body, and ebbed and froze again to immobility. She opposed her cousin's kind eyes with a stony brow.

"I think," said she, rising, "that I had better see to my packing."

"Must you go?" said Mrs. Morrissey, with courteous unconcern, and she helped herself to cream. Her husband glared insanely at a pat of butter, and tried to look like someone who was somewhere else.

Miss O'Malley closed the door behind her with extreme gentleness.

JAMES STEPHENS in the Nation.

Secrets of a Treaty.

A Tokyo correspondent wrote on August 23rd:—Considerable sensation has been caused by the publication in the *Jiji Shimpō* of the third instalment of the "Reminiscences of the late Count Hayashi," covering the latter stages of the negotiations for the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Mr. Fukuzawa, the owner of the paper, is the late Count's son-in-law.

The intense interest aroused by the *Reminiscences* centres in the following revelations:

"That there was a German suggestion of a triple alliance of Germany, Great Britain and Japan, and that for some time Germany was kept *au courant* with the negotiations by Lord Lansdowne, but was finally ignored."

"That Count Hayashi himself suggested to his Government to utilise Great Britain's fear of a Japanese alliance with Russia to hasten the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance."

"That when the negotiations were already in an advanced stage, the Marquis Ito, who was Premier when the first *pourparlers* for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were begun and approved of them in principle was sent on a special mission to St. Petersburg, and there began *pourparlers* for a Russo-Japanese Convention a course which Count Hayashi (although he had himself suggested trading on Great Britain's fear of such a step) stigmatises as 'an outrageous breach of faith.'"

When the first two instalments of the *Reminiscences* had appeared the Japanese Foreign Office forbade the publication of any further portion. In spite of this, on the 21st instant, the *Jiji Shimpō* produced a four-page supplement containing a further instalment of the *Reminiscences*.

Within a few hours of publication most of the issue had been seized by the police. Notice was served on the Metropolitan newspapers not to reproduce the *Reminiscences*, and telegrams summarising them sent on the 21st and 22nd by Renter's correspondent were stopped by the telegraph authorities.

GERMANY'S SCOURGION.

The *Reminiscences* commenced in April 1901, at which time Count Hayashi was the Imperial Japanese Minister in London. On a date in that month Baron Eckartstein, the German Charge d'Affaires, called on him and suggested to him a triple alliance of Germany, Great Britain, and Japan for the maintenance of peace in the Far East.

On April 16th Count Hayashi telegraphed to Tokio suggesting that the proposal was worthy of serious consideration. On the same day he received a reply from the Japanese Foreign Office authorising him to sound Lord Lansdowne.

In the course of the preliminary *pourparlers* which followed with the approval of Prince Ito, the then Premier (a fact important to note in view of the Prince's subsequent attitude), Lord Lansdowne twice suggested that it should be permissible, and might be advisable to introduce a third Power into the proposed treaty. This, coupled with the fact that Baron Eckartstein had himself suggested a Triple Alliance, led the Japanese Minister to believe for a time that some understanding already existed between Great Britain and Germany. It is, moreover, clear from the *Reminiscences* that, in the early stages of the negotiations, Lord Lansdowne was keeping Baron Eckartstein informed of their progress.

On July 15th Sir Claude MacDonald the British Minister at Tokio, who was at Home on leave called on Count Hayashi and said to him that King Edward had personally expressed to him the wish for a permanent understanding with Japan, while the Premier, Lord Salisbury, was desirous of a definite alliance, as otherwise it was feared that Japan might get over her difficulties with Russia and form an alliance with that country.

"Indeed," said Sir Claude, "the German Minister came to the Foreign Office and told me that there was a possibility of an alliance between Japan and Russia."

Count Hayashi answered that the sentiments of Japan were entirely against Russia, and were all in favour of Great Britain. "I consider that MacDonald was taking, after a consideration of Lord Lansdowne's opinions, and I gathered from his remarks that

England really wanted an alliance and feared an alliance between Japan and Russia. I thought that if we could utilise this apprehension on the part of England and pretend that a convention might be concluded with Russia this might hasten the conclusion of a treaty. I telegraphed all this to Tokio."

TALK WITH LORD LANSDOWNE.

Further conversations followed between Count Hayashi and Lord Lansdowne on the subject of Manchuria, Korea, and the open door in China. At one of these interviews (on Oct. 18) the Marquis of Lansdowne asked, "What sort of a treaty do you desire that Britain should enter into with you?" and Count Hayashi replied, "In case of either party entering into a war and a fourth party coming to the assistance of the enemy, then the ally not engaged in war should come to the assistance of the ally."

"The Marquis expressed the view that my ideas were reasonable, but that in his opinion Britain would require further conditions, namely, that Japan and Britain should always maintain the closest friendship and as regards the Far Eastern question, should exchange views without reserve and take concerted action throughout. I (Hayashi) believe that the Marquis wanted to nail us down beforehand to prevent us from entering into any other agreements after the conclusion of the alliance."

"The Marquis then promised to consult Lord Salisbury and lay my view before him. I asked him what he thought about including Germany in the Alliance and he said: 'First we shall negotiate with you, and then in the course of the negotiations we may invite Germany to come in.' The first draft of the proposed Treaty was received from Lord Lansdowne on Nov. 6, the British Foreign Minister stating that the Cabinet wished the field of the alliance extended to cover Indian interest."

DOUBLE DEALING.

Now follows, perhaps, the most extraordinary part of Count Hayashi's recital—the story of the negotiations with Russia conducted parallel with those proceeding in London.

When Count Hayashi telegraphed the first draft of the Treaty to Tokio he received a reply instructing him to proceed to Paris to meet Prince Ito who was on his way to Russia, and to obtain his views on the subject. The Count had been informed by private advices from Home that the Marquis's journey was for the purpose of negotiating a convention between Japan and Russia.

Marquis Ito told Count Hayashi that in his opinion it would be no longer profitable for Japan and Russia to continue to look at each other "with crossed eyes" in reference to Korea, and it was urgent for some compromise to be made. The basis of compromise was that Japan should have a free hand in Korea, neither country should establish a naval base at Masampo, and Russia should have a free hand in Manchuria.

According to the Marquis Ito's diplomatic assistant, Mr. Tantsuki Mr. Kurino (afterwards Baron) had accepted the post of Ambassador to Russia on condition that he should be entrusted with the mission of effecting a compromise with Russia.

"OUTRAGEOUS"

"The Marquis Ito was much puzzled when he heard that the negotiations with Great Britain had progressed so far. I considered that if what the Marquis and Mr. Tantsuki had told me was true, the action of my Government in despatching the marquis on a mission to Russia, and specially the Kurino part of the affair, was outrageous."

[The late Count Hayashi seems to have forgotten that in July, after his interview with Sir Claude MacDonald he had telegraphed to Tokio advising that steps should be taken as if to conclude a convention with Russia in order to bring the British Government up to the mark.]

"After seeing the Marquis I telegraphed Home to get my Government to reflect on the matter, and received the following telegram from the Foreign Minister, Komura: 'Government not changed its policy at all. Kuramo not given any mission.'"

"Then the Marquis Ito was even more puzzled. However, he saw that the Japanese Government could not withdraw from the negotiations with Great Britain, and finally, as the result of my eloquence, I gained the Marquis to support in principle the Anglo-Japanese Alliance."

A BRITISH WARNING.

"On the 20th I saw Lord Lansdowne and he asked for the reply of my Government to the draft. He added that if there was a delay, then there might be a difficulty in concluding the treaty as the news might leak out. He then referred to the Marquis Ito's trip to Russia, and warned me against any attempt to make a convention with Russia whilst the negotiations with England were in progress."

"I replied that a treaty of alliance being a new thing to Japan we had to consider it very carefully. The Marquis Ito's visit to

Russia, I assured him, had no special significance. I said that he could not come to London, as the weather was bad. Lord Lansdowne, however, pointed out that he had recently crossed the Atlantic, landing in France, and if he was travelling for his health he surely would not go to Russia. Lord Lansdowne was not satisfied with my explanation; that was obvious.

"After leaving the Marquis I was met by the Under Secretary Mr. Bertie, who was more outspoken. He said: 'If news of the Anglo-Japanese negotiations should get to the ears of Russia she might come to you with a more attractive proposal, and our course would thereby be blocked. I warn you, however, that the Russian pledges would be repudiated without compunction and I advise you to be most careful.'"

When Count Hayashi sent a copy of certain proposed amendments of the draft treaty to Prince Ito in St. Petersburg, the Prince strongly objected both to the draft and the amendments, taking the view that the treaty as drafted gave Great Britain interests in Korea which she never before enjoyed. He also said that he was satisfied that there was reasonable ground for getting a pretty satisfactory Russo-Japanese Convention, and pointed out that he had seen the Tsar who also wanted an agreement between the two countries.

ORDERS FROM TOKIO.

The "Reminiscences" then deal with Count Hayashi's wonder at the attitude adopted by the Marquis, and relate how he telegraphed to Tokio and received imperative orders from the Marquis Komura to go ahead.

As the result of this telegram Count Hayashi on Dec 10 presented the Japanese amendments to Lord Lansdowne.

The remainder of the "Reminiscences" contain the details of the negotiations and the final drafting of the treaty. The question of the inclusion of India was got over by an exchange of communications that whilst India was not mentioned in the treaty itself, it should in case of necessity, and by mutual consent, be competent for the allies to extend the scope of the treaty to that Empire.

The question arises why, if the original suggestion of the alliance came from Germany and she was, as seen, kept informed of the negotiations up to a certain point, she was not invited to participate in their further course. Count Hayashi points out that Lord Lansdowne's intention was to complete the negotiations between Japan and Great Britain, and, previous to the signature, to invite Germany to participate. He even went so far a couple of days before signature as to inform Count Hayashi that the Marquis Komura could show the draft treaty as decided to the German Minister in Tokio. Count Hayashi telegraphed this to Tokio.

TELEGRAM TOO LATE

Late that night, however, Lord Lansdowne changed his mind, and sent a messenger to the Japanese Legation requesting Count Hayashi to telegraph to Tokio that the treaty should not be shown to the German Minister until after signature. A telegram was despatched, but arrived too late, as the Marquis Komura had already disclosed the contents. Lord Lansdowne, therefore, showed the treaty to the German Ambassador in London. According, however, to Count Hayashi, Prince von Bulow refused to participate in the treaty owing to friction with Great Britain over other questions.

In a few comments on the events which he has narrated in the "Reminiscences," Count Hayashi remarks that when Count Lambdord saw the text of the treaty he was the most astonished man in the world. He could not understand the use of the word "war" as in his opinion there never could be even the possibility of a war in the Far East.

The "Reminiscences" conclude with very bitter criticism of the Japanese Government and the manner in which their writer was treated. Count Hayashi reiterates his protest against the despatch of the Marquis Ito to St. Petersburg during the negotiations with Great Britain. He describes it as a breach of faith and lack of honour. He sums the matter up by saying that Japan "won the support of England at the cost of the respect of Russia and other European countries."

HOW THE MIKADO DECIDES

It is stated that the Marquis Ito's efforts to get the British negotiations thrown over were so persistent that Katsura and Komura informed their colleagues in the Cabinet that if the Emperor decided against them they would tender their resignations.

At the council a full report of the negotiations conducted by Hayashi was laid before the Emperor, and then a full report of Ito's conversations in St. Petersburg and his telegrams with regard to both the Russo-Japanese Convention and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The Emperor, having carefully studied both reports, called for a Secretary, and ordered him to go to a certain compartment in the Imperial Cabinet and get "the report made by the Marquis Ito on the proposal for an Alliance with Great Britain."

When the report was brought the Emperor looked through it, and he turned to the Council and said: "This is a report made by the Marquis Ito of this very matter, and he advances most cogent reasons why an alliance with Great Britain should, if possible, be

concluded." He then turned to the Marquis Komura and ordered him to telegraph to Marquis Ito in Berlin, where he then was, and instruct him that he should take no further steps in the matter of a Russo-Japanese Convention.

Pigott's Pup.*

DID Richard Pigott "sell a pup" to the *Times* in 1887? The probability is that to begin with he did nothing of the kind. He sold to them, in the first instance, through an intermediary, a document which they published in facsimile in the issue of April 18, 1887. It ran as follows.

"15, 5 '82.

DEAR SIR—I am not surprised at your friend's anger but he and you should know that to denounce the murderers was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts.

You are at liberty to show him and others whom you can trust also, but let not my address be known. He can write to House of Commons.

Your very truly, Chas. S. Parnell

The date, May 15, 1882, was nine days after the Phoenix Park murders. The handwriting of the whole letter down to "House of Commons" inclusive was that of a clerk, but not of a well-educated man. Beginning at about the usual place on the first page of a good-sized sheet of note-paper it came down to the foot of that page so as to leave no room for anything else, the last paragraph being considerably cramped, and the line comparatively close together. The signature, including "Yours very truly," was apparently in Parnell's handwriting, and was placed in the top right-hand corner of the fourth page, the two inside pages being left blank.

In the first paragraph, between the words "plainly" and "our" was an erasure, first of a word looking like "strongly," and then of a letter or two apparently of another word. In the last paragraph the word "this" is interlined as shown above.

On the face of this document, when it came into the possession of the *Times*, there was nothing to show whether the signature was genuine or forged. If forged, it was an extremely good forgery. The suggestion subsequently made on Parnell's behalf was that it was traced from a genuine signature.

The next point to consider was whether, having regard to the substance and language of the letter, it was likely that Parnell would have signed it at about the period of its date. The reasonable conclusion seems to be that it was not unlikely. There was no serious reason why he should not. He was assuredly on fairly confidential terms with people in America who had supplied subscriptions to his "war-check." They or some of them were almost certainly hand-in-glove with the actual organisers of crime, and this particular crime had had many organisers, mostly very respectable people as political murderers go. Parnell had denounced the murder with great severity, mainly no doubt—he had never denounced any other—because it seemed likely to ruin the cause he was supporting in Parliament, partly also, possibly, because he was really shocked by the murder of a man of whom he had personal knowledge in the main business of his life. It was, and is, quite likely that some of those responsible for, and proud of, the murders, were hurt in their feelings by Parnell's denunciation, that they were influential supporters of the Home Rule cause, and the that it was very desirable to assuage their annoyance.

The essential phrase of the letter is "I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." These words, and indeed the whole paragraph in which they occur, are perfectly good English, and might quite well be the composition of an educated gentleman like Parnell. The rest of the letter might well be the composition of the sort of ruffian to whom it purports to be addressed. "You can tell him that though I regret . . . I cannot refuse to admit . . ."

"I got no more than his deserts" reads very much like a phrase resulting from strenuous negotiation, the agent of the recipient doing his utmost to obtain the admission that the murders were praiseworthy, and Parnell determined to say the very least in their favour that would be accepted as sufficient.

It is true that in May 1886 the general public had no idea that Lord Frederick Cavendish's death was the consequence of his being accidentally in the company of Mr. Burke, but it was perfectly well known to the Invincibles, and no doubt to many of their friends who supplied the funds for their campaign, as well as for Parnell's.

If the letter was a forgery it was, as the conductors of the *Times* must have seen, almost diabolically thoughtful and clever. They might also have reflected, but apparently they did not, that no one would take so much pains to forge a document which Parnell had it in his power to reduce almost to insignificance by admitting at once that he had signed letters of that description, and might for all he knew, have signed that very sheet, as the only means of preven-

* In the *Daily News and Leader* of February 17, 1913, Mr. H. W. Massingham stated that Pigott "sold the *Times* a pup" in the shape of certain letters purporting to be signed by Mr. Parnell.

ing his American supplies from being cut off at a moment when he needed them most urgently.

So far, therefore, it seemed quite likely that the letter was genuine, but it was manifestly necessary to make sure, before publishing it for a polemical purpose. The way to make sure was to enquire rigorously as to where it came from, through whose hands it had passed, and what had been its history from the moment when Parnell signed it to the moment when it reached the office of the *Times*. It is the fact, though it still seems almost incredible, that none of these things were done. Mr. McDonald, the manager of the *Times*, consulted an expert, or experts, in handwriting, received an opinion that the signature was genuine, and thereupon seems to have made up his mind, and the mind of the *Times*, once for all. The actual position was that the *Times* had practically picked out of the gutter a letter which might quite well be genuine, but they happened not to have the least scrap of evidence beyond the document itself that it was so. Its publication in the circumstances was an act of most amazing rashness. We know that now—but Parnell did not know it in 1887.

It was published in April 1887, in facsimile, and Parnell denied, in his place in Parliament, that he had signed it. Eleven years later, Mr. Healy, arguing, against the Criminal Evidence Bill, that innocent persons accused of crime might frequently assert their innocence in a manner so unconvincing as to do themselves more harm than good, described this denial as one that any person who heard it without knowing anything of the facts or the persons would most likely have entirely disbelieved. But though Parnell denied the genuineness of the letter, he could not be induced to bring an action. It was manifest that if the *Times* could not prove the letter to be genuine, a tremendous verdict would be found against them, because the publication of such a letter, if forged, would be universally felt to be grossly unfair. It was still more manifest that such a verdict would be almost inconceivably damaging to the credit, authority, and influence of the paper—and in 1888 newspapers, and especially the *Times*, still had some influence upon public affairs. But Parnell would not bring an action. The Government offered to pay the expenses of an action for libel to be brought against the *Times* in respect of the articles called "Parnellism and Crime," in one of which the facsimile had appeared, by any Nationalist members who felt themselves aggrieved. But the Nationalist members would not bring an action. The Unionist papers made their comments upon the situation, and no doubt made them as disagreeable as they could, but nothing would arouse Parnell. For fifteen months he preferred suffering under the accusation to repelling it. His political opponents naturally drew the inference that he had signed the facsimile letter, and knew that the *Times* could prove it if he need them. Why else could it be imagined that he should refrain from suing? Why should he forgo the tremendous advantage he would secure by suing if the letter was really a forgery of which he knew nothing? The actual fact, that, whether the letter was forged or genuine, the *Times* was not in a position to produce any evidence of its genuineness other than its mere existence, did not suggest itself as a possibility to anybody outside the *Times* office.

This situation lasted for more than a year, and might have continued to this day, had it not been for a circumstance for which it is probably that Parnell and his political associates were no more responsible than the *Times* itself. Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell chose to assume that some of the general statements in the articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime" to which the publication of the facsimile letter was a kind of postscript, referred to him personally and were defamatory. He accordingly brought an action against the *Times* for libel. It came on for hearing in July 1888. The defence was, substantially, that the articles might possibly contain expressions defamatory of the plaintiff among others, but that those who published them and those who read them were not thinking about him, all the serious charges being made against persons of more conspicuous station, or more notorious energy. A general justification was pleaded, and in his opening speech for the *Times* Sir Richard Webster (Lord Alverston) read to the jury not only the facsimile letter already described, but also some half-dozen others purporting to have been written from Kilmaham Prison while the Nationalist members were imprisoned there in 1881-2, before the conclusion of the Kilmaham Treaty, and the murders which immediately followed it.

This time Pigott had "sold the *Times* a pup" without any doubt. Finding that they had accepted the facsimile letter without ascertaining—apparently without even enquiring—how or whence it came into their possession and had paid him well for it, he determined that they should have plenty more, and as no more were in his possession he fabricated them. One of them contained the illiterate misspelling "hesitancy," ingeniously repeated by Pigott in the course of his cross-examination before the Special Commission. Probably not one of them was genuine.

Parnell's stern refusal to sue—his certainty that no English jury would do him justice—his absolute resolve to suffer and be strong, but to keep out of the law courts, vanished like a dream. Upon the conclusion of the O'Donnell case, or immediately afterwards, his writ

was taken out, and he was suing the *Times* for libel in publishing the facsimile letter, and demanding £100,000 damages.

The obvious, if not the only intelligible, reason for his change of purpose at this moment was that when he knew they were relying on forgeries, and apparently saw no difference between the forgeries and the facsimile, he rightly inferred that they could not prove the facsimile any more than they could prove the forgeries?

In the course of the next few weeks the Special Commission Act was passed in spite of Parnell's vehement opposition. He was hopelessly discredited in cross-examination, fled to Spain, and committed suicide to avoid being tried for perjury. Parnell gave evidence, briefly denying his signature of the facsimile letter. He was not then cross-examined, and the *Times* admitted that they could not prove his authorship, and withdrew the allegation of it. They did not then or afterwards offer any apology or make expression of regret.

In April Parnell was called as a witness on the general issues before the Commission. His prolonged cross-examination by Sir Richard Webster made it obvious to every one who had any understanding of such matters that he was one of the most incompetent and unconvincing witnesses ever heard in court. Bets were freely offered by the junior Bar that he would not give evidence either in his action for libel against the *Times*, or in the approaching divorce action brought against him by Captain O'Shea, and they found no takers. The Commission in due course reported—in the mildest possible phraseology, but unmistakably—that they did not believe him on his oath.

The libel action came on for hearing in February 1890. The *Times* had paid forty shillings into court, and there was no issue for trial except the sufficiency of this amount. A day or two before the hearing the plaintiff enquired how much defendants would pay to settle the case. The situation of the *Times* was not free from difficulty. If they refused to make any advance on the forty shillings Parnell might very probably decline to offer himself for cross-examination, and without cross-examining him it might be difficult, before an extremely able and bitterly hostile judge, to persuade the jury that his character was so bad that no defamation could entitle him to more than nominal damages. They therefore offered £500. This was immediately accepted, and all legal proceedings in respect of the facsimile letter thus came to an end. It is very likely that £500 would have been accepted equally readily, but the *Times* was doing things on the magnificent scale, and they had moreover, throughout the proceedings before the Commission, been subject to the chilling influence of the legal advice of Lord (then Sir Henry) James of Hereford, who, in any council of war, was a faithful adherent of the school of Belial as opposed to that of Moloch.

It will probably never be definitely proved that Parnell's hand wrote his signature on the piece of paper which the *Times* received from Pigott and published in facsimile. There never has been, since July 1888, any solid reason for doubting that Parnell in April 1887, and for fifteen months afterwards, believed that he had signed that piece of paper and that the *Times* could prove it.

SENSELESS in the *National Review*.



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King Ferdinand and the Sultan exchanged most cordial telegrams on the occasion of the ratification of the Treaty of Constantinople, expressing their resolution to establish the friendliest relations between the two countries.

Solia. A sensation has been caused by the publication of a letter addressed to the King by the Liberal leaders, Rodoslavoff, Ghenadieff and Tontcheff, alleging that Bulgaria's adherence to Russian policy had caused her disasters, and urging a *rapprochement* with Austria-Hungary.

Indians in South Africa.

A MESSAGE from Reuter, dated Oct. 4, states that the Anjuman-i-Islam, Durban, has passed a resolution protesting against the judgment of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed, declared that the decision had aroused great resentment, and it was the worst thing that could have happened for the reputation of South Africa.

Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who arrived yesterday by the Mail steamer *Clara*, was given a hearty reception by his friends on arrival. The trip has done him immense good, and he looked very much improved in health. Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mr. Gokhale could make no statement on the South African question, since he practically knew nothing regarding the recent happenings beyond the fact of the commencement of struggle to him by Mr. Gandhi. After going through recent telegrams he would issue a statement to the press. He thought, however, that the present one would be the fiercest of all the three struggles, and that a determined effort would be made by the Boer party to crush the Indian community in South Africa out of existence. The situation thus being so serious he felt the great need of the moment was to raise funds to assist Indians in South Africa to sustain passive resistance in the struggle and to maintain their families. He was shortly going to start such a fund and would also move in next sessions of the Viceroy's Council his postponed resolution on the South African question.

Persia.

SALIM ED-DOWLEH has left Kermanshah for Switzerland. He will be accompanied through Russia by a member of the Russian Legation.

A message from Reuter, dated Oct. 6, states that the Board of the Trans-Persian Société D'Etudes met in Paris on Saturday. Representatives, both from London and St. Petersburg, attended. A general discussion took place on the Russian proposals regarding railways in North Persia, but with reference to the South no definite scheme has yet been advanced.

Turkey.

REUTER learns that Captain Raouf, commander of the warship *Hamidiyah*, has gone to Rome and London to purchase warships and engage officers, so as to place the Ottoman Navy on a stronger basis.

The Week.

Balkan Crisis.

London Oct. 6.

A GREEK semi-official statement, issued at Korviza, says that after occupying Oekrida on Friday the Serbians, after a short trial, shot forty Albanians including a boy. The Serbian troops have now crossed the frontier. They are still being strongly reinforced.

Reuter wires from Belgrade that M. Pasic, Premier, has returned from abroad. He has declared his conviction that there will be no further conflicts in the Balkans, as all are too weary to begin fresh complications.

Belgrade. The Albanians have been defeated at Prizrend, and are being pursued to the frontier.

London, Oct. 9.

Bukharest: After several hours' deliberation, the Cabinet decided to take vigorous diplomatic action to prevent the outbreak of a fresh Balkan war.

Cawnpore Mosque.

The Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad on his way from Simla to Lucknow stopped at Cawnpore on Oct. 9 to discuss matters regarding the Cawnpore mosque and riot case with local Mahomedans and others. He was given a great ovation on alighting from his special saloon at the E. I. R. station this morning. Among those present at the meeting which discussed matters were Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, the Hon. Syed Raza Ali, Hon. Fazal Haque from Calcutta, and Moulana Abdul Bari of Feringhi Mahal, Lucknow. The local Mahomedans are confident that the difficulties in connection with the Mosque affair will be solved to their satisfaction through the intervention of the Raja of Mahmudabad. The Raja Sahib, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, and others left Cawnpore in the evening. It is probable that the mosque riot case may not be taken up on the 18th instant. Council engaged on behalf of the Crown agreeing with local Council for the defence to the case being taken up on the 22nd instant.

China.

Reuters wires from Peking that the first ballot for the Presidency was intensive. 959 members of Parliament attended, 451 votes being recorded for Yuanshikai and 154 for Liyuanheng. There were twenty candidates, including Wutingfand and Sunyatsen. Another ballot is proceeding. After a twelve hours' balloting Yuanshikai was elected President with 507 votes. Liyuanheng received 169. The result was announced amid enthusiasm.

Reuter learns that Great Britain will announce the recognition of the new régime on Friday.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* professes Yuanshikai the sincere congratulations of Germany on his accession to his high office, which he owes to the confidence of his fellow citizens in his tried ability. After referring to the heavy task confronting the new President the paper concludes by hoping that he may, by fresh achievement for the welfare of China, add merit to the services he has already rendered his fatherland.

Liyuanheng has been elected Vice President.

On the occasion of the election of Yuanshikai and the recognition of the Chinese Republic the Kaiser exchanged friendly telegrams with Yuanshikai.

Vienna. Austria-Hungary has recognised the Republic.

Yuanshikai sent a message of thanks to King George on Britain's recognition of the Republic. The King replied in a congratulatory telegram.

The undertakings which Yuanshikai will enter into at tomorrow's inauguration ceremony include an engagement strictly to observe all treaties and other obligations of the former Manchu and Provisional Republic Governments with foreign countries, and all contracts with foreign companies and individuals. He will also confirm all rights and privileges of foreigners in China and will urge all citizens to endeavour to strengthen international friendship with sincerity. This is considered in Peking as proving China's friendly intentions towards foreign interests.

Indian Unrest.

London, Oct. 6.

The *Times*, in an article dealing with political crime in India, urges the necessity for measures to stem the current swelling against the security of the law.

The article laments the inability of the Government to count on the support of the people in facing the outrages to their security.

It regards the attitude of the people of Bengal in this matter as a most disquieting feature, and says that the various causes which led to weakness in the administration towards sedition and crime are now producing their inevitable result.

The article believes that the Government may count on the support of all educated Indian opinion, although it deprecates the tendency in the past to openly educated opinion with that expressed in certain Indian newspapers, which, in spite of the Press Act, are able to spread a spirit of antagonism to Government.

It recommends an increase in the Bengal Commission, the strengthening of the Bengal Police with suitable recruits, and the exercise of the most careful control possible over the whole educational establishment.

The article concludes by saying that it would be worse than folly, now we are seeking to educate on better lines, to leave the schools

open to disloyal and corrupting influences which loose control would inevitably admit.

The following special cablegram appears in *Statesman* of Oct. 9.—

The *Times* publishes an article by a correspondent in India, in the course of which the writer declares that a new generation of agitators has arisen who do not hesitate to say that an unholy alliance exists among the European Powers to end the existence of Turkey as an independent Mahomedan nation, and to destroy and debile the holy places.

He alleges that the new party dreams of expelling the British from India, and loses no opportunity of abusing British rule, vilifying Christian religious passions, and promoting racial antagonism. These men, he says, are the new generation of planders, vakils, schoolmasters and journalist trained and educated by the British but of no social standing. They are even looked down upon by respectable Mahomedans but are able to make a great clamour in the Press and thus sway the mob. In fact, he says, they have captured the party machine and the respectable Mahomedan leaders admit that they have been thrown aside by the new rowdy elements, held up to obloquy and even threatened with boycott.

The following cablegram appears in the *Statesman*, dated Oct. 9.—

Sir Banphylde Fuller, commenting on the *Times* article which under the exercise of a firm hand in the suppression of political crime in Bengal, associates the present unrest with the position of the Civil Service. He says that attempts are being made to show that this service has belittled its day, that it should now be disestablished and the administration entrusted to official less firmly compacted by respected corps and more amenable to political influence. Sir Banphylde Fuller says that there could not be a greater mistake. The Indian Civil Service may seem an anachronism to modern ideas, but it possesses the immense advantage of being a Government which the people of India can respect. Unfortunately the Government for the past six or seven years has presented to public opinion a picture of extreme weakness, he continues, to Indians who wished well to British rule. This abandonment by the Home authorities could only be taken as an act of fatuous stupidity. A new wave of riots, outrages, outrages, outrages in India and have continued ever since. Our policy has been one of alternate doses of repression and indulgence. Criticisms of the native Press have been solemnly condemned, and an Indian editor who had been a protagonist of the unrest was received during his visit to England with much distinction in political and even Royal circles. The hands of the executive have been strengthened by special law but a ludicrous qualification has been imposed that an appeal shall be allowed to the High Court, Calcutta. Finally the wobbly policy overset the partition of Bengal thus blackening the faces of our officers and weakening the confidence of the Mahomedans. Why has the Bengal Service lost its influence? Because its members are absolutely inadequate to cope with the dense population, and because its authority has been undermined by the Calcutta High Court, which since the days of Hastings has always posed as an antagonist of the executive Government, even appearing to welcome the opportunities of obliterating its usefulness.

The *Times* article strongly condemns newspaper like the *Bengalee* which are declared to spread a spirit of antagonism to Government and make the detection and suppression of crime more difficult. It urges the strengthening of the Bengal police by the officers of better pay.

Muhammadans and Hindus.

London, Oct. 14.

Mr. Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, Lucknow, addressing the London Indian Association, reviewed the growth of co-operation between Muhammadans and Hindus in India, emphasising the need for education to make the co-operation of the former effective. It was impossible, however, to dissociate religion from politics. Therefore he looked forward to a united India in which the union would be a union of communities on federal lines a federation of faiths as less strong than the federation of the American States or German Kingdoms. The Mussalman mind was awakening to the defects of the present administration. The unity of Hindus and Mussalman was not to be a unity in opposition to the British Government, though it was true they wished to unite in attacking the citadel of bureaucratic, despotic rule, with its inevitable abuses. Naturally self-government could not be achieved in a day. It would only follow the development of common nationality, requiring many decades of patient labour and sustained effort.

Mr. O. Ghose, barrister, of Calcutta, cordially reciprocated these sentiments, and gave several instances of harmonious co-operation.—*Reuter*.

Mr. Mohamed Ali in Paris.

Interviewed by "L'Humanité."

The following is a translation of the interview published in the French socialist journal, *L'Humanité*, of Sept. 27, which Mr. Shahid Suhrawarthy has sent to us for publication:—

Seventy Million of Mussalmans Assert Themselves in India

No More do They Wish to be Treated as a Negligible Quantity.

What Mr. Mohamed Ali tells us.

European opinion, and particularly English opinion, could not have failed being vividly impressed during recent times by the awakening of a sentiment of universal solidarity amongst all Mussalmans. In the course of recent events in Africa and in the Orient this feeling has asserted itself with great force, notably amongst the 70 millions of the Mussalman subjects of England in India. In one of his most eloquent recent parliamentary interventions on the subject of Morocco, Jaures indicated to France the whole bearing of this spirit.

We had the opportunity here these last days to meet in Paris one of the principal representatives of this important movement, Mr. Mohamed Ali, who is the director at Delhi of the *Hamdard*, a daily in Urdu, and the *Comrade*, his weekly organ which is published in English.

Mr. Mohamed Ali has come from Hindusthan with his countryman and friend, Mr. Wazir Hossain on behalf of the All-India Moslem League, the powerful central organisation of Indian Muhammadans, to represent to the British Government and to make known to Europe the grievances and the rightful claims of their compatriots and co-religionists.

THE AIM OF THE MOVEMENT

What is the essential aim of your organisation? I asked of him at the very beginning.

—Our Constitution declares it very explicitly to defend the rights and the interests of the Mussalmans of India, and to achieve this by establishing friendship and unity with the other races and maintaining our loyalty to the British Crown.

Yes, but have you not by your antagonism towards your Hindu countrymen especially taken the character of an organisation which is literally opposed to them and which is only to serve the English government?

—In our country we are in a minority, 70 millions amongst 300 millions of inhabitants. We do not wish to be crushed by the majority. We claim our legitimate part in the representation, but we are ready to unite ourselves with our other countrymen when the welfare and interest of India so demand.

But I repeat to you that in spite of the tactics of our rulers we understand how to unite with our countrymen each time that there is occasion to resist the abuse of power by the British bureaucracy.

THE BRIOX OF THE POLICE

Are all the Indians agreed to rise against this state of things?

—Absolutely all. In conjunction with the Hindus and the Parsis we also withstand the oppression of our bureaucracy. We strongly claim the severance of the powers of the magistracy and the police. It is inadmissible that the same officers who are charged with administration should maintain order as well as punish.

When this question came before the Legislative Council recently created, all the parties in India as you know, were unanimous.

At the same time we claim together a larger participation of Indians in the government of their own country. Would you believe me that only 5 per cent of the important functionaries in India are Indians?

THE INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSION.

You have formulated a claim of great importance with reference to the foreign policy of the British Empire.

—Quite right. If it has been admitted in these last years that in her foreign policy England ought to take into account the interests, the opinions, and the aspirations of her 11 millions of Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians or South Africans, is it admissible for the Foreign Office to treat the 70 millions of Mussalman subjects in India as a negligible quantity? We cannot admit that.

And what do you exactly want?

—Well, for example, when Islam is menaced, hunted down, dismembered owing to the ferocious cupidity of the capitalists of the Great Powers, England instead of encouraging them, should do all in her power to dissuade her neighbours and her allies from continuing on this miserable path.

England counts above all on the loyalty of the Indian Mussalmans for the preservation of her Empire. What a force, should these, the legitimate claims of the Indian Mussalmans, have in the eyes of England in favour of their brothers in Turkey or in Morocco, who are being made the victims of the brutal conquest of European "civilizers"?

Let us add that Mr. Mohamed Ali, in his campaign, counts largely on our English socialist friends, and notably on the leaders of the Labour Party, MacDonald and Keir Hardie, with whom he entertains the best of relations.

JUAN LONGOURT.

TETE À TETE



In a letter from Marseilles, dated 21st September, Mr. Mohamed Ali wrote:—

Letters from Mr Mohamed Ali.

—We have just reached Marseilles. After leaving the boat at Suez we went ashore, but found that the *Hamdiyah* had left about three weeks ago. We had lunch at a wretched little Italian Hotel and then went to the Ottoman Torpedo Cruiser *Paik-i-Shaulat*, which had come in for repairs before the Italian war and has all the time been there. Most probably she was away from home waters and from other Turkish ships when the Tripolitan raid came off, and it was considered necessary to keep her at Suez safe from harm. Mohamed Nazmi, the Commander, was as courteous and painstaking over us as we had been made to expect by the accounts of our Mission. But, I must say, in manners at least it is impossible for any nation to beat the Turk. We were taken all over the cruiser, saw the guns and their working and also the Torpedoes, and the mechanism for pumping the air with which to "fire" them. We saw all the officers' cabins, the kitchen and the sailors' quarters and were for over two hours in the boat. We then went back to the shore, and it was with a great difficulty that the sailors who rowed the eight of us ashore accepted the half sovereign which we offered them. In fact, our guide had to throw it into the boat as the sailors refused to touch it. Suez is practically a European Port town, for a third of the population (20,000 in all), is European. But the vices of Europe too have come in with the European population.

The worst of it is that the Egyptians too appear to have been 'demoralised', for in one or two quiet streets we saw one or two women in *burqas* with ornaments on their fingers and wrists and high-heeled shoes looking suspiciously like the whitish vultures that prey upon men in the streets of Europe. At 6 we left for Cairo in a dirty metre gauge corridor train, but had some Egyptians with us as fellow travellers with whom we got into conversation. The Mission was the common ground of conversation and we showed them the photos of the Mission in the Album. At Ismailia, however, they left us, for they were going to Port Said, and we also caught another train for Cairo which was very comfortable and much faster. The Restaurant car was exceedingly good and the dinner, though it cost us about Rs 8-12-0 each (drinks extra), was far better than our Indian Dining-cars provide. At 11 p.m. we reached Cairo. Of this I must reserve a description in my next which I may get time to write to-day here or at most to-morrow in Paris. We leave for Paris at 8-10 p.m. after some night seeing here, and stay at Paris for about 3 days. We hope to see Djavid Bey and the Ottoman Ambassador. The last letter received from Mr. Mohamed Ali was sent from London. I is a short note hurriedly apprising us of their safe arrival. His promised description of Cairo has not yet come, but we need not despair of its ever reaching us, though Mr. Mohamed Ali's time must just at present be fully occupied with the important mission out which he with his comrade had set out for England.

Mr. SHAUKAT ALI writes to us:—"My attention has been drawn to a paragraph which several Anglo-Indian papers had copied from the *Moslem Times* of Bombay about myself and my brother Mr. Mohamed Ali. It appeared in the

Morning Post of the 16th September, a copy of which was shown to me. As far as I know there is no paper of the name of *Moslem Times* in Bombay. There is, however, a paper called the *Moslem Herald* published in Urdu, which has been giving incorrect reports about me and the Khoddam-i-Ka'aba Society. of

which I have the honour of being one of the secretaries. I was surprised that the local Anglo-Indian daily should have published a statement like that without verifying it. The head office of the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba is in Delhi itself, located in the old house of the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan at Tiraha Bairam Khan. Any reporter could have learnt the real facts. The Khuddam-i-Ka'aba is a purely religious society, concerning itself with nothing in the world except the Holy Ka'aba and Medina Sharif and other sacred places of Islam. It is an integral part of every Moslem's faith to safeguard the sanctity of the Holy Ka'aba and go at least once in his life-time for the pilgrimage. I believe the proprietor of this same *Moslem Herald* is also the gentleman who sends out in the name of the bogus "Loyal Moslem Association of Bombay" those telegrams to the Anglo-Indian Press, trying to prove that he and his "Association" were alone loyal and the rest of the Moslem India, because it held different views, was "disloyal." One feels sorry that such writings should be given so much prominence. As for the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society, it aims at nothing new. Thirteen hundred years ago, our great faith made it obligatory on every Mussalman to guard the sanctity of the Ka'aba. Our Society only reminds Moslems of this sacred duty. Our Society is not anti-Christian, nor anti-Hindu nor against any other religion. We have no time to waste in abusing other peoples' faiths. We desire to strengthen our own. As regards our work, the *Moslem Herald* will hear a great deal about it, and I am afraid it will then give equally and enormously exaggerated figures of the membership. We have just commenced our work. Even in this short time we have over 5,000 members scattered all over the country, but God willing we will count them in lakhs soon. I am happy to say that not only my sister but all the ladies of my family and several hundred other Muhammadan ladies from different parts of India have joined, and we expect every Mussalman man and woman to be on our list. We know full well that there has always been, and will always be some people who will barter away the best part of their faith for even a slight gain. Their business is to create mischief, so that they may pose before men in authority as the ones who were on the side of order and profit by it. They live and grow on the misery of others. We know our Society will have to face many calumnies and misrepresentation, but we have no fear for the future. I will be glad, Sir, if you would kindly publish this. Our office in Delhi is open from 5 am to 12 pm prayers, and we would be glad to give anybody any information he may need about our work. One word more. I had gone to Bombay early in September to see my brother off and had no intention of either going to Europe or of delivering lectures in Bombay."

In a recent issue we published a letter from Mr. J. G. Griffin, General Manager of the Delhi Tramways, calling into question certain statements in the *Hindustan* which adversely criticised the Company's management. We need not enter

into a long controversy on the subject as it would serve no useful purpose. Mr. Griffin may be right in his contention that the tramways system he controls is the cheapest in India and much less man-slaying than it is supposed to be. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the tramway service as it is conducted at present in Delhi is becoming, in some respects, a public nuisance. It is irrelevant to point to the growth of traffic within this last year. With the changed conditions in Delhi it was bound to grow and will grow to still more enormous proportions. And it is most probably because the traffic has increased that the management seems to have become so cramped and inefficient. We say this with the fullest sense of responsibility. We have seen the working of the tramways in Delhi and elsewhere, and the contrast that has been apparent to us does little credit to the Delhi System, in spite of its much vaunted cheapness. What we know of the tramways here has been acquired through personal experience. We know, for instance, that the cars are never punctual; they do not seem to run at regulated intervals. It invariably happens that no car is visible for upwards of an hour from one direction while from the opposite direction several cars come running almost at one another's heels. We know that the drivers, as a rule, are rash, rude and impertinent. Their behaviour to respectable passengers is on occasions exactly like that of a bully or a cad, and it is no small wonder to us that they so often escape public thrashing in the streets. We know, again, that they do not possess a very high sense of duty. A car is sometimes left to wait or crawl on the way because the driver is exchanging confidences with a chum; and he tries to make up the lost time afterwards by driving at a terrific speed not unoften in the narrowest and most frequented quarters of the town. And it is probably on occasions like these

that the minor accidents—whose number is considerable any day—take place. We have witnessed a variety of these accidents, and we know that they occurred mainly through the negligence of the Company's employees. We need not give instances of which we happen to know about a score, instances which probably never reached the ears of the Manager, but which must have materially damaged the reputation of the Company. Our only desire is to point out the defects with a view to remedy. All that need be said at present is that a prompt and systematic effort should be made by the Company to place the working of its tramways on an efficient basis. Things are already serious enough, and if no attention is paid to public grievances, they are bound to grow worse. And in that case the local authorities will have to take up the matter in the public interest.

As an instance of the carelessness and neglect of the Company's drivers a reference to a recent very deplorable accident would suffice. We have learnt that Mr. Nasir-ud-din Hyder, B.A. (Alig.), Deputy Collector of Barabanki, had his right

A Recent Instance.

arm broken right across near the shoulder while sitting in a tram-car in Delhi. The accident happened in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the culpability of the Company's servants. Mr. Nasir-ud-din Hyder's car was waiting for another car to pass that was coming from the opposite direction, and he was resting his elbow on the window. The waiting car had been stationed at a point near the crossings, and in a position that left barely enough room for the other car to pass. As a consequence the moving car crashed against the elbow and the arm was broken. We hear Mr. Nasir-ud-din Hyder intends suing the Company for damages, which even at the lowest computation will be considerable. We may state here in this connection that we have received complaints about the treatment of the resident Surgeon in the Civil Hospital to which Mr. Nasir-ud-din Hyder went to seek medical aid immediately after the accident. He is said to have been absolutely indifferent to the patient's sufferings and did not give the prompt attendance that his case required. We have received similar complaints about him from others as well who have had to deal with him. The Assistant Surgeon has, perhaps, conveniently forgotten that he is paid out of the public funds, and his conduct in this respect cannot be tolerated. We invite the attention of the Civil Surgeon to the matter and trust that he will soon succeed in creating in all his subordinates the same sense of duty that he feels himself

The Executive Committee of the Punjab Provincial Moslem League met after a long spell of inactivity on the 8th instant, to listen to a stirring exhortation by the Hon. Mr. Mohamed Shafi and to pass a couple of significant resolutions.

The Call for "Moderation."

The Committee appealed earnestly to the Moslem Press as well as to all Moslem Leagues, Announcers, and Moslem leaders to make earnest and organised endeavours, within their respective spheres of influence to restore calm among the sections of the community affected by the existing excitement, and was further of opinion that "an early settlement of the unfortunate Cawnpore Mosque affair, satisfactory alike to the Government and the Moslem community, constitutes the only desirable solution of this problem and earnestly appeals to the authorities and to the Mussalmans to approach the question in that spirit of mutual goodwill and forbearance which is sure to result not only in a satisfactory settlement of the unfortunate incident but also to help to allay the existing excitement." The resolutions strike a new note—the Delhi Meeting has proved a glad source of inspiration to the Committee at Lahore. And though the accents are vague, halting and redundant, one can hardly mistake the object for which the resolutions had been framed. A Lahore paper discovered in the emergence of the League's Committee into light a clear sign that "the same element in the community is at last re-asserting itself." It is possible to find sanity in views which show little signs of intellectual clarity. "Sanity" like "Moderation" is an elastic virtue and can be made to fit every head like a cap. It will not, however, be impertinent to inquire what the Committee really wanted. Sufficient clues are crunched in this connection by the summary of the speech with which the Hon. Mr. Shafi addressed his hearers to the new note of "policy" that he very likely caught in Delhi. He is reported to have said that "owing to undesirable excitement in certain circles, political, educational, social, and industrial advancement of the community was being retarded; the intemperance of language resorted to by certain newspapers had not only brought trouble on themselves, but has also done serious injury to the Moslem cause. There was as regards internal affairs

no cause justifying the existing situation; he saw no reason why the unfortunate Cawnpore Mosque affair should not be amicably settled. He dwelt on the need for organised action, to restore calm in the circles affected by the excitement....." and so on in the right approved vein. This is a fearfully compounded dose, with ingredients good, bad and indifferent. Now, no one can deny that excitement is unsettling and that its continued existence is harmful. It is equally sound as a platitude that Cawnpore affair could be settled amicably as, indeed, it has been settled through the tact, kindness and wisdom of a great Viceroy. But, does Mr. Shafi realise the root of the grievance even now? A portion of the mosque had been demolished, its restoration had been refused by the highest authority in the province, and the most trustful prayers of the Mussalmans had gone unheeded for long. The general community was yet old fashioned enough to regard the house of God as sacred and inviolable, and it had consequently felt the outrage deeply. And yet Mr. Shafi saw no cause justifying the existing situation. And what was the situation, we may well ask. Briefly, it was the *impasse* to which a bureaucratic *fat* had driven a whole community and which kept it in a state of suspended animation. There had been no revolts against authority, no attempts at retaliation, the community bore its great grief with noble courage and did not, in a single instance, overstep the limits of what is known as constitutional agitation. The situation was certainly sad, and one might grieve with Mr. Shafi, but its existence was not surely without a cause. The Mussalmans were in no way responsible for the state of things which Mr. Shafi deplored so eloquently. The responsibility lay with the officials at Cawnpore. Mr. Shafi and his Committee's energies should, therefore, have been directed with better reason to bringing about a change in the official attitude, and thus restoring calm in the community. The Moslem educational and other affairs have no doubt been neglected, but the Moslems could not attend to secondary matters as long as a serious grievance weighed on their minds. And it does not lie in the mouth of Mr. Shafi to utter such warnings when his record as a leader has not been very brilliant at least so far as the advancement of Moslem education is concerned. His opposition of Mr. Gokhale's free and compulsory primary education bill has not yet faded from the public mind. "Moderation" is becoming the new elaptrap and there is danger the blatant preacher may again lure the community from the path of self-direction and self help. However, thanks to the Cawnpore settlement, Mr. Shafi's Committee finds its new occupation gone. It will probably take up its old familiar role of turning out resolutions that hang over with milk and honey, and in this instance, at any rate, the Committee's industry will not mean a thankless waste. It is strange, by the way, that Mr. Shafi's Committee, which presumes to advise the whole of Moslem India, should love to advertise its doings through papers like the *Pioneer* and the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore, before its patriotic efforts come to be recorded in the Moslem Press. The arrangement perhaps suits its purpose to a nicety.

WE CONGRATULATE the Anjuman-i-Ziul-Islam for the success of the Mission they had sent to Turkey. With Dr. C. Mohamed Hosain, as Director, it did very useful work at Omerli, and now the Queen of Rumania bears testimony to the help it gave at Bukharost. It must be a great satisfaction to the organizers of the Mission to see that their efforts were not wasted. With the experience gained through Dr. Ansari's All-India Medical Mission and the Bombay Mission, it would be comparatively easy to organize for the future much better equipped and manned Red Crescent Hospitals. For the first time in her history India has sent out her sons on a purely humanitarian work, and it is a matter of pride to all that everyone concerned did his best to make this great work of mercy a success. Mussalmans may well feel proud of what they have accomplished.

SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY EBRAHIM has sent a very useful suggestion to the Bombay Press about holding a Commercial Congress periodically in India. We hope it would be possible to hold the first session this year. The Congress should be held on lines different from those of the Industrial Conference connected with the Congress. It should invite only such people as are actually engaged in commercial pursuits and can speak on various subjects with first-hand knowledge and personal experience. Searching enquiries into the recent failures of Indian Banks in the Punjab and Bombay would probably bring out some very ugly revelations—not only about the management of these concerns, but also about other things over which the Directors had no control. The Banking business has to be taken in hand and organized on strong lines, as without it no commerce worth the name is possible. We have heard general complaints that the big Banks in India

do not help Indian firms to the same extent as they do European firms. There may be good reasons for this; probably knowing the parties well, they may have greater faith in the latter. But the fact remains that good reliable Indian Banks are urgently wanted. Then there is the question of the small capitalist in India. He wants to start some business, but does not know where to pick up the A. B. C. of it. The educated classes also desire to enter into business in large numbers, as they prefer an independent profession to service, which is daily becoming more difficult to obtain. It is unfortunate that business integrity, where joint stock companies are concerned, is not of a very high order. This Commercial Congress can do a great deal in these matters, and we welcome the proposal. We hope men like Sir Dorabji Tata, Sir Shapurji Barrocha, Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee, Sir Ebrahim Rahimulla, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and others would come forward and work for the success of this Congress.

WE HAVE given elsewhere extracts from Mr. Mahomed Ali's letters from Cairo. Just as we were going to Press Mr. Mahomed Ali we heard from him by this mail. He is much too busy to think of us "poor mortals" in India, and we pardon him for giving us such meagre news. However, he makes up in apologies. We assure our readers that both Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali are working hard. They have moved from Hotel Metropole to a flat in Belgrave Mansions Hotel, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S. W. Both are in excellent health. They had stopped in Paris for three days where they were interviewed by a representative of *L'Humanité*, which we publish elsewhere. He writes—"I feel ashamed to have to apologise again for a letter scribbled off at the last moment to catch the mail and the absence of any article for the *Comrade* this week also. I had arranged to write on Thursday to make sure that the letter and the article were both written, but as it happened we secured at this place a nice flat on Wednesday evening and considering that in the Hotel there was no privacy and Mr. Wazir Hasan and I were cramped up in a small room with two beds paying £1 per day, we thought it best to move at once. We therefore got no time yesterday in changing our abode and to-day we lost half a day in going to Woking to see Khwaja Kamaluddin, say our prayers and meeting other Mussalmans. Well Khwaja Sahib needlessly arranged for lunch and we wasted much valuable time. Then the others came too late in fact just as we were leaving after the prayers and from 11 to 3-45 we spent nearly 4 hours of which 2½ hours went for the train journey. We met Mr. Jinnah to-day at 3-45. I have just returned from him. Mr. Wazir Hasan is at Mr. Anur Ali's just now. Unfortunately Parliament does not meet till February. So nobody is in London and few even in England. But we have begun the work. I have asked Shahid Suhrawardy to send to the *Comrade* a translation of the *Humanité* interview, but enclose the original in this letter. The interview is not quite accurate, I did not say anything to imply that we are zealous of the Hindus. M. Longuet did it all in a hurry. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald came to London on the 6th and he and Mr. Jinnah lunch with us here. Sir Henry Cotton and his son called on us and were very good. Mr. Ratchiffe—formerly Editor of the *Statesman*—has arranged to interview me for the *Manchester Guardian* early next week. Lord Lamington comes back on the 11th October. Next week I am devoting to the Press."

IN OUR last issue we published the appeal of Mrs. Khedive Jang (Hyderabad) for helping Mr. Khwaja Tayeba Begum Kamaluddin, who was doing uphill work of preaching Islam in England. The work is noble and deserves the respect and support of all. The least that we can do is to subscribe to the *Islamic Review* which is so ably edited by Khwaja Sahib. Each new subscriber means that one more English man or woman would read the words of truth about Islam and would learn that Islam as practised by Moslems is different to what he or she had been accustomed to hear from interested persons whose aim it is to paint it in the blackest of colours. It is very opportune at this juncture that efforts are being made to remove all doubts and suspicions, and this could only be done by finding means for enlightening the people of Great Britain. The fact that Khwaja Kamaluddin belonged to the Ahmadi sect should not be considered as a hindrance as he is preaching pure Islam there, and it is time Mussalmans learnt to work together for the great cause. We have every hope that Mrs. Khedive Jang's earnest appeal would not go unheeded and that intended subscribers would send in their names to her at the following address.—Mrs. Khedive Jang "Bilgrami House," Hyderabad (Deccan). The yearly subscription of the magazine is Rs. 4 only.

The Comrade.

The Settlement.

Within the last two years the trials of Islam in India have been heavy and manifold, but nothing has been so unsettling in its effect on the mind and feelings of the community as the Cawnpore mosque affair and its tragic sequel. Those who cannot realise this or affect to minimise the character of the grievance which had convulsed the Mussalmans of India to their depths, are incapable of understanding either the real character of Islam or the quality of its heart-beats. To a Mussalman, his religion is the one real and intimate thing. It is woven into the texture of his entire life and moulds his conception of duty and purpose as no other secular ideal can do. To many the existence of such an over-mastering religious sense may be inconceivable. They are men of little imaginative sympathy, possibly men of feeble stuff unable to bear the force and discipline of a great idea. The Cawnpore mosque affair had touched the religious feelings of the Mussalmans to a degree that nothing else had done within recent years. There was nothing forced or artificial in the feeling. It was as genuine, instinctive and elemental as, for instance, the cry of the person who is hit a sudden blow in his vital parts. The preservation of a corner of a mosque may not be as weighty a consideration to an architectural or engineering architect as the faultless symmetry of his designs. To a Mussalman it must be the only consideration that matters. The Cawnpore officials, through ignorance or perversity, sought to enforce their own values of the scheme of things to which the Lieutenant-Governor set the final seal. The Mussalmans refused to accept the sanctions which Islam did not provide. And when they saw that the Cawnpore officials had had their way in spite of their protests and earnest appeals, they felt as if they were face to face with a new set of conditions in which they might have to revise their estimate of the traditions, the pledges and the higher moral sanctions of the British rule in India. They felt as if a new type of English official had arisen who cares not a straw for the new sanctities—the Empire and the Crown—which generations of Englishmen had toiled to create in the hearts of the Indian people. But they had not entirely despaired. They knew the European could not change his skin so suddenly, and the race that had evoked some of the finest instincts of the Indian people and in the course of its brilliant history added some of the best chapters to the statecraft of the world could not have been so soon impoverished of all political gifts and obliged to send to the governance of India men of puny stature and undisciplined wills to do the work of giants and statesmen of lofty principles. Great Britain was not yet bankrupt, nor was India without the real British representatives who held the honour of Great Britain in higher estimation than the glory and prestige of their little men. The Mussalmans had yet one course open to them. They would appeal to the highest Englishman in the land with a complete trust in his sense of justice.

But before they could make a formal appeal the highest in the land who had been silently watching them from afar, who knew their grievances, their whole tale of woe, has brought of his own accord a gracious message of peace and goodwill to the whole community. It has poured calm over the wounded spirit and brought comfort to the hearts in pain. On the 13th, the historic message was delivered at Cawnpore, and on the morning of the 15th the entire Moslem India rose to bless the man who, with one stroke of statesmanship, has healed a running sore and redeemed the whole character of the British rule in India. There is a class of newspapers whose purport is the great and courageous act of Lord Hardinge has smitten sore and they are howling disconsolately. They recklessly call it weakness and pretend to shudder at the consequences to which it may lead. They even hint at the blow that has thereby been struck at the root of the British rule in India. We need not pause to measure the value of this calculated hysteria. These newspapers and their henchmen are, like the Philistines of old, blind worshippers of obsolete formulae. They cannot understand the import of any great event. They only live to shudder as the world slowly moves out of its old ruts. Lord Hardinge's act is not only gracious and great, it is wise. It required the courage of a great heart to do it, as it wanted statesmanship touched with a lofty purpose to conceive. With a simple, straight and sincere word he has restored tranquillity throughout Moslem India, won the respect, gratitude and undying affections of a great community and bound it to the throne of England with chains of gold.

There are several aspects of the settlement announced by the Viceroy which deserve consideration. We will not, however, say anything more at this stage than to convey the gratitude of the entire community to Lord Hardinge for the kind, considerate and sympathetic manner, in which he approached the question and found its solution. "I have come from Simla," said Lord Hardinge, "with the express purpose of bringing to you peace." No nobler mission could have been his and none more deserving of success. As a matter of fact the hearts that were sick with sorrow and discouragement but yesterday, are full of gratitude to day and bounding with fresh hope. The enemies of the Mussalmans had openly begun to accuse them of disloyalty. No greater vindication of the steadfast loyalty of the community could be forthcoming than His Excellency's acknowledgement that is so frank and unreserved. "Had I not been firmly convinced of the loyal sentiments of your community," said the Viceroy, "I would not have come from Simla to Cawnpore to day." The Mussalmans would cherish this expression of Viceregal trust as the supreme reward of their attachment and devotion to the British Crown. Let us assure His Excellency that whatever may have been the troubles of the community, it has never dreamed of deserting the principles which have governed its activities since they were first formulated by the sage of Aligarh. The British rule has been to them a beneficent Dispensation of Providence, and they will make any sacrifice of which they are capable to ensure its beneficence and stability.

The settlement made by Lord Hardinge, though not wholly according to the wishes of some, has been accepted by the community as a whole with feelings of unalloyed relief. The Moslem leaders who have laboured to bring about this result have laid their community under a deep debt of gratitude. Again, while the community's obligations to the Viceroy are great, we cannot forget that His Excellency's hands must have been strengthened by the advice of his trusted counsellors. We can well realise how much His Excellency must have been assisted in arriving at an accurate estimate of the situation notably by the Hon. Mr. M. Iqbal whose intimate knowledge of the ways and thoughts of the people must have been unreservedly placed at the service of His Excellency. A great blunder had been committed, and it has been courageously rectified. By one stroke of courageous statesmanship an entire community has been pacified and the foundations of the British Rule made stronger and more secure than ever.

His Excellency concluded his reply to the address of the Cawnpore Moslems with words which deserve quotation. They are words which no Mussalmans we are sure, will forget. Said His Excellency—

I devoutly trust that the solution of the question of the mosques and the decision that I have taken in connection with these now under commitment for trial may bring peace and contentment, not only to Cawnpore but amongst the whole of the Mohammedan community in India, that no action may be taken locally or otherwise tending in any way to perpetuate the animosity and rancour of the past few months, and that all Mohammedans may unite together in loyalty to their Sovereign and in loyal co-operation with constituted authority for the maintenance of law and order, and for the peace, happiness and prosperity of the great and beautiful land in which we live.

The New Assault.

THE state of Moslem feeling in India has been the subject of a variety of comments by the Press both in India and England. The phenomenon has appeared extraordinary to all observers of Moslem affairs alike, and they have sought to explain it and measure its significance according to their own respective standpoints and political and religious bias. It was natural that the Moslem excitement and its serious character should have given rise to widespread and anxious thought, especially in circles that had learnt to regard the community as peculiarly patient, contented and resigned to its lot. But one is surprised beyond measure to see that the most weird, puerile and in many cases mischievous theories have been evolved to account for the phenomenon precisely by those who had been the loudest "friends" of the Mussalmans. The fact is not without its lessons. We need not set about to recount these lessons as they have already burnt themselves into the consciousness of the community. It is, however, difficult to pass over in silence the various attempts that are being systematically made in certain quarters to besmirch Moslem character with mud. These attempts represent a campaign of steadily growing virulence the motives of which are only just beginning to be unmasked. It has passed through well-known stages. In the beginning of the

year when Moslem hearts were sore with the results of the Balkan struggle and were moved to indignation and protest against its vile cries, its inhuman methods and its iniquities, the community was alternately warned and cajoled. Later on, when the struggle was almost over and diplomacy assumed the supreme control of things to liquidate the situation, the Mussalmans appealed to the Government of their own Sovereign to act fairly by the Turk and respect the feelings of millions of His Majesty's Moslem subjects. The appeals were, however, declared impertinent and the Mussalmans were sternly told to remain within the bounds of obsequious silence as befits a subject race. And now when their bruised hearts had received a fresh wound and were profusely bleeding in consequence of the outrage perpetrated at Cawnpore, an outrage that would have suffered to shake their confidence in the most solemn pledges of the British rule but, for the generous and statesmanlike action of a noble hearted Viceroy, they have been branded,—at least their most virile, patriotic and intelligent section—as pestilent agitators deeply touched with the taint of sedition. The campaign has now entered a stage when the old masks seem to be no longer necessary. There is no apology, no friendly posturings, no attempt at disguise. The assault is direct and frontal and has been led by an Indian correspondent of the *Times*.

The *Times* correspondents in India are not very portentous beings whose words are big with fate for entire communities. They are very ordinary mortals, frequently not above the temptations of their trade. Moreover, they have never enjoyed any great reputation for independence. Their rôle is usually that of the official apologist. And it is precisely on this account that their capacity for mischief is infinite. The *Times*, the greatest organ of the ruling classes in England, has always been a staunch upholder of the prestige of the Indian Civil Service, its authority and its might. Anything that appears in its columns on Indian affairs is generally believed to carry the stamp of bureaucratic opinion in India. It can be easily realised, therefore, what an enormous amount of mischief it is capable of doing to the cause of good government in this country if its columns are frequently open to splenetic and foul attacks on the Indian people or their most accredited leaders. It is, perhaps, the first time in recent years that a fulsome diatribe of a peculiarly violent character against the Indian Mussalmans has appeared in the *Times*. It has published an article by a correspondent in India in the course of which the writer declares that

a new generation of agitators has arisen who do not hesitate to say that an unholy alliance exists among the European Powers to end the existence of Turkey as an independent Muhammadan nation and to destroy and defile the holy places. He alleges that the new party dreams of expelling the British from India and loses no opportunity of abusing the British rule, vilifying the Christian religion, inflaming religious passions and promoting racial antagonism. These men, he says, are the new generations of pleaders, vakils, schoolmasters and journalists trained and educated by the British Government, but of no social standing. They are even looked down upon by respectable Muhammadans, but are able to make a great clamour in the Press and sway the mob. In fact, he says, they have captured the party machine. Respectable Muhammadan leaders admit that they have been thrown aside by the new rowdy elements, held up to obloquy and even threatened with boycott.

The *Times* has occasionally delivered itself mightily against the people in India, but its correspondent's deliverance against the Mussalmans has no precedent in fury and hate. It is a mixture of malicious falsehoods, deliberate misrepresentations and insinuations peculiarly vile. We have no space, even if we had the will, to enter into a long argument to expose the shameless mendacity of the foul charges that have been packed into this little paragraph. But some of the statements may well be examined briefly in order to show the correspondent's love of veracity.

The assault opens with the statement that a new generation of Moslem leaders has arisen who declare "that an unholy alliance exists among the European Powers to end the existence of Turkey as an independent Muhammadan nation and destroy and defile the holy places." Even if it were true, there would be ample justification for such inference. The treatment of Turkey by Europe has not been a very creditable chapter in modern history. The Balkan struggle, in particular, has laid bare the hidden springs of motive and policy which have ever swayed the European Powers in their dealings with the Turk. Indeed, this struggle has crammed into the space of a year events of far-reaching import which have made incarnate the spirit of Christian Europe and its chronic antagonism to an alien culture and creed. An "unholy alliance" may not exist, but the Concert of Europe does, and even such political tyros as the Mussalmans have begun to understand why this instrument was originally forged. The holy places of Islam may not be in imminent peril on account of an "unholy alliance," but elaborate designs to bring about an Arab Caliphate and Protectorate over the holy places are not entirely unknown in certain European chancelleries; and if they have no chance to materialise just now, surely it is not due to any altruism of

the interested Powers or their excessive solicitude for the safety of Islam. The correspondent of the *Times* has clearly sought to insinuate that deliberate attempts are being made in India to stir up the religious passions of Mussalmans against Europe by raising the false cry of danger to the holy places. As a matter of fact, the danger was at one time very real; and the Mussalman who affected to ignore it would have been a traitor to his religion and his God. If he denounced Europe, its bigotry, its hypocrisy and its greed, he was moved by righteous indignation; and surely he cannot on that account be held guilty of sedition, for Europe is not his temporal master.

The next and most serious allegation is that "the new party dreams of expelling the British from India and loses no opportunity of abusing the British rule, vilifying the Christian religion, inflaming religious passions and promoting racial antagonism." The correspondent further on admits that this party has captured "the party (?) machine" and is able to sway the mob. To state it in plain language, the new party, or "the new generation of agitators" as he is pleased to call it, expresses the feelings and enjoys the confidence of the entire Moslem community. What the new leaders think and feel is thought and felt by the whole of Moslem India, and any indictment of the leaders must equally mean the indictment of the community as a whole. The *Times* correspondent says that the new party dreams of expelling the British from India. In other words, he asks us to believe that the Indian Moslem community has grown hostile to British rule and is simmering with seditious ideas. No more cowardly and reckless charge was ever penned with such levity. It is difficult to argue in face of calumnies so baseless and vile; but a brief survey of the facts is necessary to show how slanderers of this type weave tissues of falsehoods in order to discredit rivals. Since the Italian invasion of Tripoli Mussalmans have been in a state of ferment. The ferment considerably increased during the Balkan struggle. It was accentuated by a complete disillusionment of the Mussalmans in regard to their faith in the ideals of Europe. And then came their own troubles at home, which have done violence to their most sacred sentiments. But during all these stages of excitement, grief and despair the Mussalmans have not been guilty of a single act that could even remotely be interpreted as hostile to the British Rule in India. Not a single Moslem leader of the "new generation" has ever uttered a word disloyal to the British Crown or formulated a wish to "expel the British from India". The most popular organs of Moslem opinion, that "away the mob," have been steadfast and devoted in their attachment to the British Empire and have always regarded the connection of India with England as the only guarantee of India's progress. They have criticised official acts and policy freely and fearlessly and will always continue to do so, because they consider it their duty to state their grievances frankly and warn both the Indian Government and His Majesty's Ministers in England of the dangers of a policy which they may honestly believe to be of the best interests of the Empire. That is perhaps the head and front of their offending. Then, it amounts to this, that the Indian communities have no business to exercise the rights of the British citizenship and that it would be the height of sedition for them to have any grievance at all. This doctrine of statecraft is as old as the school of aggressive Imperialism of which the *Times* has often been so powerful an exponent. The tactics of this class of Imperialist are not a whit worthier. He simply calls a dog a bad name and then hangs it. The *Times'* sleight of hand may succeed in creating mischief, but does he realise the responsibility of those that play with fire?

The *Times* correspondent has particularly vented his spleen on the "new generation of Moslem leaders." Their greatest crime is that they are "pleaders, vakils, schoolmasters and journalists." Perhaps these callings are not so disreputable in other lands, and some of the highest Ministers of the Crown in Great Britain have been vakils and journalists by profession. The correspondent is probably struggling on the initial rungs of the social ladder and has consequently acquired some painful sense of the value of social distinction. But he ought to know that Islam has no respect for the conventions that bind the world of snobs in a grip of iron. The man who can say the right thing and show the right path is the natural leader of Mussalmans, be he a poor and lowly man or an aristocrat rolling in wealth. The "new generation of Moslem leaders" have proved their title to leadership by earning the respect, sympathy and confidence of the whole community. "The respectable Muhammadan leaders" who have been thrust aside, may well look down upon their younger compatriots. It is after all a poor satisfaction for them to retire within their shells and count their titles and rehearse their pedigree. And they know above all, even if their henchman in the *Times* has no instinct to realise, that the new forces of Islam in India are being guided by men whose character, breeding and social position are much higher than their slanderers in the British or the Anglo-Indian Press.

CORRESPONDENCE



Bill for the Protection of Minor Girls.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

"The gallant finds his way to the flirting girl, however protected." So runs the Sanskrit saying, and I have written to Simla that the Hon Sir R. Craddock's Bill to protect girls up to the age of 16, when they have attained puberty, will often lead to vice, disorder and riot. The best protection is that of the husband and her family from before the age of puberty, which age is 11 to 12 in India. The girl's family will not or rather cannot prevent her shame, but will condone or conceal it. The danger will be as much from the associations of protecting Inspectors as from the kidnappers and enticers for traffic and prostitution. For one girl really protected ten girls will be ruined. The remedy is worse than the evil. By the bye, why is it presumed that the dance of Miss Maud Allan will corrupt the Indian girls and not the European girls? Is this not opposed to the growing *entente cordiale*? On the other hand, "Dancing girls" belong to the holy arrangements at temples and to civilised entertainment at marriages and receptions. The deities should cure their brains and hearts from lascivious bughens and incubus.

Modern notions of government exceed the needs of a Government for preserving peace and order, and the restless Government can not give rest to its subjects.

A. SANKARAN, L. L. B., B. A.

Effects of Environment on Pregnancy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I should be immensely obliged to any of your readers who are breeders of cattle or horses if they would kindly supply me with their own views, or the views common to the locality in which they dwell, on the subject of the effects of environment on pregnancy. I should like to know if, among the cattle breeding peasants of India, any practices similar to those recorded of Job in the Bible who set about rods in which he had peeled white stakes, where his flocks were brooding in order to ensure the production of speckled, spotted and ring-straked offspring, are still carried out.

I am, Sir, etc.,

ANGLON HOUSE,
Lahore.

OWEN BUCKLEY-HILL,
Captain, I. M. S.

Moslem Education.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR—In his subject on "Moslem Education" Mr. Syed Iftikhar Haider Faizi in his valuable remark on the issue of 16th September of the *Comrade* has the boldness to complain that it is Aligarh that has abused Moslem Education by making it unduly expensive. It is quite apparent to those who possess knowledge of Aligarh life by experience that the above remark is not based on precision. Moreover, it is a pity that even those that live in Aligarh do not know the minimum expenses incurred by each student. A little less than half of the students are in receipt of debt of honours, and this mode of helping indigent boys is what other colleges in the whole of India cannot achieve. A student at Aligarh can well pull on with Rs 30 per mensem. Can the honourable writer prove that Lahore, Delhi and other colleges are less expensive for the students than Aligarh? Students at Aligarh can never have the liberty to loiter outside without the permission of the college authorities and that even twice a week and so they cannot be attracted to spend

much, while the students of other colleges who have free access to worldly attractions on account of no restriction on their liberty and local environments prove themselves rather burdensome to their parents. But if a student can afford to spend as much as he wishes, then, does the fault lie with Aligarh atmosphere? I am sorry that Mr. Syed never took pains to enquire the number of students that are allotted debt of honours from the College every year. The seeming proof of the popularity of Aligarh College is the increase in the number of students every year. Had it been expensive no one (except rich people) might have dared to send their sons to this institution. The community must have taken the College authorities to task had the statement of Syed Sahib been true.

As to the other remarks of Syed Sahib that the local Moslems can not have the facilities to educate their sons in the Aligarh institution, I would rather be obliged if Syed Sahib kindly takes the trouble of enlightening me on the subject. When the students that come from outside have every kind of facilities for education in Aligarh, is it then possible that local Moslem boys cannot have any? It is rather exaggeration. I would rather like to know what facilities does he refer to.

As to the advice to Sahibzada Sahib of setting an example by establishing a Moslem High School at Aligarh, local Muslims and other should be thankful to Syed Sahib. Will Syed Sahib help Sahibzada Sahib in the achievement of the worthy object?

MOHAMED SHARIF KHAN

Moslems and the Indian National Congress.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—At this moment, when the feelings of Mussalmans all over India are in a state of excitement and unrest, efforts are being made in some quarters to drive the community into the pale of the National Congress. It is pointed out that whereas on the one side there stands the monumental pillar of the Congress victory, in the shape of the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, there is, on the other side, as a reward of the Muhammadan aloofness from the Congress and unflinching loyalty to the Government, the formidable heap of crushed rights and a series of disappointments culminating in the recent demolition of a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque attended by a wholly unwarrantable and most sanguinary attack on an unarmed mob, which resulted not only in considerable loss of life and distress to the families of the dead, but which, by reason of the highly sentimental nature of the tragedy, has also struck a violent blow to the entire Moslem community throughout the length and breadth of the vast Indian Continent. Whilst such ideas are worrying the minds of the people the suggestion which accompanies them, viz., that it is high time for Mussalmans to join hands with the Congress and to be one with them in their political action, is very opportune, and considering the present circumstances of our community and the state of high fever it is in, it is believed that the wonderful spell laid on it by the great Sir Syed Ahmad will at last break, and the people who have distinctly held themselves together so long firmly as a rock withstands the waves, will soon fall to pieces.

The question therefore is, should the Muhammadans join the Congress? It is a most momentous question and it behoves the Moslem leaders of public opinion to give it their most anxious consideration and thought. It is perilous to allow things to drift and an early pronouncement of policy is called for, in order that wreck may be prevented. I have no doubt that people will have given the question their best consideration when attending the session of the next League at Agra.

I do, however, strongly feel that our urgent need at the present juncture is to strengthen the Muslim League as much as we can by our earnest, well organised and united efforts. The League so strengthened will be a great power in the land, and I venture to hope with the fullest confidence that it would do for the Muhammadans of the world what the Indian National Congress with the Indian Mussalmans all merged in it cannot do for India.

Our watchwords should be Truth, Moderation and Self-Help and our motto 'Heaven's Light our Guide' is bound to carry us onwards from progress to progress, and we shall be able to show to the world the blessings of Islam.

If the redemption of the honour of Islam is our earnest aim the Muslim League is the only institution that can achieve it. Let us, therefore, seriously organise our League; let us spread branches of it in all districts and with a unity of aim and purpose worthy of our Holy faith; let us set our hearts to the sacred task of restoring Islam to the same lofty pedestal on which it stood erewhile.

ALAY NAR

Our Constantinople Letters.

Stamboul, Sept. 23, 1913.

During the past week Peace between Turkey and Bulgaria has been proclaimed. Thanks to the firmness of the present Government Adrianople, town of so many traditions and rendered immortal by the heroism of its brave defenders, along with Kirk-Kiliseh, remains Ottoman. Given a long spell of peace, reforms—administrative and educational—development of commerce and industries there is every hope that the future years will see a richer and stronger Turkey than she was before the loss of her Rmelian provinces, the loss of which has roused the spirit of patriotism and acted as an incentive to every true Ottoman to make the future prestige of Turkey his own personal aim.

The second meeting of the Union and Progress Congress was held on Saturday, September 20th, at the Nouri-Osmanieh Club. The chief points of the programme are educational reforms for Muslims and non-Muslims. For the former the introduction of Western education and at the same time the conservation of ancestral virtues. The Muhammadan social life to be edited by the principles of Islamic faith as well as by the exigencies of the epoch in which we live. The best means to obtain this end is a reform of the Madressé and the creation of Associations of Ulama. Turkey being composed of nationalities speaking different languages, the language spoken by the majority of the population of any given locality to be the one used by preference. It is in accordance with this idea that the Union and Progress Party accepted the desiderata of the Arabs concerning the use of their language. Reforms to assure the prosperity of the Kurds and Armenians. The transformation of the Committee of Union and Progress to be effectively realized. In future the Party of Union and Progress to have a chief in the real sense of the word and this chief to be the President of the Council of Ministers whenever the party is in power. The chief of the party to lead the parliamentary group of the party in the Chamber and to lead the Central Committee. The chief of the Cabinet being also the chief of the party will, as in England and other countries, be the leader of the party.

His Highness Abbas Halim Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, arrived here on Thursday, September 18th. He is always well received and warmly welcomed; but this year even more than usual, for still fresh in Ottoman hearts lives the memory of his kindness to the inhabitants of Cavalla during the Balkan War. It was his generous initiatives which saved Cavalla from the most of misfortunes. He sent his own beautiful yacht the *Makroussa* with provisions and clothing to relieve the suffering and starving and none too soon, for the population of Cavalla had been for 20 days victims of hunger, cold and fear. When the *Makroussa* arrived at Cavalla a few days after the Bulgarian occupation not a morsel of bread was to be found in the town. Famine, absolute famine, was staring the terror-stricken towns people in the face. Relief was distributed irrespective of race or creed. The yacht of the Khedive during the Balkan War transported over 4,500 refugees of whom 3,500 were lodged at the Khedival Palace Ras-el tin Alexandria.

In recognition of his services to the Nation, the Grand Vizier Prince Said Halim Pasha has been recently decorated by H. I. M. the Sultan with the Order of the Osmanié set in brilliant diamonds. His brother, Abbas Halim Pasha, has been appointed Governor of Broussa.

The marriage of Enver Bey, the hero of liberty, will by Imperial order take place during the feast of Courban Baram. His bride is the eldest daughter of the late Prince Sulman Effendi, brother of the present Sultan.

Prince Enmer Faronk Effendi, son of H. I. H. Prince Medjid Effendi, and grandson of Sultan Aziz, left Constantinople on Saturday, September 20th, for Vienna where he is pursuing his studies at

the Tereziannum University. The young prince is a charming youth and promises to become like his father a highly cultured and accomplished man.

The *Tanin* which was suspended is about to be purchased by the Committee of Union and Progress.

M SAID HINDUSTANI.

Constantinople, July 14.

THE Mission must have reached home, must have been received marvellously and gladly, but we have not received any information from home yet as to how this all happened.

The war has re-begun, and our small Aligarh Medical Mission will advance with the army of occupation for Aderna. We shall, as promised, remain ahead to supply first aid. We cannot stay here without doing anything. Let the Khan Bahadurs (Trustees) abuse Aligarh and send off all the boys of the dear College and let the Government call it a political institution, and let any Power except God stop us and let the Urdu newspapers abuse us against their supporters, the Aligarh Mission, the capital 'C' as it can be called with some private reference, is destined to take Aderna back, and the College has to take part in helping us.

Dear old boys will not leave us at such a time. The Mussalmans will not deny aid to those who are the product of their own fields of troubles of so long an educational zamindarships. We now dream nothing but the entrance of Aderna.

Dr Foad is our Sar Takib and Abdur Rahman Sindhi is our Director.

Help in money is needed, and we are wiring you for the purpose. We hope you will appeal to the mercy of the old boys and the Mussalmans of India in general to help us.

اسے زمرہ پردہ بزرگ بخواب خیز کہ شد مشرق و مغرب خراب

We appeal to God and His Prophet as an emergency precaution. If you don't send money and help we start with only our lives and the small purses that we have.

We are all Volunteers, and are born for Islam. We hope and pray that every Muslim takes it his duty to go through thick and thin and do what little he can for the dwindling but hopeful power of Islam. The appeal is finished. Now a word of information as to the excellent commissariat work of Izzet Pasha.

The army is 3½ lakhs strong. Aderna is 8 days' march from the place where our armies, in column, have reached to-day. The enemy is scattered here and there. These are three wings, every one of them is trying to enter the sacred gates first and revenge on the aggressors. The good management can only be supposed by the fact that seventeen thousand conveyances are carrying out the bread and butter for the *mogulidin*. There are many portable wireless telegraphy carriages with the army.

Newly arrived are 800 big guns, 400 of which were supplied in the time when the strong man of Turkey and Islam was alive, and 400 have just been bought from Germany.

We have got some money also to continue. Nowadays the firms here of the munition are sending great lots daily towards the front.

Every inch has a post of the telephone from Stamboul, etc., etc. This is the summary of a great management which has been done by the 'Traitors', the Young Turks, if our Urdu writers dare call them such. The army is advancing in three directions.

1. Clearing the coast of Marmora and Aegean Seas.
2. Centre—towards Aderna.
3. Clearing the coast of the Black Sea.

But unlike the Patriotic Cabinet of Kiamil and its generalissimo, the ideal of the learned Urdu writers, this time every soldier in every one of the three lines of Advance can know of his comrade *mogulidin* and Baker can run on wire to help Omar if the help is at all needed.

Let us hope to meet in Aderna and prove the

خدا شروانگیزد که خیرے ما دران باشد

If the *Chandras* of Europe don't interfere and if the Turks go on with the same zeal as they have started and if every Muslim prays for victory and if He Who is prayed for is with us we hope once more to convert the church into a mosque and revenge the death of our sisters and brethren in faith in Aderna within two weeks.

Enmity is weak, let not the opportunity escape. Mussalmans of India should stand up once more with their half empty purses.

MANROO.



Bombay.

(By Our Special Correspondent.)

Quadrangular Cricket.

ORIGINEE at last!!! I feel as happy as any monkey in our School at Aligarh. In spite of a change in appearance, I was welcomed in the Islam Gymkhana tent and was glad to shake hands with several old and young cricketers. The Muhammadan team could have been very much stronger, but Ehsanul Haq, Sulaimuddin, Syed Hosein and the Aligarh contingent, on account of unforeseen circumstances, could not come this year. Noor Elahi of Kashmir was also absent. However, in spite of many disappointments, Sir Ebrahim Rahimtulla and his Committee did their best, and very sportingly put in an eleven that was not considered very brilliant. Of last year's team the Mussalmans had that genial, always smiling "wild man" from the frontier—Saleh Mohamed; Delhi had sent in Nazir Hosain and Abdul Aziz; Poona gave Yousuf Beg, decidedly the best bat on the side, though not at his best on the Bombay grounds, and Muhammad. The red Bombayites were O. M. Ali (Capt.), Sheikh Aziz Tunboowala and Peer Mohamed. Ferzikhhan from Kashmir and Patel from Bombay were fresh blood and rather promising. The team, judging from the last year's records, was not very brilliant; but they were all in good form and full of pluck and determination to play the game up to the last.

The first match was with the Parsis, practically the same team as that of last year except Pavri, the veteran, who had done so much for the Parsi cricket both with the bat and ball and more so as a captain. Dr. Kanga captained the team. On paper the Parsis were certainly superior and they were confident of an easy victory. I must say, barring Kanga, Warden and Kapadia, I was not impressed much with the team, and Kanga and Warden are not what they were last year. Kapadia is young and strong and ought to do well. I think we will hear about him.

The match began rather tamely. The Muhammadans winning the toss went in and were all out for 75 runs—Nazir Hosain alone playing a dashing innings of 32. Everyone expected the Parsis to top that score easily and so was surprised to see them in difficulties from the beginning to the end. The attack of Saleh Mohamed and Sheikh Aziz was too good to allow any liberties and the Muhammadan fielding was superb. Kanga was the only man on his side, who played well, and he too very cautiously. They made 94, only 19 runs ahead. The match was watched with the greatest interest and there must have been nearly 50,000 people watching the game all through. The man fielding really well for the Muhammadans was Tunboowala, who was to be chucked out of the team for his bad fielding. Verily, cricket is a game of chance. Tunboowala ought to do well both as a batsman and bowler if he only tries, but that he would not do.

Judging by the form shown by the two sides, one was safe to prophesy that the game would be a very close one, and if the Parsis did win they will not do so easily. The Muhammadans might win also. They had shown real grit and pluck, and there was a good deal of fight in them.

In their second innings, the Muhammadans again began badly—in fact, worse. The first 4 wickets going down for only 21 runs. But Yousuf Beg and Nazir Hosain broke the spell and the tail wagged so gaily that the scores reached 188, leaving the Parsis 120 to make to win—not a small score on that wicket. They began badly—very badly—Sheikh Aziz was bowling too well. Mehrvanji, Driver, Warden, Kanga all going down; six wickets were down for only 27 runs. It looked as if the Muhammadans would get them out easily with 50, but a very plucky stand was made by Parekh and Elchideda and they carried the score to 79, and were still not out when stumps were drawn. This stand made the game most interesting, 40 runs to make and 4 wickets in hand—anybody's game.

Next morning, however, Elchideda and Parekh who had done great service to their side were dismissed when the score had reached 91 and 94 respectively, and with them ended all hopes of the Parsis averting a defeat, the whole side going down at 101. Thus the Muhammadans won a well-earned victory over the redoubtable Parsis by 18 runs. It was a ding-dong fight from beginning to end. The Parsis were sure of victory on the first day; on the second day, the Muhammadans were practically certain of winning, though the last 80 minutes' play made it doubtful, and on the last day it was anybody's game. Eventually grit and pluck won the day, and the Parsis were defeated for the first time in a Quadrangular contest by Mussalmans, who failed only a year ago. The victory was most popular, both the Hindus and the Englishmen hailing it with joy.

The next match was between the Presidency and the Hindus, and as expected the Hindus won it easily by 7 wickets, the scores being Presidency 119 and 111, Hindus 171 and 62 for 3 wickets. The result was left to be fought out between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and as both sides were well-matched everyone expected to see real good cricket and they were not disappointed. From the beginning to the end it was a fine fight and anybody's game. The Hindus have always been a good sporting side, but when playing against the Parsis, they used to get fearfully nervous and the cheering or the jeering of the crowd upset them. "Hindu nerves" was not a compliment and was growing into a promontory in Bombay. It was on this account that Major Greig had predicted that it would be the Mussalmans who would first lower the Parsi colours, and they did it jolly quickly too. But Hindus while playing against Aligarh and other teams had always done well. I regret I was not present in this match, but friends besides the papers gave me full details.

The Muhammadans were handicapped by the absence of Saleh Mohamed, their best bowler, who was down with fever, the climate of Bombay not comparing well with that of Kashmir. However, as usual, they played a game though they missed Saleh Mohamed very much whose presence would have given the match a keener interest and perhaps a sure victory to the Muhammadans. The Hindus winning the toss batted first scoring 167 runs after three and-a-half hours' play, Deodhar playing brilliant cricket for his valuable 67, Vithal not out 24, Sempare 22, Melita 16, and Pai 14. The Muhammadans following made 162 in all, remaining only 5 runs behind their opponents' score in spite of their disastrous beginning when the score stood 77 for 6, after which on the next day they made a wonderful recovery, thanks to Sheikh Muhammad and Nazir Hosain who enabled them almost to equalise with the Hindus. Sheikh Mohamed batted even for his 87, while Nazir Hosain, Patel, Sheikh Aziz and Ali scoring 23 (not out), 22, 17 and 11 respectively, in tenacious style. The Hindus going in played dashing cricket making 254 runs for 8 wickets and declaring their innings closed. Vithal played well for his 78, while Talpade 41, Deodhar 36, Pai 24, Melita 25, and Denkar 20 securing double figures. The Muhammadans had to make 259 runs in 3 hours and 8 minutes to win the match—well nigh an impossible feat to achieve. Nevertheless, their proverbial grit again came to their assistance and urged them to make a great effort in hitting up the required runs. It was by no means a poor effort to make 174 runs for the loss of only 5 wickets during the time left over to them. The partnership of Yousuf Beg and Ferze Khan proved very fruitful and advantageous to their side. Their 2nd innings' play was by no means a cautious or dull sport, for the scoring was at the same rapid rate as the scores of the Hindus in their 2nd innings. They played a forcing and shooting game for 174 and made a brilliant bid for victory, and that too at the lag and anxious portion of the game. The match ended in a draw and both sides must be congratulated on the result though the lovers of cricket would prefer the final to be played out. I think Sir Ebrahim Rahimtulla, Mr. Hadis Tyebjee and Mr. C. M. Ali, the Captain, deserve congratulations for this brilliant result.

Mussalmans have won a position for themselves in cricket as I had always expected; and what is more, they will keep it. They have got plenty of good material to draw on only it is rather scattered. Aligarh alone is a gold mine, though owing to unforeseen circumstances, no Aligarhian could join this year. It is unfortunate that so very little cricket is being played by Englishmen in Upper India. The difficulty here is that good Indian teams cannot get matches to give their younger players expensive present. Aligarh has some very fine material both in bowling and batting. Even in their present form Khan Muhammad, Habib Bakhsh, Maslehuddin, Abdussalam are good, and the present College Captain Prince Hamidulla Khan of Dhopal is a very keen sportsman.

So, for the next season Sir Ebrahim and the Selection Committee would have plenty of material to pick out a strong Muhammadan team, and with fair lucks, the Mussalmans ought to maintain their position in Quadrangular Cricket.

Phantom Figures.

VII

THE CIVIL SURGEON.

In former days an official Galen in India belonging to the Army was content to be known as "Doctor"; the honoured title borne by the heads of his profession in Civil employment, and still ranks as a non-combatant though provided with rank corresponding to the actual men of war; the regimental officers whose business is fighting, taking life, not preserving it. However, all this has now been changed and the Civil Surgeon in charge of a District is Colonel, Major, or Captain, according to his length of service, most of which is spent in the performance of purely professional duties of a decidedly pacific nature. The member of the Indian Medical Service—the I. M. S.—who succeeds in obtaining appointment to a Civil Surgeonship must be reckoned a fortunate individual. He at once is placed in a position of great responsibility, becomes more his own master than is possible when looking after the soldier patients in a Cantonment Hospital, and has much better pay and prospects than his brethren entrusted with the care of Tommy Atkins or Jack Sepoy. Further he has ample opportunities for displaying professional knowledge and increasing the same since he has to deal with all sorts of cases to act as sanitary adviser to the Collector, and carry on the various tasks falling to the lot of a Jail Superintendent. Hence the average Civil Surgeon—with a liking for his calling and reasonable amount of industry—can acquire considerable renown and attain to very comfortable billets in this country. Of course he has to pass his days in India, unlike the R. A. M. C. man who goes Home after a tour of service abroad, but surely that fact cannot be regarded as a hardship by any sensible person. Belonging to a class rarely overburdened with the riches of this world, he is able to enjoy a better style of living and escape the money worries now inseparable from the existence of all but the very rich in Great Britain. The exploded bogey of an unhealthy climate and the hardships of exile in a strange land may be dismissed as unworthy serious argument. The majority of Civil Surgeons I have met either hail from Caledonia or Erin, lands where the middle classes are less well-off than in Albion proper. Few Indians figure in the list of Civil Surgeons, presumably out of deference to the prejudices of the European who, after all, is as fairly entitled to have his wife and children attended to by one of their own race as are Mulattoes and Hindus—a matter on which Government has hitherto yielded to a national sentiment common to the bulk of its subjects. It would, moreover, be somewhat incongruous to find Major Mokherji or Colonel Ghose figuring as Civil Surgeons. Not that their professional abilities are in any way inferior to those of a *Médecin* from Dublin or Edinburgh, but because military rank does not altogether suit a race from which not a single recruit swells the ranks of the Indian Army. In some Provinces a certain number of Districts are allotted to the military Assistant Surgeon, a capital fellow as a rule, and one endowed with excellent skill in diseases peculiar to India. Not so many years ago these personages used to be styled Apothecaries—transformed into "Apothecaries" by Mr. Atkins—and become Honorary Lieutenants and Captains as time rolls on, a fair proportion of them being of mixed parentage and representatives of that hardly-used community known as the "Domesticated." In addition to his official duties, the Civil Surgeon in small stations usually fills the post of Club Secretary, manages the Mutton Club as well, and may—of a devout turn of mind—read the Lessons at the weekly Evening Service. Should he be a man with sporting tendencies, he combines his annual inspections of Dispensaries and branch hospitals with a good deal of shooting, while the villages where he tests the work of his staff of vaccinators are commonly within easy distance of a good *ghat* or likely bit of jungle. A "Medicine Man" is able to get on closer terms of intimacy with the Indian gentry—Rajahs, rich Zamindars, and the more respectable merchants and legal practitioners—than a Magistrate or a Police Superintendent, it being recognised that there is not the same reason for reticence about local matter or private matters as where those officers are concerned. Tact, and readiness to hurry out into the *défilé* when Thakur Suraj Buksh Singh has a sore throat or Sheikh Mustapha Ahmed is troubled by some trifling defect in the digestive organs, soon makes a Civil Surgeon popular and results in handsome fees. If a patient insists on calling in the Civil Surgeon whenever the spirit moves him to do so, it is only logical that such summons ought to be obeyed, meaning as it will do a good honorarium. Both parties are satisfied, the invalid having his desire for European assistance complied with, and the Doctor finding the trouble of a sudden *dawr* from headquarters suitably rewarded. It has always seemed a piece of needless fussiness on the part of Government to arbitrate on the amount of fees paid by an Indian patient of the wealthier class. Should a Rajah or Nawab choose to testify gratitude for being cured by a big cheque, what business is it of the authorities to set a limit to his generosity? Were a Hakim or Bald to attend under like circumstances, no inquiry is

made as to the remuneration they obtain, though some of these practitioners charge heavily for their professional advice. There was a Taluqdar of Oudh, notorious for his economy in other respects, who gladly disbursed six hundred rupees per diem to a Calcutta Bald on every occasion of that physician prescribing for his complaint: an incurable one it might be remarked, and therefore pronounced accordingly by the Civil Surgeon who was first in charge of the case. Fancy a Harley Street expert being forbidden to ask—and get—his hundred guinea fee from a rich person, and—in many instances—a clever Civil Surgeon, abreast with the latest discoveries of medical science, may be deemed an Expert in Mofussil practice.

In his capacity of Superintendent of the District Jail a Civil Surgeon displays his idiosyncracies without let or hindrance: free amid the captive, he directs the internal economy of the prison; the diet and work of the prisoners; the sale of Jail manufactured goods; and the supply of *dalia* of vegetables; without the possibility of outside interference. His position as an employer of labour is a happy one, since in any difference of opinion about hours of work or money earned, a strike is out of the question. Were an attempt made by the *ladies* to imitate the British working man—so called because in these days he seeks to do a minimum of work for a maximum of pay—most of the striking would be done by the Superintendent, or rather by men selected for ability in wielding the convincing rattan. It is amusing to hear a Civil Surgeon dilate on the market price of gram and other foodstuffs; the scale of wages; and other commercial topics; as if he were manager of a business firm instead of a professor of the art of healing. The extra emoluments attached to the post of Jail Superintendent are not very large, and the individual who seems to derive most profit from belonging to the Jail Department is the head Darogha—right hand man of the Civil Surgeon and immediately in command over the prison establishment, warders, contractors, and convicts. I have met Darogas who were short and stout, others who were tall and burly, but a thin specimen of this class of official it has never been my lot to encounter. And in India ample girth betokens a well-filled purse. The causes that lead to a Darogha being fat and prosperous would repay examination, but do not call for notice at present. The jealousy felt in the trading world for Jail manufactures—as competing with the products of free labour—always struck me as rather selfish. Sale for *durries*, rugs, cane furniture, and so forth, is usually confined to the local officials who buy those articles for their respective Departments, or for their private use. The goods are excellent in quality and moderate in price, while their being sold brings in funds to the public, not any private purse. Part of the proceeds may be devoted to necessary improvements in a Jail, part is placed to the credit of the convict workmen and the injury done to outside firms must be very small. In most small stations the Civil Surgeon acts as Club Secretary, his absence from headquarters being much shorter than that of other European officials, and his business capabilities expanded by his Jail experiences. Lady members spare him the complaints and impracticable suggestions endured by Secretaries of another description, for Johnny may get fever soon or the Baby has to be vaccinated, hence the need for being on friendly terms with the Station Doctor, the feminine mind not understanding how a man can separate his professional from his personal feelings, nor the unlikelihood of the average male losing a chance for indulging in revenge for petty annoyances. Women (Bless the tender, irrational, creatures), are commonly built that way and fail to comprehend the workings of the mind of a *man*. One sometimes meets a Civil Surgeon whose *forte* is cookery and the preparation of *burra khana*, indeed the former Departmental head of prisons in one Province missed his true vocation in becoming a Surgeon Colonel instead of a hotel chef; for more reasons than one. It is a distinct advantage to dine with a Civil Surgeon of this sort, for one has only to follow suit to your host in the matter of drinks and dishes to enjoy the meal without painful thoughts for the morrow. In any case, the person who may hurt your digestive powers is also an authority on how to restore them to their wonted state.

As a rule, the Civil Surgeon is of the same kindly disposition as the country Doctor of the old hunting song—

"To the rich he prescribed and took pay,"

"To the poor he advice gave away,"

for he will visit anybody wanting his services nor insist too rigidly on the payment of fees. There are of course a few exceptions to the above, but I have only known two such during a long acquaintance with the genus Civil Surgeon. One of these officers waxed wrath with an European of non-gazetted rank because he summoned the big man to look at a sick child, a proceeding resented as a rude invocation of a higher power than the social status of the patients' father justified, although—as a matter of fact—the latter was as superior by birth and education the *médecin* in question as he was inferior to him where official dignity was concerned. On another occasion a Civil Surgeon was asked to visit an adjoining District where there happened (temporarily) to be no European in medical

charge and the Indian *locum tenens* was anxious for a second opinion in a certain case not one of particular gravity. The man from next door travelled thirty odd miles by rail—earning T. A. for the double journey—had *chota kharri* and breakfast with the people who had called him in, never examined the patient but contented himself by remarking that the treatment and prescriptions of the local doctor appeared satisfactory, and in return for that valuable professional aid asked for—and got—a fee of rupees one hundred. By a strange chance a Note to that amount was in the house at the time of his visit. Both these "exceptions" have joined the Great Majority long since, so I have only quoted them as an example of what most Civil Surgeons are not. The social circle in a medical station would be incomplete without the presence of a member of the I. M. S. and hence any alteration in the allotment of European doctors to tend to the wants of their countrymen and their families must be strongly deprecated.

DEMOCRITUS.



The Behar Educational Conference.

The following Presidential Address was delivered by Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, M. A., B. C. L., Barrister-at-law, on the 21st September at the opening of the Behar Educational Conference —
GENTLEMEN,

Far above all honours and distinction I reckon the honour which you have conferred upon me in electing me your President. You are the crown and flower of educated Behar and to preside over your deliberations in matters educational is, in fact, an honour to which I will look back, in after days, with supreme pleasure and pride. This, gentlemen, is no language of exaggeration but of sober truth.

Whatever else the creation of our Province may mean it does undoubtedly mean this. It means that henceforth we must stand upon our own strength, fight our own battles, work out our own salvation; unprompted and unassisted by our late senior partners, the people of the Province of Bengal. This fact we have clearly realised and none too soon. At the magician's wand, so to speak, Behar has risen, fully equipped and fully armoured to take her burden to do her duty, duty to the people and duty to the Crown. I do not for one moment suggest that there is any line of cleavage between duty to the people and duty to the Crown. The two are identical. What serves the interest of the one necessarily serves the interest of the other. We form part of the British Empire and we are proud of our connexion with an Empire which is continuous with civilisation. No Sovereign, now or ever, has ruled a dominion as wide and extensive as does our Gracious King-Emporor and he rules, indeed, for the one single, beneficent purpose, namely, the material, moral, and intellectual welfare of his subjects. It is our just boast that under our benign Government we may always look to the fulfilment of our legitimate hopes and the realisation of our honourable aspirations. The debt which India owes to England is a debt which India can never repay. It is England and English literature which have opened our eyes and which have set before us ideals, social, intellectual and political, to which India is slowly but surely moving.

I spoke of the people of Bengal as our senior partners and so undoubtedly they were. Now that Bengal and Behar have separated from each other and separated, perhaps, irrevocably, it is only in the fitness of things that we should publicly acknowledge our indebtedness to the Province of Bengal. Bengal has done signal services to India. She stands to-day first and foremost in intellectual advancement and material prosperity. She has shown by her shining example what unity, combination, organisation, can realise and achieve. She has made the popular voice a power and a force to be considered and reckoned with. To Bengal, indeed, we owe the intellectual impetus which has set us on a fair way to further in intellectual progress. To Bengal we owe the growth of public life—so conspicuous a feature of the Baby Province. To Bengal therefore, we owe in return our whole-hearted thanksgiving, our unalloyed affection.

That what I have said is no mere idle talk is abundantly borne out by the meeting convened to-day. We meet in response to a serious call to duty—duty to the present as also to the generations that are to come. We meet here to consider educational questions affecting our province, questions of deepest import to us. It is no longer necessary to dwell upon the necessity or utility of education. That is now an axiomatic truth established beyond doubt or cavil. Moreover, whatever may be differences of opinion in other spheres of thought, there can be none here. It is the one question above party strife, above petty considerations of race and religion.

The only medicine, says Professor Huxley, for suffering, crime, and all the other woes of mankind, is wisdom. Teach a man to read and write and you have put into his hands the great keys of the wisdom box. (Professor Huxley's Science and Education, p. 92)

We will not deny or question that time has come when we should revise, reform, remodel our educational system. But nowhere is there more need of care and caution than in the path of reform.

Where evil is mixed with much good, with much that is of proved value, it is the part of wisdom to unend rather than destroy and not to get rid of the old without some assurance that the new is better.

The great outstanding feature of our present system is the mercenary character of our education. Learning for its own sake is disappearing—if it has not already disappeared—from us. We seek learning, no longer, as our forefathers did, in the spirit of a knight, braving every danger, running every risk, suffering every form of privation, with no motive other than to broaden the mind to serve God and to serve the country. Learning with them was an end and not merely a means to material gain or material advancement. And yet, gentlemen, they were free from the dreadful roll-calls, long and tedious attendances in the lecture-room, grinding examinations ruinous alike to the health and to the understanding of the victims.

With them learning was thorough, solid, substantial, though limited in range, with us it is discursive, shallow, superficial. With them it was a serious, solemn call, with us it is a mere incident in the crowded scheme of life. Hence the dearth of scholarship, hence the poverty and barrenness of our universities in men of real towering intellect. Have we ever stopped to consider the reasons of this mournful condition? Is the reason palpable, impervious to our understanding? No, it is as clear as day. In the task of education we have never taken the least trouble to ask ourselves what we are aiming at; what kind of human being we desire to produce. It is all hazard, a game of chance. Smattering of half-dozen subjects, mastery of none, absence of our own Eastern learning, thin veneer of Western culture. Such is our education and what real good can come out of it to us or to our country? To pass examinations as quickly and with as little labour as possible, to obtain the degree and then, in majority of cases, to uselessly spend some of the most valuable years of life in a futile quest,—seeking unsuccessfully Government employment—that apparently is the ultimate end, the final goal of our University career. Is this atmosphere congenial to higher studies, to prolonged research, to fruitful meditation or to philosophic contemplation? Certainly not.

But if the motive are such as do but little honour to the pursuit of higher studies—those to whom the cause of learning is committed are rarely of a type to kindle enthusiasm, to inspire love, to arouse devotion in their students. What great and conspicuous names adorn the educational service of India? What great pioneers in Art, in Science, in Philosophy, in Letters, can it claim as its own? It cannot enter into competition even with the poorest of German Universities in the brilliance of its staff, in the solidity of its work, in the richness of its achievements.

Let us hear Professor Huxley again — 'The student who repairs to the German universities sees in the list of classes and professors a fair picture of the world of knowledge. Whatever he needs to know there is some one ready to teach him, some one competent to discipline him in the way of learning; whatever his special bent, let him but be able and diligent, and in due time he shall find distinction and a career. Among his professors, he sees men whose names are known and revered through all the civilised world and their living example infects him with a noble ambition and a love for the spirit of work. The Germans dominate the intellectual world by virtue of the same simple secret as that which made Napoleon the master of Old Europe. They have declared *la carrière ouverte aux talents* and every Barch marches with a Professor's gown in his knapsack. Let him become a great scholar, or man of science, and ministers will compete for his services. In Germany they do not leave the chance of his holding the office he would render illustrious to the tender mercies of a hot caucus, the final wisdom of a mob of country parsons.'

The general principles of any study you may learn by books at home; but the detail, the colour, the tone, the air, the life which makes it live in us, you must catch all these from those in whom it lives already. And these, indeed, you cannot catch from men who only know a trifle more than those whom they are called upon to teach, who prepare their subject over-night only to dote it out the next day in the class room. Such men are not likely to promote substantially the cause of learning here or anywhere else. What recollections do our students carry back with them when they leave the university? Unless I have completely failed to grasp the situation, to me, it seems that, at the end of their university career, their one feeling is that of relief and their one joy is the joy of a wearisome business at an end. We have no Actons and Haldanes to celebrate and glorify Rankes and Lotzes. "It is figures like these that inspire the university student and that suggest to him great ideas" (Lord Haldane's Universities and National Life, p. 18).

What we most need for the present is solid reform within—no adventurous project, no leap in the dark. We want the introduction of a serious tone in our educational institutions; by serious, I do

not mean, discipline; for of discipline we have already too much; nor do I mean a programme of repression, for that cannot be conducive to the growth of mind. What we do want is the growth and development of a true spirit of learning; a healthy and stimulating rivalry, drawing all that is best in us; the formation of all that goes to constitute a gentleman—the taste and propriety, the generosity and forbearance, the candour and consideration—the full assemblage of them bound up in the unity of an individual character. What we want is that the education given should be directed to the highest ends, to the ideal perfection of citizenship; not the education which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice (see Butcher's *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects*, pp. 72, 73).

Spacious schemes, splendid programmes, finely drafted rules, and magnificent buildings, will not secure this. We require men and the right sort of men imbued and saturated with love and genuine enthusiasm for knowledge to work and to co-operate with us in the cause of learning. Without them the interest of true education must suffer as it has doubtless suffered in the past. Without them no reform will be effective and no progress real.

Now, gentlemen, the thought that is uppermost in our minds to-day is undoubtedly the thought as to the nature and constitution of the new University of Behar.

It is being born and we rejoice that it has by its side eminent physicians, renowned for their stupendous expert knowledge, to attend to and to watch over its birth. Here the Behar University scores over Oxford and Cambridge for they have had no such good fortune attending them either at their birth or during their infancy. They grow up (I speak subject to correction) out of schools or colleges or seminaries or monastic bodies which had already lasted for centuries. They were gradual adaptations to the growing needs of the people. Circumstances were not made to suit them but they suited the circumstances. To speak of a subject to men who have made a special study of it always savours of tauterity and I really feel great hesitation in doing so. But having accepted your invitation it is now too late to repent of my precipitancy.

I would, however, even at the risk of rashness, make one observation and it is this: that experts after all are men and men of fallible judgment and not unlimited vision. And experience of the world impresses upon us more and more the necessity of tolerance, moderation and not too sure a conviction of the correctness of our judgment. It is, therefore, that I humbly suggest that no great or momentous step, in matters educational, should be taken without a full and assured belief that it has behind it the deliberate and considered sanction of the community. A few people may fall into error, even a whole class of people may go wrong but an entire people rarely, perhaps never can, form their judgment blind or blunder egregiously in their verdict. And I echo the feelings of all present here when I say that educated Behar regards with disfavour, to put it very mildly, the introduction of the compulsory residential system, at the proposed University. Let us pause for a while and consider whether public opinion has or has not truth and justice on its side. Behar has not yet completely cast off the swaddling clothes of intellectual infancy. She has her prejudices and all prejudices are foolish. But it would be unwise to ignore them more unwise still to try, at one stroke, to brush them aside. Residential system is, indeed, excellent for Oxford and who would be silly enough to say it is not so? But even my enthusiastic friend, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, will concede that Patna is not Oxford and that the history and environment of the two places are as widely apart as the poles. At Oxford, you have one people, bound by one tie, animated by one interest, governed practically by one religion. There the feeling of oneness is strengthened, emphasised, cemented on the play-ground, at the Hall, in the lecture room. Residential system is the most charming feature of the University life at Oxford. But how different are things here. Instead of effecting union it will accentuate differences; instead of fostering a feeling of brotherhood, it will bring into prominence divergences and contrasts which is our solemn endeavour in the interest of our country, to wipe out, to forget and to obliterate once for all. Hindus and Muhammadans, under a residential system, must live away and apart and it is hardly desirable that at their *Alma Mater* they should feel that the gulf between them is too wide to be bridged over and differences too deep to be adjusted and harmonised.

A university is the last place where anything suggestive of racial division or provocative of religious differences should find place or obtain admission. Therefore, to me, the residential system is objectionable even on broad general principles. But there are other objections equally powerful which tell against it and, to be sure, heavily tell against it. It may be good enough for those who can afford to pay for a luxurious education but what about those who have to contend against actual poverty or slender means? Are they to be shut out from the light of culture? Are they to go only some little distance on the path of education and then sit resigned to fate and

poverty because they have not the golden keys wherewith to unlock the door of the newly-constituted university? What we want is education, cheap education, education within the reach of the humblest of His Majesty's subjects. Its door should be a limit of no walls of division, marking off one class from another. It should reduce to a vanishing point disabilities born of poverty.

Whatever other faults we may find with Muslims or their government, we cannot in fairness deny our tribute of admiration to them for their disinterested love of learning. The Muslim empire was studded with seats of learning where no distinction was made between rich and poor; where no embargo was laid upon free circulation of thought, where no fee was charged for remuneration expected for that holiest of all earthly duties, the diffusion and extension of knowledge. Their one supreme and crowning glory was that they never shirked or shrank from activities in the domain of thought. They were the boldest of thinkers, the most fearless of speculators. Witness the numerous sects that sprang up within the bosom of Islam. Every proposition was discussed and every discussion was carried to its legitimate conclusion with a boldness and firmness which is at once a credit and a glory to its authors. But this boldness is a striking feature not only in the sphere of religion but also in the sphere of politics. The government was feeble but their culture was never emasculated. Witness the model state of Al-Farabi; *Muqattala* of Ibn Khaldun, the political discourses of Mawardi, the preface of Al-Fakhri to his history of the Mohammedan dynasties. Honour and glory to them, for they were the precursors and fore-runners of Hobbes and Locke and Rousseau and the whole band of political thinkers of our modern times.

This, gentlemen, I trust, you will not consider a futile digression. I have referred to our past to impress upon you all the more vividly the spirit in which we cultivated knowledge in the hey-day of our material and intellectual prosperity. That spirit, that devotion, that enthusiasm, I regretfully confess, we have lost. Would it not revive again? Surely it will, if that be our fervent prayer, our devoutly-cherished wish. For you must remember that in all matters, human and divine, we must rely first and foremost on ourselves—for no body is more keenly affected, more deeply interested in our affairs than we ourselves are.

Self-reliance, therefore, is a condition precedent to success in life. Thus far as to the residential system. As to the site of the university it should certainly be enmeshed in a worthy setting. Nobody has more eloquently pleaded than Cardinal Newman for the necessity for a proper surrounding for a university. Among those which are required to make a university he puts down—

"First, a good and pleasant site where there is wholesome and temperate constitution of the air, composed with water-springs or wells, woods and pleasant fields, which being obtained, those commodities are enough to invite students to stay and abide there" (Newman's *Historical Sketches*, Vol III, p. 27).

And, surely, can we not hit upon a spot at Bankipore fulfilling all the demands of the most exacting of educationists. Indeed we can, if we are so minded. Bankipore has been and must forever more be the reigning Queen of Behar. We shall not willingly let her empire over the mind slip out of her hand. She has the finest library where lie enshrined the most enduring monuments of Muslim genius. And this library, according to the deed of trust, must be at Bankipore and nowhere else—legal fiction notwithstanding. There under its shadow does the founder sleep. In life it was the object of his ardent attachment, unfailing love, after his death it is his eternal resting-place, chosen by him and sanctioned by Government. I look forward to the day when Bankipore will stand unrivalled among the cities of India, radiant, beautiful, splendid, the City of minds, the centre of our intellectual activity, focussing within her wall all that is best in us and drawing to her bosom scholars from the remotest corner of India to participate in her ripened wisdom, to share in her intellectual glory. The library which you possess and which I trust you will retain within your town at all hazards and at all costs will itself be an attraction to scholars at whom and abroad as its fame grows and broadens and widens more and more in the days that are to come.

The position, therefore, is obviously this. Our unbounded thanks are due to Government for the new university which is as certain of realisation as to-morrow's sunrise but in offering our thanks, we wish to point out to Government that, we expect that, it will grant us a university, not in a half-hearted, grudging but a thoroughly liberal spirit. The university that it gives us will be, we trust, a university—wide and comprehensive enough to include all the needs and requirements of our new and growing Province. It will include Colleges for medicine, engineering, science, law, Oriental studies, in a word, it will deal with the vast expanse of knowledge in all its multitudinous branches. It will be a university located at Bankipore and it will be a university which will be not only confer degrees, for that is the least important part of a university's work, but it will extend more and more the frontier of knowledge, encourage disinterested

studious, keep abreast of modern sciences reflect the highest culture and secure the highest intellectual achievement. Such a university, we trust, will the Patna University be—an example, a model, an ideal university. But in order that education may make more and more progress and be within the reach of the meanest of His Majesty's subjects—it must be cheap and it must be widely diffused. We, therefore, bring most respectfully to the notice of Government the necessity of first-rate Colleges, at the important centres, Colleges affiliated to the University of Patna, Colleges manned with a proper staff, endowed with the best appliances, and furnished with a good library.

Is it not Professor York Powell who once said :—

If you have a library and a printing press, you have all that is necessary for a University. Whether that be so or not the importance of a library, a good library, attached to an educational institution cannot be exaggerated or over-estimated. But we suffer not only from a lack of libraries but also from a lamentable lack of men to guide our studies. In India everything is so beautiful on paper, so ugly in practice. Here is a passage from Dean Stanley's Life of Dr. Arnold (p. 22) which is well-worth a quotation. "Dr. Arnold's great power as private tutor resided in this, that he gave such an intense earnestness to life. Every pupil was made to feel that there was a work for him to do—that his happiness as well as his duty lay in doing that work well. Hence an indescribable zest was communicated to a young man's feeling about life; a strange joy came over him on discovering that he had the means of being useful, and thus of being happy, and a deep respect and ardent attachment sprang up towards him, who had sought him thus to value life and his own self, and his work and mission in this world." Would that we followed an example such as this?

In India everything tends to degenerate into a groove; everything settles down into a dry, life-less routine; everything becomes cast-iron, hide-bound—yes everything here is red-tape, slow footed, clogged and choked with the dust of custom, prescription, meaningless formality. Against such a danger it would be as well to bear in mind the wholesome warning of Sir Walter Raleigh. "There is another danger, a kind of lethargy," says he, "which falls upon universities in the day of their prosperity, when they have thousands and a full measure of public recognition and material success. Then they sometimes forget their earlier gospel, they lose their first sprightly impulse and settle down to a programme, a time-table, an industry, a system Machinery and discipline, a constitution and regulations—these things are necessary for any great institution, but they are the body of the institution, not its animating soul. If discipline be exalted at the expense of everything else, you get a spirit creditable perhaps to a brigade, but disastrous to the activities of the mind" (Raleigh's "The meaning of a University" P. 13)

I am afraid, gentlemen, I have detained you much longer than I should have. But, I trust, you will spare a few minutes more. I cannot take leave of you without referring to a question which from its importance and gravity overshadows every other that I have touched.

Where should the final, ultimate control of the University reside—with the state or with the senate, a body, representative of the people? It is a question which I cannot avoid referring to but it is a question which I would neither argue nor try to solve. I would, however, content myself with the observation that the learned opinion of Europe points to the necessity of a non-official control in a free University. "Spontaneity and individuality," says Sir Walter Raleigh, are the springs of its life. Its bravest and most momentous deeds are deviations from the beaten track. Freedom to think, to criticise, to doubt are essential to a University. It cannot be free if it is the appendage of any external power" [Raleigh P. 16, 17, compare Sir John Seeley's Views (P. 121) in his Lectures and Essays.]

I will now conclude, gentlemen, with those, beautiful lines of Rabindrar Nath Tagore—lines which are at once a prayer and a prophecy—where the poet peering into the future, lifts up the veil of futurity, for us, of narrow vision, to catch a glimpse of the India of the future :—

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held up

Where knowledge is free .

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls .

Where words come out from the depth of truth

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit :

Where the mind is led forward by thee into over-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let this country awake."

Let us all, with bended knee and humbled head, join the poet in his fervent prayer and let us all, with everything that lies in our power, help forward the realisation of the poet's dream.



Pierre Loti and the Turks.

THAT the collection in book-form of the famous series of letters addressed to the *Figaro* by M. Pierre Loti has already reached its twelfth edition is of itself some evidence that his impassioned defence of the Turks during the wars but now concluded has done much to convert the almost unanimous hostility with which his letters were at first received. It will be long before the real truth of the Balkan warfare will be known to the world. But whether the balance of savagery be found ultimately to rest on the side of the Allies or of the Turks, it will stand to the lasting credit of this great writer that in all France (in all Europe would hardly be an exaggeration) he and Claude Ferrere alone have championed the cause of the Turks and Turkish civilisation with consistent eloquence, from the outbreak of the war in Tripoli until to-day. That the letters are magnificently written goes without saying; that a defence of the Turks was necessary is proven by the admitted fact that European, and above all English, opinion is based upon a tradition which makes the phrase "Turkish atrocity" a pleonasm. "Burnings, massacres, pillages, violations, terrible and unspeakable mutilations of prisoners, nothing is wanting from the reckoning of these truly Christian armies. I grant that all this is inevitable when primitive peoples are let loose in war; but I would not have spoken of them unless 'the liberators' had not played too much upon that very string, to excite the ignorant and credulous against the poor Turks, who have committed far fewer atrocities than themselves."

M. Loti's original line of defence is simple, and carries conviction. "I know the Turks," he writes, "and I do not believe that there exists in the world a race fundamentally better, braver, more loyal and gentle." They represent a higher and more noble society than their conquerors. They defend a precious civilisation and a noble religion; yet Europe will not understand. "With no hope any more that my humble appeal will be heard, I must cry to Europe. 'Mercy for the Turks; spare those who remain.' In them, more than in any other people, live honour and bravery. With them is the last resting-place of calm and of respect, of sobriety, of silence, and of prayer." Then came truer reports from the Near East, and it began to be suspected that there was an organised system of exaggerating reports of Turkish atrocities and totally suppressing those of the Allies. M. Loti's defence, before based on knowledge alone, was supported by facts; and public opinion began to waver when it was too late. But the letters remain as the record of one chivalrous voice raised in defence of a people who have always been condemned unheard.

M. Loti quotes a letter from a Spanish Jewess, born and bred in Turkey, which may call to mind one virtue of the Turks which has long been forgotten, that at the beginning of contemporary history thousands of Spanish Jews, persecuted in the name of Christ, as they have been persecuted in our days at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Christian Slavs, fled to Turkey, to Salonica and Stambul, where they were disturbed no more. Turkish toleration has been forgotten. It is no place here to give any account of brutal treat of the Allies, other than to record M. Loti's considered conclusion. "If the Turks have sometimes committed excesses, the least that can be said of the Allies is that they have committed at least as many, while it is more difficult to give them the benefit of extenuating circumstances." Undoubtedly the most powerful of all the letters is that written in January last, entitled "The Paladins." The terrible mordant irony with which the Kings of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro are described makes this letter a masterpiece of biting invective, to which we have no parallel in English outside the pages of Swift. It may be that the portrait of King Ferdinand may seem too ruthlessly drawn, now that our sympathies have in a measure returned to Bulgaria, but it is impossible to doubt the intensity of conviction that underlies it. It is a strange freak of destiny that the only adequate tribute we can pay to "Turkish Agony" is to record our feeling that only Gladstone could have spoken thus in defence of a defenceless people.



Turkish Concessions to France.

Special Treatment in Syria.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Sept. 18.

THE negotiations which have been proceeding for some weeks

past in Paris between Djavid Bey and the French Government have resulted in the initialling of a provisional agreement with regard to the French demands for railway and port concessions in Syria and America, in return for which the French Government will favour the issue of a Turkish loan in France, and will, subject, of course, to acceptance by the other Powers, give its consent to a 4 per cent. Customs increase and an income-tax on foreigners resident in Turkey. This agreement, although definite in its terms, is dependent upon the outcome of the negotiations now being carried on in Constantinople by the French Ambassador, M. Bompard, with regard to a stricter observance of the Franco-Turkish agreement of 1901 and the opening of certain French schools and other establishments in the East, and the position of French Nationals. In still greater measure is the present convention dependant upon the success of the Franco-German financial negotiations on the subject of the Baghdad Railway. At the meetings between the French and German bankers a basis of discussion has been found, and the Ottoman Bank in return for certain paper admitted to the Paris Bourse, will relinquish to the German banks its holding of Baghdad stock, which it is not permitted to negotiate on the Paris market. The nature of the exchange having been agreed upon, the bankers will discuss the figures at their next meeting, which will, it is believed, be held shortly. Until this portion of the general settlement of Turkish questions has been arranged, and until the negotiations in other quarters have been concluded, the clauses initialled last week by Djavid Bey cannot be regarded as constituting an absolutely definite agreement.

It is understood that the Syrian concessions upon which the agreement has been reached relate to the French demands for special treatment in Syrian ports, and give to France the right to extend the Aleppo-Homs railway line from Rayak, its southerly terminus, to Lydda, where the line will join the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway. The Armenian concessions relate to the projected lines from Samoun to Sivas and Kharput, and from Trabizond to Sivas.

The amount of the loan which Turkey will require in order to enable her to liquidate her financial position is estimated as being about 28 or 30 millions sterling. No figures, however, are mentioned in the provisional agreement, and the amounts and details of the loan will remain to be discussed with the financiers concerned. It is, of course, clear that in view of the many important questions awaiting settlement, which included, it has to be remembered, nearly all those referred to the Balkan International Financial Commission, there can be no issue of any great size for some time to come.

It is unlikely that the International Financial Commission, which was to have resumed its sittings on October 1, will meet again until November.

The Development of Palestine.

(FROM THE "TIMES" PAPER CORRESPONDENT.)

THERE has lately been a good deal of discussion on the subject of French interests in Syria, and since the time when M. Poincaré took office as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs in January last year there have been repeated assertions of France's right to protect French Roman Catholic missions and institutions in that country—a claim which used to extend, and in the minds of some French politicians still extends, to similar settlements of other nations. The question of a religious protectorate is, or ought to be, a separate matter. France's material interests in Syria, and more particularly her railway interests, are discussed in a very interesting article in this month's *Revue de Paris* by M. André Duboscq, who recently visited the country and travelled over the different lines. He begins his article by examining the Arab movement, which he does not believe to represent a real reconciliation of Moslem and Christian interests and aspirations. Their joint demand for reforms, however, is, in M. Duboscq's opinion, being pressed with excessive violence, and he fears that the movement may result in repressive measures on the part of Turkey, with ulterior consequences in the shape of European intervention which would be prejudicial to the interests and the aspirations of France. France, he says, ought to desire the integrity of Asiatic Turkey, and her policy should continue to be "a policy of influence." The concession which Germany has obtained for a branch line from the Baghdad Railway to Alexandria and for a port there makes it probable enough that a general upheaval would lead to the permanent presence of a German fleet in the Levant. M. Duboscq significantly adds:—

"If the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire took place before the end of certain embarrasments at another point (Morocco?) had set us free to defend ourselves in Syria, far away at the end of the Eastern Mediterranean, not only would our position there be extremely insecure, but it is probable that possessions of far other importance for us than that of the Levant and much nearer home would soon, in their turn, be menaced. Let those who are carried

away by dreams of conquest remember that the most advantageous policy is not always the policy of immediate realization, but is sometimes, on the contrary, that of holding back events and maintaining in distant regions the prestige of a State by the continuity of its material effort and the determination to increase its clientele."

EXISTING LINES.

The railway lines over which M. Duboscq travelled and which he discusses are those which are known as the "Damas Hama-et-Prolongements" lines—an enterprise of the Régie Générale des Chemins de Fer, financed by French capital—and the Hedjaz line, constructed for Turkey by German engineers and with German capital. He followed the Hedjaz line as far as Deran, whence he proceeded westwards by the Turkish line from Mezerib via the Jordan valley and El Fuleh to the port of Haifa. He had first landed at Beirut and had travelled by the narrow-gauge (1.03 metre) line to Rayak in the valley between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Thence he proceeded by the standard gauge line northwards via Hama and Hama to Aleppo. He finds that Beirut as a commercial port is suffering severely from the competition of Tripolis and Haifa. The engineering difficulties of the *Montelaud* led to the construction of a narrow-gauge line which is not very suitable for attracting the traffic of the Damas-Hama-et-Prolongements line. The latter railway system may for shortness be designated, as the French designate it, the "D. H. P." system. The Beirut-Damascus narrow-gauge section was in part a mountain railway worked with cogwheels. M. Duboscq thinks that in the political as well as in the economic interests of France she ought to be looking to other parts, and indeed, as I mentioned the other day, the French Government some time ago applied for concessions of the ports of Tripolis, Haifa, and Jaffa.

From Damascus, M. Duboscq travelled by the Hedjaz Railway as far south as Deran. He calls attention to the competition of this line with the parallel line of the Régie Générale, financed by French capital, which runs slightly to the west of it as far as Mezerib. There are places where the lines are not more than 400 or 500 yards apart. When Turkey contemplated the line to the holy places of Islam she asked the Régie Générale to cede the section of their line between Damascus and Mezerib, but the Régie Générale proposed such hard conditions that the Turks determined to construct a line of their own parallel to this section. In the negotiations, of which I gave some account in the *Times* of August 27 and 28, France renewed a demand that the Turkish Government should make some arrangement for sharing the traffic between the two lines and also between their respective branches, the one connecting Damascus and Beirut and the other connecting Hama and Mezerib with the port of Haifa. At present the Turkish line to Deran and its branch to Haifa convey goods at such low rates that it appears to be cheaper to send them south from Damascus to Haifa than over the French line to Beirut.

As already mentioned, however, the future development of Beirut as a port and railway terminus is regarded as problematic, and France is looking about for concessions in other Syrian ports. Tripolis is connected by a standard-gauge line with the D. H. P. at Hama, but it will not, in M. Duboscq's view, have any great future, unless the Tripolis-Homs line is prolonged eastwards to the Euphrates, or, better still, to Baghdad. In the south the whole of the traffic of the Panaman goes over the Turkish line by way of Deran, Mezerib, and round the southern extremity of the Lake of Tiberias to Haifa. What M. Duboscq urges is that France should obtain from Turkey a lease of the whole Turkish line from Damascus via Deran to Haifa, and a concession for that port. It is understood that the Germans, whose engineers constructed the Turkish line, are making great efforts to obtain the lease of it, and if they succeed they are sure to demand also the concession of the port of Haifa. The present negotiations between France and Germany on the lines of a German renunciation in Syria thus assume a peculiar importance. The latest information is to the effect that, as might have been expected, the German Government is not inclined to contemplate any renunciation of its aims.

THE JORDAN VALLEY AND JAFFA.

The French are at present demanding a concession for a line in continuation of the D. H. P. from Rayak—the junction with the Beirut-Damascus line—to Lydda, which is on the metre-gauge line between Jaffa and Jerusalem. The Turks themselves are at present engaged in the construction of a line from El Fuleh, on the Deran-Haifa Railway, going straight south to Jerusalem via Jenin and Nablus to Jerusalem. Here again the proposed French railway (from Rayak to Lydda) would find itself, as regard its last section, handicapped by the competition of the Turkish railway some 15 or 16 miles to the east of it.

This drawback would be obviated from the French point of view if France secured a concession for the construction of a port at Jaffa. If that harbour, which is at present inaccessible when the sea is at all disturbed, were rendered available at all times it would practically

monopolize the traffic of pilgrims and goods and send it over the 53 miles of the direct French railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The competition of the longer Turkish route (some 90 to 125 miles) from Haifa to Jerusalem would thus be disarmed. There is another suggestion, however, which commends itself far more strongly to the mind of M. Duboscq. He proposes that the projected French line from Rayak to Lydda should be diverted eastwards after it leaves Nazareth, and that it should descend the fertile valley of the Jordan, turning westwards to Jerusalem before it reaches the Dead Sea. There might be a branch through Irbid to Mezrib, and the railway would thus drain the traffic of the more prosperous regions and would at the same time link up the whole French railway system in Syria by connecting Rayak and also Mezrib with the Jerusalem-Jaffa line.

The Railways of Syria.

The announcement which our Paris Correspondent makes to-day, that France has secured from Turkey the concession for a branch line from Rayak to Lydda advances the realization of French railway enterprises in Syria a considerable step. Djavid Bey promised France this concession when he was in office, but negotiation had for some time been suspended and had only recently been renewed. The signature of the agreement is, of course, for the moment provisional, and its definitive ratification depends upon the settlement of a number of kindred questions in which other Powers besides France are interested. The advantage to France is nevertheless real. In the article which we publish to-day from our Paris Correspondent reference is made to the conflicting claims of the various nations interested in the development of the Syrian railway system. It is to these diversities of interest that one may look for the explanation of the difficulties and drawbacks which beset the working of the lines shown on our map. It is misleading to refer to them as a system, since they are under four rival controls, and comprise three different gauges. They are handicapped by the fact that of the four places where the railways reach the sea at one point only can ships unload alongside a quay—at Beirut. The difficulties of gauge are obvious. At Rayak, where the standard gauge from the north joins the narrow gauge line from Beirut the goods traffic which is hardly enough to produce a profit on the larger line, overwhelms the exiguous hauling capacity of the smaller, which alone can take it to a port with reasonable dock facilities. The powerful engines of the standard gauge, moreover, run only over the easy gradients of the Hija, or Qued, Syria, while the steepest pull in the country is left for the comparatively feeble locomotives of the Beirut line. From Damascus south the country, generally so destitute of railway communications, is served as far as Mezrib by competing lines which run almost in sight of one another. But Damascus is at the head of the Government narrow gauge lines reaching to Medina and Haifa, and if it be proved financially undesirable to raise the whole of this, the Hedjaz Railway, to standard gauge in order ultimately to connect through, via Rayak and Aleppo, with the Baghdad Railway, the 1'05 metre might at least become the accepted gauge for Southern Syria. The line from Jerusalem to Jaffa could without serious cost be raised from its present metre-gauge to the dimensions of the Hedjaz line, and would thus be ready to link up when the Turkish extension from El Afuleh to Jerusalem along the high land by way of Nablus is opened. Our Paris Correspondent discusses the possibility of a competing line being constructed from Rayak either to Lydda, by way of the maritime plain or to Jerusalem along the Jordan valley. No grave engineering difficulties are likely to beset the construction of the former line when once it gets south of Nazareth, but to the north of that point its course is through very broken country. An alternative route down the Upper Jordan valley and by the shore of the Lake of Tiberias to meet the existing Turkish line at the southern end of the lake would probably meet with opposition of another kind. No details are as yet forthcoming as to the exact course of the new line, but its southern section to Lydda is through country capable of considerable agricultural development though at present starved for lack both of workers and of water. It will also suffer from the competition for passenger traffic at least, of the Turkish line running directly to Jerusalem.

The Jordan valley, on the other side of the ridge, is a natural forcing-house, of wonderful fertility and with a perennial water supply. A Jordan valley railway would open up this valuable stretch of lands to commerce by connecting it with its natural port at Haifa. The construction of such a railway should present few engineering difficulties, and the possibility of securing adequate transport would enable skilled agriculturists to develop the resources of the valley on scientific lines. Commercially there is very little temptation to connect a Jordan valley railway with Jerusalem as is suggested. Jerusalem is a Holy City, and for centuries past has occupied a peculiar position. This position does not

depend upon commerce; indeed there is very little commerce, as the word is usually understood, in Jerusalem. It is a religious capital and as such it is independent of the ordinary requirements of trade. Any attempt to make of Jerusalem a railway junction for the benefit of railway speculators would meet with considerable opposition were it not extremely unlikely that any such attempt could succeed. If the proposed line down the Jordan valley to Jericho is to be continued up to Jerusalem it must be remembered that Jerusalem is some 2,600 feet above sea level, while Jericho, at a distance of thirteen miles as the crow flies, is nearly 820 feet below sea level. To construct a rack-and-pinion line between the two would be perfectly possible, but expensive. Such a line, moreover, could hardly hope to draw trade from the Jordan valley to the non-existent port of Jaffa while the far easier gradient to Haifa by way of El Afuleh, which is only 250 feet above sea level, was open to the north. Pilgrim traffic alone would not suffice to cover the working expenses of the section as experience shows that the most numerous class of pilgrims—the Russians—prefer to walk to making use of such railways as do exist.

Another aspect of the railway question in Syria is its bearing upon the agricultural future of the country. At present with the exception of the foreign-worked land near Jaffa and Haifa, agriculture as a whole is very backward. There are districts in which a proper rotation of crops is not practised, if understood, the science of fertilizing land with manure is in many large areas completely unknown, and everywhere are to be seen lamentable evidences of neglect. Even the celebrated *Kesha* orchards of Damascus lack proper oversight, and the methods of husbandry employed by their proprietors are crude and unscientific. Hitherto, however, the production of the country excepting in years of disaster, has as a rule kept abreast of its powers of consumption. If the old methods sufficed, why trouble to learn new—particularly if an increased production could find no market owing to want of transport? Even in the rich valley of the Orontes, where one may ride for days through continuous cornfields, the distribution of the crop is seriously handicapped, partly because of the break of gauge, at Rayak, in the railway leading to Damascus, and partly because the communication with the sea at Tripoli is so recent as to be as yet undeveloped and is not at all satisfactory. But Syria is grateful even for such railway facilities as there are, and in the interests of the present population and of the future prosperity of the country it is to be hoped that questions of finance and international rivalry will not unduly delay the construction of the sections at present under consideration in Paris and Constantinople.—*The Times*.



The Art of Indolence.

By JAMES DOUGLAS.

OLD-FASHIONED moralists denounce indolence as a crime. This is nonsense. Indolence is not a crime; it is an art. It is the most difficult of all the arts, for there are very few masters of it. It is easy to paint pictures, to write poems, to compose operas, to play ragtime, and to listen to the gramophone. But it is not easy to be indolent. The most painful sight on earth is an Englishman or an American trying to be indolent. The Anglo-Saxon race is capable of many things, but it is not capable of indolence unless its leg is broken or it has influenza. When it is amusing itself, it invariably perspires. Its pleasures are all vehement. Its delights are all violent. When it is having a good time, it is playing harder than it works.

Some idle cynics say that the British workman is an artist in indolence. This is a profound error. The reason why the idle classes regard the British workman as a lazy beggar is this. They expect him to work as hard as they play. If he were so foolish as to attempt to do so, he would not live long. His life is short enough as it is, but if he were to work as hard as the idle rich play, it would be shorter still. The idle rich can play hard because they have plenty to eat and plenty to drink. They would die of over-eating and over-drinking if they did not work like niggers at their games and their amusements. In spite of the pace of their play, they are forced to take an annual cure to get rid of the surplusing food and drink they consume. If they were indolent for a week they would die of apoplexy.

These are the people who expect to see plumbers plumbing as vigorously as if they were polo-players. No plumber would last a winter if he were to plumb as furiously as the Duke of Westminster plays. Moreover, he would plumb himself into his grave. The plumber works reasonably hard, but he does not break his collar-bone over every job. It is the same with the agricultural labourer. The sybarite in his Rolls-Royce whistles past a gap in a hedge, and

catches Hodge in the act of straightening his back on a haystack. He calls Hodge a lazy malingerer. But if Hodge were to work at his top speed from dawn till dark, he would be worn out at thirty instead of living to draw his Old Age Pension. If the British workman were an artist in indolence there would be no unemployment. There would be enough work to go round. I advise those who deride the lazy workman to take his job on for three months. They would speedily find that work exercises all sorts of new muscles, and produce all kinds of new aches. They would be willing to admit that it is not easy to find any variety of work that leaves loopholes for laziness.

Prizes are offered nowadays for every sort of feat. I wish some enterprising newspaper would offer a prize of £10,000 for the most perfect achievement in the art of indolence. It would open our eyes to the rarity of laziness. Few men could put in a month of absolute indolence. It is practically impossible to live in complete idleness for a whole month. I honestly believe that the attempt to be perfectly lazy for a month would fill all the lunatic asylums in the country. The strongest man living would break down under the awful strain of doing nothing for thirty days. There is something that drives every living creature into activity. I suppose the most indolent insect is the butterfly. It does not need to work hard to get its living. A very little quantity of food goes a long way with the butterfly. It is hardly possible to imagine a hungry butterfly. that it ought to be able to live on a little more than nothing. Yet a butterfly is always busy. We speak of idle human beings as butterflies. We say that they lead a butterfly existence. The truth is that a butterfly works harder than a cabhorse. It is always flapping its fragile wings. I do not pretend to know what it is doing all the time, but I am positive that a butterfly rests less than any thing else in the air.

It is the same with bees and wasps. They lead an infernally active life. Even cows and sheep are horribly busy. They never stop eating. Birds are alarmingly lively things. When they are not flying, they are singing. As for fish, they appear to be always working overtime. They swim for their very life. If birds and beasts and insects are unable to be indolent, how can we expect human beings to be indolent? The truth is that man has for ages tried to be indolent, and has hopelessly failed. The very effort to do nothing exhausts the most powerful physique. The tramp is supposed to be the laziest type of human being, but his name is a proof that his laziness is merely a form of exertion. He tramps. Instead of working with his hands, he works with his feet. He works in order to avoid work. In a civilisation like ours the work of avoiding work is the hardest work of all. Everybody is conspiring to make everybody else work. The man who baffles the conspiracy is bound to be very busy. He has the whole world against him. He is at war with society. And yet we call the vagabond a lazy wretch!

The loafer is supposed to be a lazy person, but loafing is by no means so easy as it looks. Take the case of the public-house loafer, who passes his life standing against a wall with his hands in his pockets. He appears at the first glance to be supremely indolent, but in reality he works frightfully hard. It must be a very laborious task to stand in all weathers all day long. How the poor devils manage to keep on their feet is a mystery. They must often be ready to drop with weariness. I really think that public-houses ought to be compelled by law to supply armchairs for their loafers. Even then life would be hard, for it is not easy to sit in an armchair all day long. Air cushions would be necessary. If you are sceptical, I advise you to try the life of a loafer for one day. You would be dog-tired at the end of it. I am positive that it is hard work to be lazy.—*London Opinion*



A Farewell Luncheon.

The Secretary of the Islamic Society, London, sends us the following for publication —

"In appreciation of their services to the Islamic cause, a farewell luncheon was given to Chandhry Abdul Ghan Khan (Aliq), M.A., Bar-at-law, the retiring Honorary Secretary, and Sardar Habib-ullah Khan, Bar-at-law, the retired Honorary Assistant Secretary of London branch Muslim League, on Friday, the 12th September, 1913, at the Holborn Restaurant, London, W.

"Sahibzada Prince Nasir Ali Khan of Rampore occupied the chair —

"Among very many persons present on this occasion were Ali Hikmat Nahid Bey, Noor-ud-Din Farrukh Bey, Sir M.M. Bhawanagere, K.C.I.E., &c., Ali Fahmy Mohammad Effendi, Gopal Redy, Esq., Miss K. Halkett, Mrs. S. Naidu, Rashid Bey, Mrs. Howard, Maulvi Mahbub Alam, (the editor *Pas-a Akhbar*), Mirza Abbas Ali Baig (India Office), Mr and Mrs Cheshire, G. R. Khan, Esq., M. Sharaf, Esq., Maulvi Fatih-ullah, Esq., Miss Daphne George, Wahid-ur-Rehman Esq., Sayed Aziz Qutb, Esq., Professor Inayat Khan, Miss E. J. Beck, (Secretary, National Indian Association), Charles H. Roshier, Esq., Khair-ud-din Effendi, C. A. Latif, Esq., Tofail Mohammad Khan, Esq., Aga Jalal Shar, Esq., Dr. John Pollen, O.I.E., L.L.D., Miss Cherry, Mrs. B. Gordon, Ghulam Rasul, Esq., Arthur May, Esq., M. M. S. affi, Esq., S. M. Said, Esq., Sheik Mohammad Akbar, Omar Flight, Esq., Gyan Singh, Esq., and many others. Right Hon. Sayed Ameer Ali, P. C., Professor T. W. Arnold, Edward G. Browne being out of town and Sir K. G. Gupta on account of indisposition were unable to come.

"The lunch was opened by the recitation of *Surah Fatiha* by Mr. Tofail Mohammad Khan

"After lunch, the loyal toast of H. M. the King-Emperor was proposed by the Chairman and most heartily received.

"Dr. John Pollen, Hon. Sec., East India Association, proposed the next toast of His Imperial Majesty Khulifat-ul-Muslimeen, the Sultan of Turkey. He described him as a just, merciful, kind, and impartial ruler of his country and praised his dignified attitude in the midst of the disastrous events which seemed likely at one time to overwhelm his empire. The toast was received with marked enthusiasm. Then, 'the toast of the day,' the guests, followed.

"Aga Jalal Shah, the Honorary Treasurer, in a graceful and well-rounded speech paid tribute to the many high qualities of Ch. Abdul Ghan Khan and Sardar Habib-ullah Khan and spoke of the sincere estimation in which they were held by Muslims in London. He especially mentioned the good work, Ch. Abdul Ghan Khan has done as Honorary Secretary of the Islamic Society. He had organised many public meetings in regard to Tripoli, Persia and Turkey, which owing to his efforts were well attended, and many well known and influential persons took part in them. In spite of all his praiseworthy work, he never sought publicity. Modesty was one of his strong features.

"The Proposer then directed his attention to Sardar Habib-ullah Khan, who, he said, comes from a noted Sardar family in the Punjab. He pointed out that Mr. Habib is one of those Muslims who strictly observe their religious duties. In spite of the many obstacles which the Western mode of life entails, he is scrupulously regular in saying his prayers. He took a good deal of interest in the Turkish Relief Fund and various other public activities. The company warmly applauded the toast which was then responded to by the guests of the feast.

"The next toast was that of 'the visitors.' This was proposed by Ch. Abdul Haq, the Honorary Secretary, who announced the names of some distinguished absentees who had regretted their inability to attend the function. He, on behalf of the Islamic Society, expressed his gratitude for the sympathetic interest it received at their hands, and accorded welcome to the visitors.

"On behalf of the lady visitors, the toast was responded to by Mrs. S. Naidu, whose eloquence and presence are so ever welcome.

"On behalf of the visitors in general, Mr. Charles H. Roshier thanked the Islamic Society for its hospitality and for the opportunity afforded to them to bid Godspeed to the home going guests with whom they had frequently come in contact and found them honestly striving to further the noble cause of Islam.

"Then Mr. Wahid-ur-Rahman proposed the toast of the Chairman and on behalf of the Society presented a copy of Dr. Shubbe's book 'Rise and Progress of Muhammadanism' published by the Islamic Society.

"After the speeches, Professor Inayat Khan sang a *naat* in Persian by Shamsa-Tabraizee. Then Dr. John Pollen recited a poem 'Al-Amin', composed by an American author in eulogy of our holy prophet. He held the audience spell-bound by his forceful delivery and magnificent interpretation of the poem. Then Miss Chariy and Miss B. Gordon sang several songs appropriate to the occasion.

"The company being photographed, the proceedings of the gathering were brought to a close."

Continuity.

Address by Sir Oliver Lodge.

THE following is Sir Oliver Lodge's address to the British Association at its recent annual meeting held at Birmingham —

First let me lament the catastrophe which has led to my occupying the chair here in this city. Sir William White was a personal friend of many here present, and I would that the citizens of Birmingham could have become acquainted with his attractive personality and heard at first hand of the strenuous work which he accomplished in carrying out the behests of the Empire in the construction of its first line of defence. Although a British Association address is hardly an annual stock-taking, it would be improper to begin this year of office without referring to three more of our losses — One that cultured gentleman, amateur in the best sense, who has chosen to preside over our jubilee meeting at York 32 years ago, Sir John Lubbock, first Baron Avebury's cultivated science in a spirit of pure enjoyment treating it almost as one of the arts, and devoted social and political energy to the welfare of the multitude of his fellows less fortunately situated than himself.

Through the untimely death of Sir George Darwin the world has lost a mathematical astronomer whose work on the tides and allied phenomena is a monument of power and achievement. So recently as our visit to South Africa he occupied the presidential chair.

Within the last month I have heard of the premature death of John Milne, who was apparently at the height of his energy and usefulness. His enthusiasm and persevering work for seismology, conducted throughout with a committee of the British Association, has resulted in an international organization centring round his personality. He has, I am told, left £1,000 to help to continue the work, and it behoves us to see that no snows of war shall be lacking to assist in organizing and continuing the attack in this immensely important field of combined and co-operative research.

By the third of our major losses, I mean the death of that brilliant mathematician of the neighbouring nation who took so comprehensive and philosophic a grasp of the intricacies of physics, and whose eloquent though sceptical expositions of our laws and processes, and of the modifications entailed in them by recent advances, will be sure to attract still more widespread attention among all to whom the rather abstruse subject-matter is sufficiently familiar. I cannot say that I find myself in agreement with all that Henri Poincaré wrote or spoke in the domain of physics, but no physicist can help being interested in his mode of presentation, and I may have occasion to refer, in passing, to some of the topics with which he dealt.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS AND FUNDAMENTAL SCEPTICISM.

And now, eliminating from our purview, as is always necessary, a great mass of human activity, and limiting ourselves to a scrutiny on the side of pure science alone, let us ask what in the main, is the characteristic of the promising though perturbing period in which we live. Different persons would give different answers, but the answer I venture to give is—rapid progress combined with fundamental scepticism. Rapid progress was not characteristic of the latter half of the 19th century—at least not in physics. Firm solid dynamical foundations were laid, and the edifice of knowledge was consolidated, but wholly fresh ground was not being opened up, and totally new buildings were not expected. With the realization of predicted ether waves in 1888, the discovery of X rays in 1895, spontaneous radio activity in 1899 and the isolation of the electron in 1898, expectation of further achievement became vivid; and novelties, experimental, theoretical, and speculative, have been showered upon us ever since this century began. That is why I speak of rapid progress. Of the progress I shall say little—there must always be some uncertainty as to which particular achievement permanently contributes to it; but I will speak about the fundamental scepticism.

Let me hasten to explain that I do not mean the well worn and almost antique theme of theological scepticism—that controversy is practically in abeyance just now. At any rate, the major conflict is suspended; the forts behind which the enemy has retreated do not invite attack; the territory now occupied by him is little more than his legitimate province. It is the scientific allies now who are waging a more or less unrelenting conflict among themselves, with philosophers joining in. Meanwhile the ancient foe is hiding his time and hoping that from the struggle something will emerge of benefit to himself. Some positions, he feels, are too hastily abandoned and may, perhaps, be retrieved; or, to put it without metaphor, it seems possible that few of the things prematurely denied, because asserted on inconclusive evidence, may, after all in some form or other, have really happened. Thus, the old theological bitterness mitigated, and a temporizing policy is either advocated or instinctively adopted.

SOME DOMINATING CONTROVERSIES.

To illustrate the nature of the fundamental scientific or philosophic controversies to which I do refer would require almost as many addresses as there are sections of the British Association, or, at any rate, as many as there are chief cities in Australia; and perhaps my successor in the chair will continue the theme but, to exhibit my meaning very briefly, I may cite the kind of dominating controversies now extant, employing as far as possible only a single word in each case so as to emphasize the necessary brevity and insufficiency of the reference. In physiology the conflict ranges round vitalism (My immediate predecessor dealt with the subject at Dundee). In chemistry the debate concerns atomic structure (My penultimate predecessor is well aware of pugnacity in that region). In biology the dispute is on the laws of inheritance (My successor is likely to deal with this subject probably in a way not deficient in liveliness.) And besides these major controversies, debate is active in other sections. In education curricula generally are being overhauled or fundamentally criticized, and revolutionary ideas are promulgated concerning the advantages of freedom for infants. In economic and political science, or sociology, what is there that is not under discussion? Not property alone, nor land alone, but every thing—back, to the Garden of Eden and the inter-relations of men and women. Lastly, in the vast group of mathematical and physical sciences 'slurred over rather than summed up as Section A', present-day scepticism concerns what, if I had to express it in one word, I should call continuity. The full meaning of this term will hardly be intelligible without explanation, and I shall discuss it presently.

Still more fundamental and deep-rooted than any of these sectional debates, however, a critical examination of scientific foundations generally is going on, and a kind of philosophic scepticism is in the ascendant, resulting in a mistrust of purely intellectual processes and in a recognition of the limited scope of science.

DEFENCE OF NEWTONIAN MECHANICS.

Not by philosophers only, but scientific men also, ancient postulates are being pulled up by the roots. Physicists and mathematicians are beginning to consider whether the long-known and well-established law of mechanics holds true everywhere and always, or whether the Newtonian scheme must be replaced by something more modern, something to which Newton's laws of motion are but an approximation. Indeed, a whole system of non-Newtonian mechanics has been devised, having as its foundation, the recently discovered changes which must occur in bodies moving at speeds nearly comparable with that of light. It turns out, in fact, that both shape and mass are functions of velocity. As the speed increases the mass increases and the shape is distorted, though under ordinary conditions only to an infinitesimal extent. So far I agree with the statement of fact, but I do consider it as revolutionary as to overturn Newtonian mechanics. After all, a variation of mass is familiar enough, and it would be a great mistake to any that Newton's second law breaks down merely because mass is not constant. A raindrop is an example of variable mass, or the earth may be, by reason of meteoric dust, or the sun, by reason of radio activity, or a locomotive, by reason of the omission of steam. In fact variable masses are the commonest, for friction may abrade any moving body to a microscopic extent.

That mass is constant is only an approximation. That mass is equal to ratio of force and acceleration is a definition, and can be absolutely accurate. It holds perfectly even for an electron with a period near that of light and it is by means of Newton's second law that the variation of mass with velocity has been experimentally observed and compared with the theory. I urge that we remain with, or go back to, Newton. I see no reason against retaining all Newton's law, discarding nothing, but supplementing them in the light of further knowledge.

MORE DISCOVERY, MORE COMPLEXITY.

One thing is very notable, that it is closer and more exact knowledge that has led to the kind of scientific scepticism now referred to; and that the simple law on which we used to be working were thus simple and discoverable because the full complexity of existence was tempered to our ken by the roughness of our means of observation. Kepler's law are not accurately true, and if he had had before him all the data now available he could hardly have discovered them. A planet does not really move in an ellipse, but in a kind of hypocycloid and not accurately in that either. So it is also with Boyle's law and the other simple laws in physical chemistry. Even Van der Waals's generalization of Boyle's law is only a further approximation.

In most parts of physics simplicity has sooner or later to give place to complexity; though certainly I urge that the simple laws were true, and are still true, as far as they go, their inaccuracy being only detected by further real discovery. The reason they are departed from becomes known to us; the law is not really disobeyed, but is modified through the action of a known additional cause. Hence it is all in the direction of progress.

(To be continued in our next.)

Supplement.

The Cawnpore Settlement.

The Viceroy's Visit.

His Excellency's Arrival.

Cawnpore, Oct. 14.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY reached Cawnpore by special train this morning at 9-35 A. M. The railway station had been specially decorated by the local Muhammadans, though the arrival was private. His Excellency was received at the station by the Hon'ble Mr. D. C. Baillie, the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam and other prominent officials. From the railway station His Excellency and party drove direct to the Machhli Bazar Mosque where the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and other prominent Mahomedans received his Excellency and party. His Excellency went into the mosque, a special carpet having been placed for him to walk on, and spent twenty minutes in inspecting it. He conversed freely with the Moulana Abdul Bari, a religious leader of the Mussalmans, and through him asked the Mahomedans to forget all that had happened. He was presented with a *Kar* by Moulana Abdul Bari. The party then returned to the Circuit House where a deputation of eleven Mahomedan gentlemen, including local Nawabs, Raisas, trustees of the mosque and the Secretary of the local branch of the Muslim League, will wait upon his Excellency with an address.

Later.

THE DEPUTATION.

HIS EXCELLENCY received the deputation at 11-15 A. M. The address was read by Mr. Fazlurrahman. Besides the eleven members of the deputation, a number of leading Mahomedan gentlemen headed by the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad, were present, among whom were Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, leading defence counsel in the riot case, Mr. Yunus, the Hon'ble Syed Raza Ali, Mr. Nahi-ullah, Mr. Masoud, Khwaja Abdul Majid, Dr. Naziruddin Hasan and others.

The Address.

The address, which was presented with a silver casket of Lucknow manufacture, was as follows:—

May it please Your Excellency—We, the Mussalman residents of the City of Cawnpore, beg to approach Your Excellency with this humble address of welcome on the occasion of Your Excellency's visit to this town. We remember with gratification and pride Your Excellency's last visit to our historic city when Your Excellency was pleased to lay the foundation-stone of the memorial to our dearly beloved late King Edward the VII, the Peace-Maker.

We greatly regret that recently the peace of our town has been disturbed by the events of the 3rd of August in connection with the Machhli Bazar Mosque, and we strongly condemn the action of those who took part in the unlawful act of throwing brickbats or otherwise behaved in a lawless manner, and we assure Your Excellency that we, the Mussalmans of Cawnpore, are the most law-abiding and loyal subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor.

We are fully aware of and grateful to Your Excellency for your well-known sympathy with the distress and misery of humanity in any form or shape and we beg to offer our most grateful thanks for Your Lordship's munificent donation in aid of widows and orphans in the loss that they have sustained in the recent disturbance.

We beg to assure Your Excellency that we have the fullest confidence in your justice and sympathy and in this spirit we are content to leave the decision of the questions arising out of the present situation in Your Excellency's hands believing that Your Excellency has at heart the best interests of our community.

The Viceroy's Reply.

Gentlemen, the address that you have just read is a source of profound satisfaction to me, since it contains not only an expression of confidence in my justice and sympathy but of what I prize much more, viz., that loyalty to our King-Emperor which I am happy to think has always been one of the chief characteristics of the Mahomedan community in this country. Had I not been firmly convinced of the loyal sentiments of your community I would not have come from Simla to Cawnpore to-day. It is unnecessary for me to repeat here the assurance that I gave quite recently in the Imperial Legislative Council that there has been no change in the policy of Government towards the religious beliefs of the subjects of the King-Emperor in India, for you all know that this is true.

With the march of progress and civilization it is always possible that the construction of roads, railways or canals may clash with existing buildings, religions or otherwise; but you may rest assured that Government will always treat with the utmost consideration the claims of any who may consider their interest affected, and will always endeavour to find a solution of the question at issue in a sense satisfactory to all concerned. Knowing, as I do, the generous and kindly character of your Lieutenant-Governor, I feel confident that if you had been equally anxious as I have been to find a solution of the question of the mosque you would have succeeded in doing so and in meeting Sir James Meston's wishes. Had this happened the sad and deplorable incident of the 3rd August would not have occurred and widows and orphans would not have had cause to mourn for their husbands and fathers. This is now past history, which I hope may soon be forgotten.

I have come from Simla with the express purpose of bringing to you peace. You tell me in your address that you are content to leave the decision of the questions arising out of the present situation in my hands, believing that I have at heart the best interests of your community. It is true that I have at heart the best interests of your community and I have given much thought to this matter and to a possible solution. After long and careful consideration I have arrived at the decision that an arcade of at least eight feet in height should be built, upon which the *dalan* could be placed in the same relative position as before, but on a higher level, thereby securing space for the pavement below, without interfering with the relative position of the buildings pertaining to the mosque. I regard it as immaterial to whom the land upon which it is built is to be considered to belong, but it is essential that the general public, as well as those who go to worship at the mosque, should be entitled to use it as a footpath. Further, the *mutawalis* should build the arcade and construct the pavement below, these constructions being in accordance with plans approved by the Municipal Board.

As regards those who have been charged with having committed riot on the 3rd of August, I wish to say a few words. I am your father and you are my children. When children do wrong it is the duty of their father while inspired by the most kindly feelings, to admonish them so that they may learn wisdom and not err again. My words are not addressed to you personally but to those who are charged with having committed riot and have now suffered imprisonment for the last ten weeks. These, if guilty of violence, have put themselves in the wrong for they are accused of having resisted constituted authority and have thus not only broken the law but also the very well-known and universally acknowledged principles of the great Islamic faith which they profess to follow. The maintenance of constituted authority is the duty of Government and I say, as head of the Government of India, that under all the circumstances it will be maintained. Under ordinary circumstances it would have been the duty of the Government to prosecute and obtain the punishment of the prisoners but they have already suffered severely and, as I have said before I have come to Cawnpore to give peace, I also wish to show mercy. Those who instigated the riot and who are thus responsible for the harm that has occurred are the least deserving of consideration, but as a solution of the difficulty connected with the mosque has been found I am anxious that the incidents which aroused so much feeling and excitement should be now buried in oblivion. I trust, however, that if clemency is extended to the instigators the melancholy consequences of their intemperate oratory may be a warning to them and to others against similar reckless speaking in the future.

I wish the sufferings of all those who are charged with having taken part in the riot to now cease and I have, therefore, with the full concurrence of Sir James Meston and of Mr. Baillie, invited the Local Government to take immediate steps for the provision of Section 474 of the Criminal Procedure Code to be applied to all those connected with the riot, who have been committed to the Court of Sessions for trial.

I devoutly trust that the solution of the question of the mosque and the decision that I have taken in connection with those now under commitment for trial may bring peace and contentment, not only in Cawnpore but amongst the whole of the Mahomedan community in India, that no action may be taken locally or otherwise tending in any way to perpetuate the melancholy memories of the past few months, and that all Mahomedans may unite together in loyalty to their sovereign and in loyal co-operation with constituted authority for the maintenance of law and order and for the peace,

happiness and prosperity of the great and beautiful land in which we live.

His Excellency left later in the day for Kapurthala.

The Charges Withdrawn.

Immediately after the conclusion of the ceremony at the Circuit House Mr. G P Boys, Barrister-at-Law, proceeded to the Court of Mr. D. R. Lyle, Additional Judge, and applied that the proceedings against the accused in the riot cases, recently committed for trial, might be withdrawn under Section 474, C. P. Code.

In the application it was said that since the order of commitment "circumstances have arisen which in the view of the Government render it unnecessary to proceed further with the prosecution."

The application was granted and the charges were withdrawn.

Simla, Oct 15

The news of the settlement of the Cawnpore Mosque affair reached here yesterday afternoon and though full details of the proceedings are not generally known it is hoped that the Viceroy's action will completely allay the excitement which has been manifested not only in Cawnpore and the United Provinces but in other parts of India. Responsible Mahomedan leaders met His Excellency and their expression of opinion may be taken as representing the feeling that generally prevailed. They may be taken as fully representative men, concerning themselves in a matter which they held to be of the highest moment to their community at large and their future duty will be to see the settlement reached is not misunderstood and that the exercise of clemency towards the prisoners is made to appear in its proper light. The Government of India have given most earnest and complete consideration to the matter and their decision should carry the conviction to all Mahomedans in India that the religious susceptibilities of the people are scrupulously respected now as they always have been. There should therefore be a most generous response by Mahomedan India to the action that has been taken.

PUBLIC COMMENT AT CAWNPORE

The visit to Cawnpore of His Excellency the Viceroy, the release of the prisoners, and the permission granted for the construction of an extension of the Machli Bazar Mosque, over the ground occupied by the demolished portion of the mosque, are events which are naturally the subject of universal comment in Cawnpore. In this connexion it is significant that the address presented by the local Muhammadans to His Excellency the Viceroy, though it contained an expression of regret at the unlawful act of those who threw brickbats or otherwise behaved in a lawless manner, yet contained no admission that the Muhammadans were guilty of any offence, nor was there any prayer for mercy or for favour. Similarly, no expressions of regret were offered by the accused or their counsel. In view of this attitude of the Muhammadans, there is a consensus of opinion that in dealing with the riot case the Government have been unduly lenient and have gone out of their way to show favour to the accused persons. The leaders of the Muhammadan community regard the compromise, and the manner in which it has been arrived at, as a great victory for a popular cause. There is a tendency among the rank and file of Muhammadans to belittle the compromise, as far as the mosque affair is concerned, but the Muhammadan leaders point out that those who are not thoroughly satisfied with the compromise do not take into account the events of the 3rd August last and the difficult situation that was created by those events, including the pronouncements of Sir James Monton. Prominent members of the European commercial community regard the settlement as eminently satisfactory. As regards the withdrawal of the cases the view of the local authorities seems to be that Government have been very generous in their dealing with the accused persons. The Hindus while glad that the matter, which had created no end of a sensation, has been disposed of in a manner satisfactory to the Muhammadans, contrast the attitude of the Government in the Ajudhya case with its handling of the Cawnpore case and express the hope that those suffering imprisonment on account of their participation in the Ajudhya riots will now be forthwith released. As regards the visit and intervention of His Excellency the Viceroy, it is believed that the Muhammadans would not have been satisfied if the terms now settled had been offered by the Local Government or the district authorities, and the personal intervention of His Excellency the Viceroy became therefore necessary, though there can be little doubt that this action has to a certain extent affected the prestige of both the Local Government and the district authorities. His Excellency and party launched at the Circuit House. The Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad and Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque were invited to the lunch and afterwards his Excellency and party left Cawnpore at 3 P. M.

The report that Mr. Tyler was present at the Conference at the Circuit House with the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam and the leading Muhammadans is incorrect. The latter were the only officials who took part in the Conference.

Release of the Prisoners.

A very large crowd gathered in the precincts of the Sessions Court to-day in expectation of the release of the 106 accused in the Cawnpore Mosque cases. Mr. D. R. Lyle, Special Sessions Judge, was present though this was not the date fixed for the trial of the case. At 12 noon Mr. G P Boys, counsel for the Crown, with Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Syed Fazlurrahman and other counsels for the defence, put in their appearance in court. Mr. Boys stated that under instructions from the Local Government, he applied for leave to withdraw the cases against all the accused which had been committed to the Sessions. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, in response to the Court, stated that he gladly accepted the situation. The prisoners were then released and were taken to their respective homes in gharris which had been specially provided for them. The police had considerable difficulty in controlling the large crowd which was present.



Press Opinion.

The "Statesman."

A REMARKABLE situation has been created by the intervention of Lord Hardinge in the Cawnpore case, which has resulted in the abandonment of the prosecution of the persons charged with participation in the riots of August 3rd, and will lead to the rebuilding in a modified form of the dismantled *dahan* of the Machli Bazar mosque. Sir James Monton is an administrator of proved capacity and he is held in high estimation by members of all classes and religions. His attitude throughout this unfortunate affair has been consistent and courteous to the Muhammadan community. Sir James repeated that he had always been ready to give to the mosque an area on the north side which would be more than sufficient for a washing place, as well as to reconstruct the *dahan*, or to give the mosque a sum of money that would be ample for that purpose. But the case with respect to the request for the reconstruction of the *dahan* on the site that had been acquired stood in a different position. If he had met the deputation before the disturbances of August 3rd, he could not say what the result might have been. It was now, however, impossible for him, in view of that event, to pass any such order. "But without in any way anticipating the results of the judicial enquiry," Sir James Monton observed, "it is my clear duty to proceed on the principle that the Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force." The attitude thus adopted has been openly abandoned by the Viceroy, and he would be a bold man who would venture to predict the result of the action of Lord Hardinge on the future of British administration in India. There is every desire on the part of the European official and non-official community in this country to respect the religious beliefs and traditions of the Mahomedans. The disappointment of the Moslem population of Eastern Bengal when the pledges given them by British officials that the partition would never be annulled evoked profound sympathy among the Europeans in India who were acquainted with the facts. In that case Lord Hardinge threw over his officials to the detriment of the Muhammadans; in the present case he has reversed the policy of one of the most brilliant members of the Civil Service in order to allay Moslem agitation. The moral which is likely to be deduced from these two notable events is obvious, and the ultimate consequences of the lesson thus afforded may prove of the utmost gravity. If Lord Hardinge considered that the attitude of the Government of the United Provinces towards the Cawnpore demands was unjustifiable, he might have intervened diplomatically and effected a settlement before the situation had become acute. But his action at the present juncture creates one of the most extraordinary situations which have marked the history of British rule in India.

The "Englishman."

It would, perhaps, not be fair to hold the Viceroy personally responsible for what might prove to be a greater blow to British prestige in India than was the disaster at Maiwand. The matter of the Cawnpore Mosque was probably discussed by the Executive Council and there is good reason to believe that Lord Crewe is as accustomed to dictate to the Government of India as was Lord Morley. The Viceroy, therefore,

might either have been fortified by the advice of his Council or acting under instructions from the Secretary of State. At the same time he has made the mistake of personally associating himself with the release of the alleged rioters and with the other concessions that have been made to the demands of agitators. There was no necessity for His Excellency to visit Cawnpore in the dramatic way he has done, and much less to receive a deputation in which a prominent part was taken by the Counsel for the defence. If, therefore, in the future it is said that Lord Hardinge was responsible for giving a tremendous impetus to Mahomedan agitation in India he will only have himself to blame. However, in the meanwhile, it is possible for the European in India to continue to show his respect for the Deputy of the King-Emperor by throwing the blame for a gigantic blunder on that vague abstraction known as "the Government" or "the authorities". That there has been a gigantic blunder no persons, except those interested in the perpetration of more blunders of the same kind, can refuse to admit. For some years past many Mahomedans in India have been noticing with great mortification the fact that concessions detrimental to Islam have been made to Hindus in response to agitation which in many directions was absolutely lawless. Want of a common purpose, however, and jealousies prevented those Indian Mahomedans who would have liked to lead an agitation for accomplishing their purpose. The opportunity came with the Balkan War. That stirred Islam to its depths, and presently everybody in India became aware that it was possible to have common Mahomedan opinion in this country. Agitators induced the ignorant and possibly themselves to believe that it was possible for the British to interfere on behalf of Turkey. When the British did not interfere, it was a simple matter to make use of the disappointment of the Mahomedans to induce them to adopt the Hindu and Congress platform of Swaraj and the rest. The agitators, thus, at one step were able to make use of the press and other means of publicity, which the Congress had created, in order to advertise themselves and help to consolidate Mahomedan opinion.

But it was necessary for the agitators in order to retain their influence to deliver some striking blow at the Government which they, in common with the Congress, had declared no longer necessary for the well-being of India. An excuse for stirring up a ferment was found in an order of the District Magistrate of Cawnpore who had directed that an outlying portion of a mosque should be removed in order to give effect to a street improvement scheme. The cry of insult to Islam was raised and there was so much agitation that the Lieutenant-Governor ordered an enquiry. The enquiry showed that the *dalan* was not considered sacred by the local Mahomedans who went into it with their shoes on. Sir James Meston, therefore, upheld the order of the District Magistrate and the *dalan* was demolished. There was no remonstrance from the Cawnpore Mahomedans. This, of course, did not suit the books of the agitators, who from other Provinces taunted them with being lukewarm in support of religion. The taunts did their work and the result was the affair of the 3rd August. The police were obliged to fire and a good many rioters were killed and wounded. A large number of arrests were made, some of the prisoners were subsequently released on account of their youth, but till Tuesday 106 persons were undergoing the slow and tedious process of trial. The firing on the mob and the arrests caused a tremendous sensation. Sir James Meston went personally to Cawnpore to enquire whether the police had not exceeded their authority. The conclusion he came to was that the riot took place under circumstances which made it absolutely impossible for the Government to reconsider its decision about the *dalan*, on the principle that the Government cannot accept the dictation of force. Obviously, this was the correct decision, and although the agitation continued, it was the duty of the authorities to ignore it and proceed with the trial of the prisoners. But the authorities have now intervened, the prisoners have been released without it even being decided whether they were guilty or not, and a concession made about the *dalan* which the agitators will construe into a victory. The Viceroy in the course of his speech says the action was taken with the full concurrence of Sir James Meston. In view of what Sir James Meston had previously said the agitators and a good many other people in the United Provinces are bound to think that a Lieutenant-Governor who changes his opinions at the bidding of authority does not deserve much consideration. Sir James Meston will return to his Province with less prestige than the meanest of the advocates who waited upon the Viceroy on Tuesday. It would be better for him to resign than to face the indignities to which he will now be subjected. And unfortunately the loss of prestige will not be confined to one Lieutenant-Governor. The news of what has been done in Cawnpore has caused an almost unexampled sensation. It has proved in a startling fashion that the Government trembles before violence. The revocation of the Part-

tion pointed that way, and now we are absolutely sure of it. That is a fine belief to get into the heads of the people of a country where the multitude are densely ignorant and numbers of the educated derive to set up a Government of their own. We shall now have more agitations, more violence, and still less respect for law and order.

The "Pioneer."

October 17th, 1913.

When the profession of dacoit has been played out in this country as an opening for young men of respectable up-bringing it looks as though that of rioter might be found to have its inducements. Up till recently it might not have been considered to possess anything coming very prominently under the description of attractions. The lot of the rioter in the front line has in fact been so distinctly an unprofitable one that only the stimulus of strong excitement could account for anyone being found to undertake it. Blows in front of him and the long arm of the law behind, manipulated by Judges who were wont to act under the prepossession that the vindication of order and the security of society called for exemplary sentences. If he came to grief it was his own concern, whether he stood in dumb stolidity in the dock to await his sentence or whether he came in the way of batons and buckshot on the scene of action. It is certain that no one cared less than the organisers in the background whether a certain number of the town roughs got their gruel in one form or the other. But we are rapidly changing all this. All over the world when a disturbance occurs the first thing now is to shift the presumption of blame from the rioters on to other shoulders. The opening move is invariably an attack upon the aggressiveness of the police, but if that allegation will not suffice then it is the masters or landlords, the law and the state of society at large who, it is demonstrated to us, are really at fault. With so much public sympathy on his side the moral position of the rioter has improved out of all knowledge. And the improvement is by no means confined to his moral status. In the case of the Cawnpore delinquents, as we know, they were to be defended by eminent counsel from outside the Provinces regardless of expense, the fund raised by their sympathising co-religionists having reached some time back the total of Rs. 80,000. While to show that there is no reflection on their characters an official subscription headed by the Viceroy is organised for the relief and indemnification of their dependents. One often hears it said that in China in former times a person condemned to capital punishment used to be able to procure a substitute by guaranteeing a competence for the volunteer's family. The sense of obligation for providing for the future of wife and children hardly mounts to that height in India; still there is little doubt that if it came to be an understood thing that the belongings of those who fell in fair fight or, in the absence of an amnesty, had to be removed to jail, would be adequately cared for, the career of rioter, which already has its prospective adherents in every large bazaar, might soon show an amazing advance in popularity.

Five years ago a collision such as that which occurred at the Machhi Bazar Mosque would have been forgotten in a week. It did not compare in seriousness with the plague riot in the same city in the time of Sir Antony MacDonnell. There were no atrocities, no looting even. Those who visited the spot a few hours later were only struck with the quietness of the whole neighbourhood. Sir James Meston, speaking immediately after his visit on the morrow of the disturbances, said that he had carried away a great impression of the consideration, patience and humanity of the Civil officers and the police. The wound in short would have healed of its intention if it had been left undisturbed. But there were those abroad outside who did not mean that it should heal. The Mahomedan community throughout these Provinces was determined to utilise the incident for a trial of their strength in their recent attitude of combination against the Government. They have joined issue, they have maintained a united front, and they have prevailed. There can be no doubt about this point. The position of the Government of these Provinces was publicly laid down by Sir James Meston in his reply to the deputation that waited upon him at Lucknow on the 16th August. After recounting at length the history of the case and speaking of the authorities and precedents upon which the Government had relied for not considering the washing house to be a sacred part of the building, Sir James went on to explain what he was prepared to do for its reconstruction on the other side of the mosque. Had the question come up before him in the shape that it was presented then he added, he might have been prepared to consider it afresh. "But the whole state of affairs has been altered by the event of the 3rd August and I regret that it is impossible for me now to pass any such order (i. e., for reconstruction on the same spot). By expressing regret I am using no mere formal words, for I

see here to-day some of my best friends, Indian gentlemen whose opinions I highly value and whose advice I would implicitly accept in nine cases out of ten. But in this case I have to think of the broad administrative considerations which lie under the maintenance of Law and Order, the neglect of which would mean misgovernment and chaos . . . It is my clear duty to proceed on the principle that Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force." How far the settlement announced by the Viceroy on Tuesday is a departure from the position laid down in the words quoted above is a point on which everyone may have his own opinion. The compromise by which the *dalan* is to be re-erected on an arcade to overhang the footway—at the same spot and yet not on it—is certainly ingenious, ingenious almost to the point of seeming frivolous, though this is perhaps only in keeping with the unsubstantial meticulous character of the whole question at dispute. We are told on the highest authority that the retreat has the approval of Sir James Meeson, but it is at any rate one that the Lieutenant-Governor could not very well have carried out himself. It is fortunate perhaps that he was absent, and that if a change of attitude had to be announced it should have been announced by the authority of the Viceroy. Beyond that we do not care to go. Apologists of a certain type will say after all that it is an absurdly small matter. But that line of argument is an entirely false one. Nothing is a small point in a dispute when one of the parties has shown that it attaches the highest possible importance to it. The political Muhammadans agreed to stand together by their *dalan* and to go to almost any lengths for its preservation: their firmness has so impressed the Government of India that it has consented to modify its position out of deference to their attitude. Had the difference been about a single brick the result would have been significant.

The figure which emerges triumphantly from the episode forenally as well as politically is that of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque. When this gentleman declined the offer of the Crown counsel to have the rioters' cases summarily disposed of by the Magistrate, it must have seemed to most people that he was incurring a serious professional responsibility and that his clients might have to repent of his rejection of all compromise when they found themselves subjected to heavy sentences in the Sessions Court. Now the withdrawal of all the charges (of sedition as well as rioting) is as it turns out a splendid vindication of Mr. Haque's pertinacity, whether he anticipated the course of events or has been put right by accident. For the rest, these unwieldy gang trials occupying months, squandering time and money, keeping alive an unhealthy excitement and only serving for the spectacular contests of counsel, have grown to be such a public nuisance that no one can be sorry that we are spared another of them even though it may mean that a certain number of peacebreakers escape thereby from getting their just deserts.

The "Bengalee."

We know the stuff Lord Hardinge is made of and we already anticipated what his visit to Cawnpore meant. His Excellency must have watched with anxious solicitude the unfortunate developments at Cawnpore and has finally interposed with his own forceful personality to save the situation. It requires courage of a high order to publicly recognise and redress a grievance and the moral equipment of the present head of the administration does not fall short of such heroic self-assertion in times of need. All's well that ends well, and this latest act of justice and conciliation will forge another link of the golden chain which already binds Lord Hardinge to the hearts of his beloved Indian people.

Further, commenting on Cawnpore settlement, the *Bengalee* says:—"Lord Hardinge considers it his first and foremost duty to restore the feeling of people and thus strike at the most malignant type of discontent. The loss of prestige, if any, has been a distinct gain to law and order whose interests are not served by press law and conspiracy law, but by such policy and action in direction of conciliation. Lord Hardinge is working for rehabilitating British rule in peoples' affection, and those who breathe doubt and distrust against his policy know not what they are doing."

The "Leader."

The rumour has become a fact. Lord Hardinge (with Mr. Ali Imam) went down to Cawnpore, received a Muslim deputation and ordered the withdrawal of the riot case; the case has been withdrawn and the accused have been let off, and Muslim feeling is to be assuaged by a structural device in regard to the demolished portion of the mosque. The discomfiture of Sir James Meeson—the power of solid Muslim opinion—the Government's anxiety to have the Muslims always with them, even at the sacrifice of the last vestige of a local Government's prestige—the triumph of earnest,

determined and organised public opinion,—these must be the words on the lips of everybody to-day. We have all along requested the Government not to let the events of August 3 prevent it from conciliating Muslim opinion if it could. Therefore we should be the last to raise an objection against the concession that has been made to the feeling of our Muhammadan fellow countrymen. But we cannot help remarking on the manner in which the last act was performed. The demolition of the mosque as well as the riot occurred when Sir James Meeson was here as the officer responsible for the affairs of the United Provinces. If the Government of India did not want to support his views and action, it was surely not impossible for them to communicate their opinion to Sir James at an early stage of the proceedings. As things are, what is it that has been done? (1) The Lieutenant-Governor supported the demolition.—It is virtually going to be undone. (2) His Honour took a decisive view of the tragic event of the 3rd August.—The persons who were arrested and kept in custody until yesterday, whose application for bail was opposed on behalf of the Government and rejected by the court, have been let off without a stain on their character. (3) When Sir James Meeson received an influential Mahomedan deputation on the 16th August, he spoke in unwavering support of the demolition and said with firmness that whatever might have been possible before the riot, that event made reconsideration impossible on administrative grounds.—How has this standpoint been respected by the Government of India? What has been the chain of events since Sir James Meeson's departure for England 'on other duty'? A relief fund has been opened with the Commissioner of Allahabad as secretary, and high officials beginning with his Excellency the Viceroy have contributed to it. The officiating Lieutenant-Governor was summoned urgently to Simla, and lest any doubt remain in the mind of the multitude about the marked consideration with which the local Government and Sir James Meeson personally were being treated, the quasi-official paper duly proclaimed to all and sundry that Cawnpore was responsible for the invitation of Messrs. Baillie and Burn to Simla. His Honour went down straight from Simla to Cawnpore, and was followed by his Excellency the Viceroy (and the Law Member, who happens to be a distinguished Mahomedan) and yesterday's announcement was made. His Excellency was not content to leave the Lieutenant-Governor to proceed about the business in the usual noiseless manner: needs must he come down to do it all himself. We do not know if the local Government is satisfied with the arrangement. Much less is it necessary to inquire what must be the feeling of Sir James Meeson to day. *Will he come back?* is the question that is being put by one man to another.

His Excellency the Viceroy has shown in a signal manner that he is not the man to subordinate his notion of justice to expediency. We beseech his Excellency to give a kind thought to Ajodhia. The latter place is not far from Cawnpore. A visit to it can be most easily arranged. His Excellency will there find it the easiest thing in the world to satisfy himself of the aggravating and provoking circumstances in which the riot of last November was committed and to how great an extent the Hindus who are undergoing incarceration for participation in the riot deserve pity rather than punishment. His Excellency with his humane heart should find no difficulty in concluding that the most proper course for the Government to take in their case would be to let of those unhappy prisoners as they have already paid a sufficiently heavy penalty for their religious zeal. And then, religious motives cannot always stand the test of reason. This is equally true of Mahomedans and of Hindus; it is as applicable to Ajodhia as to Cawnpore; it holds good alike in the case of a portion of mosque and of the life of a cow.

The "Empire."

The decision of the Viceroy to permit the re-building of the Maohli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore will occasion no surprise. Whoever gave the order for the demolition of a portion of it committed an error of judgment. The Mussalmans should have been asked to do what was necessary in the interests of traffic facilities. This would probably have prevented all trouble. The release of the prisoners is, of course, a special act of clemency, in support of which it must be remembered that they have already suffered detention for a considerable period. That His Excellency should himself journey to Cawnpore to inspect the Mosque and then to make known his decision with his own lips is evidence of the fact that he attached great importance to it, and we trust that the Mahomedan community will be satisfied with this proof of the regard which is felt for their interests in high places. Whether history will acknowledge the correctness of Lord Hardinge's judgment in reversing the decision of one of the most level-headed and fair-minded civilians to this Empire remains to be seen. We are very much inclined to doubt it.

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The Week.

The Balkan Crisis.

London, Oct. 9
SALONIKA: King Constantine, reviewing the Eleventh Division, addressed the officers, and declared that if Greece was now the master of the Balkan situation that was due "to your valour and patience. I am certain that there will not be war, because we are perfectly ready, but we must remain firm and patient until the situation is perfectly normal."

London, Oct. 15.

Reuter wires from Vienna that the *Sub lapische Korrespondenz* publishes a telegram from Salonika stating that a sanguinary fight took place between Greek and Turkish troops near Xanthi in which the Greeks drove back the Turks and occupied Kojwakovi.

Constantinople: The Government, fearing a sudden Greek raid, has decided to close the Dardanelles except for two hours daily. It is believed that the expulsion of Greek subjects from Constantinople is contemplated in the event of further provocation by the Greek Government and press.

London, Oct. 16.

Reuter wires from Cettinge that after two days' fighting, the Montenegrins repulsed the Albanians along the whole frontier, and are pursuing them.

Owing to Serbia pushing troops across the Albanian frontier and various ambiguous statements by the Serbian Ministers, Austria and Germany have advised Serbia that the decisions of the London Conference with regard to the Albanian frontier must be

respected. The recent overtures of Essad Pasha to the Albania Government at Vullona have been rejected. Essad has now formed an independent Government at Durazzo.

Athens: Peace negotiations between Greece and Turkey have begun.

London, October 19.

Germany has also made emphatic representations to Serbia to withdraw her troops from Albania immediately.

A telegram from Salonika states that King Constantine visited drama to-day where he reviewed the troops. He then motored to Kavalla where a triumphal arch had been erected. The roads were lined with cheering crowds.

London, Oct. 20.

Austria has given Serbia a limit of eight days to withdraw from Albania. Austria's action, which has been taken without the European mandate, has caused strong irritation in France.

Although Austria's isolated action regarding Albania is understood to be supported by Germany and Italy it is regarded as very perturbing, and as indicating an abrupt departure from the concerted policy so laboriously established at the London Conference.

Reuter learns that Serbia has informed the Powers that she has ordered the withdrawal of her troops from Albania.

Turkey

Reuter wires from Constantinople, dated Oct. 15, that Djavid Pasha is going to Berlin to negotiate an agreement on similar lines to that just concluded with France. He will also go to Paris to arrange for the issue of a loan of twenty-eight millions sterling. France has obtained large railway concessions in the hinterland to the south east of Samson and Trabizond. The contracts, therefore, have already been completed. Finally, a concession has been granted for a railway in Syria from Rayak to Ramleh, north-west of Jerusalem. It is hoped that Britain will eventually consent to a junction between this and the Egyptian system. France agrees to an increase in the customs duties and the creation of certain monopolies, and also consents in principle to the suppression of the Foreign Post Offices when the Turkish offices are working satisfactorily.

Reuter wires from Constantinople, dated Oct. 13, that the Council of Ministers has ratified the Franco-Turkish Agreement.

A message from Constantinople, dated Oct. 20, states that Djavid Bey, in an interview on the outcome of his mission to Paris, says he has concluded a loan for over 700,000,000 francs. In return France obtained concessions in Syria of Haifa, Tripoli, Caiffa, Hercules, and Irbah, on the Black Sea, besides numerous lines of railways. Moreover, should the other interested Powers agree, France consents to the increase of the Turkish Customs dues and a tax upon French firms doing business in Turkey.

It is stated that a fresh agreement is in course of elaboration between Turkey and Italy respecting the island in the Aegean Sea. The outcome will be embodied, probably, in a supplementary adjunct to the treaty of Ouchy.

Persia.

A TELEGRAM from Teheran, dated the 20th October, states that the American Colonel, Merrill, has been appointed to organise

a force of a thousand gendarmes at Shiraz for the Governor General of Persia. They will co-operate with the Swedish Gendarmerie.

Africa.
A TELEGRAM from Durban, dated Oct. 20, states that a number of meetings of Natal Indians were held on Sunday. Some favoured passive resistance, while others opposed it. There appears to be a decided split among the local Indian community, but it is believed that the majority will support the passive resistance movement.

A telegram to the *Daily Telegraph* from Johannesburg says that the Indians in the coal mines at Newcastle, Natal, have struck in sympathy with the passive resisters.

A telegram from Johannesburg, dated the 9th instant, states that Mr. Burton, Minister of Railways, in a speech here, stated that owing to the decrease in overseas traffic resulting from labour unrest in the Transvaal it would be necessary to dismiss some 500 railwaymen. Nine of the Indians arrested on the 8th instant have been sentenced to ten days hard labour. The remaining cases have been dropped. A meeting of three hundred Hindus have passed a resolution in favour of passive resistance, and expressing the willingness of those present to go to jail.

Turkish Consul General.

A MESSAGE from Bombay, dated Oct. 19, states that at an evening party given to the new Turkish Consul-General Mr. Halil Halid Bey, M. A. (Cantab), by the Anjuman-Zia-ul-Islam on the night of the 18th instant an address was presented. In response Mr. Halid Bey said the Mahomedans of India had rendered greater help to Turkey than any other nation in the world. They received well merited thanks from the Sultan of Turkey for the timely succour they had given to his soldiers and his country. He said England being a traditional friend of Turkey would support her in every way. Regarding the opening up of the Bagdad Railway he said it will greatly contribute to commercial prosperity by way of inter-communication between the Mussulmans of India and those of Turkey, resulting in the welfare of both. A sacred handkerchief bearing an inscription of the *Koran* was presented by His Excellency to the Anjuman as coming from the Sultan of Turkey. It will be placed in the mosque by the Anjuman.



Our Constantinople Letter.

Stamboul, 30th Sept., 1913.

LAST Friday, 27th September, the ceremony on the Selamlık did not take place owing to the indisposition of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. The news of His Majesty's illness caused considerable emotion among the inhabitants of the capital who offered fervent prayers for the Sultan's speedy recovery to perfect health. His Imperial Majesty is now in full convalescence and progressing favourably. The Doctors give most reassuring accounts of his health and state that his illness was the result of a severe cold.

A Commission, composed of the first dragomans of the Embassies of the great Powers at Constantinople, had been formed with a view to study the plans separately elaborated by M. Mandelstam, first dragoman of the Russian Embassy and by the Ottoman Government on the subject of the reforms to be introduced in the Armenian Provinces and to prepare an ideal plan which will embrace the common interest. This Commission had achieved its work and submitted its report to the different Embassies at Constantinople who transmitted it to their respective Cabinets demanding instructions. The Ambassadors had replied M. Mandelstam's project. The Armenian journals learn from authorised sources that some of the Embassies of our town having already received the necessary instructions, a reunion was held, last Wednesday, at the Austrian Embassy. It was stated during the meeting that the report of the Commission had been also approved by the Powers. On receiving in French as from the other Powers the Commission will consider what steps to take facing the plans before the Sublime Porte with a view to demand their being put into execution.

The inauguration of a industrial school for the orphans of the soldiers and refugees of the Balkan War took place on Sunday, September 28th. This charitable work is due to the initiative of Turkish ladies. The school is under the patronage of H. I. M. the Sultan, the Cadive Feriadi (wife of His Majesty) and the Khedivah of Egypt.

All true friends of Turkey must feel great satisfaction at the result of the peace negotiations and admire the moderation and diplomacy of H. E. Talat Bey, Minister of the Interior and first Ottoman delegate at the Constantinople Conference. The tact,

firmness and enlightened patriotism displayed by His Excellency in conducting the negotiations have made a most favourable impression on the minds of the thinking public of Constantinople.

Stamboul, Oct. 7th, 1913.

MONDAY night, Sept. 29, just as I was writing my letter to the *Comrade*, Stamboul was visited by a terrible storm of wind and rain. About 10 p.m. a heavy rain began to fall; increasing in violence it soon no longer resembled rain but fell with such force that one could imagine pails of water were being flung from the heavens. Water rushed down the streets with a deafening sound like the roar of mountain torrents, and rapidly the low lying ground was covered with water. A strong south wind added violence to the storm. All the water courses overflowed. Never within the memory of man has such a catastrophe been known in Constantinople. The city built on hills and having so many issues for water to the sea has always been considered safe from inundation.

Soon the situation became critical, cry of women and children were heard. In certain quarters the water had already attained over a yard in depth which, along with the darkness, rendered help almost impossible. The localities which have suffered most are those on the upper part of the Golden Horn, viz., Kiat Lane (the Sweet Waters of Europe), Tchoban Tchelmie, Ali-Bey-Keny, Sihikdar-Agha and Byoub, and those on the Upper Bosphorus, viz., Buynk-dere, Sari yar, Stema, Anatol, Hissar, etc., etc.

At 10.30, seeing the violence of the storm increase, several of the oldest inhabitants on the upper parts of the Golden Horn rushed into the streets shouting to the inhabitants to flee and save themselves. Several children were quickly washed away by the torrents, some swam, others sought refuge on the roofs, fright and panic reigned everywhere. The great bridge at Ali-Bey-Keny is completely destroyed. Large market gardens were flooded and devastated. Horses, oxen, sheep, windows, doors, huts, stables, etc., were all hurried off to the sea by the rushing torrents. At the village of the Sweet Waters nearly every house is damaged. All the stables fallen in and the animals carried away. The electricity works at Sihikdar-Agha are greatly damaged. The huts built on the side of the ravine containing the machinery and other material of the works and those used as habitations by the workmen were all, like leaves blown from a tree, swept away by the force of the torrent. Many of the workmen perished. Cries of help! help! were heard amid the rain and darkness. A German engineer who clung to a plank was carried by the water to Atran-Serai, a long distance, where he was picked up by some workmen. Six men clung to a large door which was floating past and with great risk to the rescuers were saved after having travelled a considerable distance in this perilous situation. About 400 workmen sleeps in the huts belonging to the electricity works at Sihikdar-Agha of whom 300 were carried away along with their habitations towards the sea. Three police men at Sihikdar-Agha not wishing to leave their posts also perished. The courage and energy shown by the gendarmes and police-agents in rescuing the terrified population can not be too highly praised. Had it not been for their prompt and intelligent efforts many more lives would inevitably have been lost. At Byoub the water in the streets from the landing stage to the beautiful and historical mosque reached over a metre in depth. The first floors of the houses were flooded, some have since been demolished to prevent further accidents. Stamboul itself, though flooded in all the low-lying parts, has had no loss of life. The Upper Bosphorus has suffered terribly both with regard to damage to property and loss of life. As soon as the storm assumed a threatening aspect the Military Government despatched steam-launches and men to the different scenes of the catastrophe. Report says at Sari-Yar, Upper Bosphorus where loss both of life and property is great, that the deposit of mud and sand, left by the water, reaches to the windows of the second and third stories and that some of the houses are entirely covered. In this village 27 houses are completely destroyed and 160 so damaged as to be uninhabitable. The Municipality is distributing large quantities of bread and relief to the sufferers. Dr. Djemel Pasha, the Prefect of Stamboul, visited the places of disaster on the Bosphorus and personally superintended the work of 500 men of the Black Sea Regiment who are actively engaged in clearing the sand and different objects left by the torrents.

To-morrow, 8th October, the *Tanin* will resume publications.

H. I. M. the Sultan has presented his portrait to the Red Cross Committee. The portrait bears His Majesty's signature Dr. Halil Bey, chief physician of the Sultan, was deputed to make the presentation.

I have had the pleasure of meeting and making the acquaintance of Mr. Mahbub Alam Sahib, of Lahore, editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*, who has recently arrived from London.

M. SAID HINDUSTANI.

TETE À TETE



WE have dealt, in three leading articles already published, with some of the points raised by the public pronouncement of Sir James Meston at Lucknow on the Cawnpore Mosque affair. The article published to-day completes the argument from the Moslem standpoint. After the wise exhortation of H. E. the Viceroy to bury the past in oblivion we are naturally loth to prolong the controversy, but the points dealt with to-day are of abiding value and have a vital bearing on the question of the sanctity and inviolability of the religious places of worship.—a question which, we trust, will be permanently settled by legislation. With this article ends the controversial aspect of the matter as far as we are concerned.

WE PUBLISHED in our last a letter from Mr. Shaikat Ali exposing the baseless calumnies which some obscure sheet in Bombay had been sporting against the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba and which had been greedily culled by some of its patrons in the Anglo-Indian Press for their daily fare of sensation. The *Morning Post* of Delhi has long reached the stage of anecdotalism and could hardly resist the pleasure of quoting two little "paragraphs from the *Muslim Times* of Bombay" in its issue of 16th September. As far as our information goes no paper of the name of *Muslim Times* exists in Bombay. As Mr. Shaikat Ali stated in his letter there is a paper in Urdu called *Moslem Herald*, whose proprietor seems to be remarkably glib with an eye for the main chance and has been figuring in the Anglo-Indian Press as the "Loyal Moslem Association of Bombay". Mussalmans are not particularly anxious to know what this individual, or newspaper or association—or whatever he may be—thinks of the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba or other affairs of the community. But our local contemporary has its own sense of the value of things, and it not unoften expresses itself through quotations. Had Mr. Shaikat Ali exercised a little charity for such weaknesses he would have spared himself the trouble of writing an unnecessary vindication and spared our contemporary the necessity of quoting him—with a sermon. Our readers may perhaps be curious to know the original "quotations", which we reproduce from the *Morning Post* of the 16th September. Our contemporary said: "We quote the following paragraphs from the *Muslim Times* of Bombay: 'Having been advised by their friends to leave India for sometime, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade*, and Mr. Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary of the All India Moslem League, arrived in Bombay from Delhi on Saturday and left for Europe on the same day for reasons better known to themselves.' The next paragraph ran as follows:—"Mr. Shaikat Ali, B. A., General Secretary of the Anjuman-Khuddam-Ka'aba, a servant of Mecca and Medina, and who was to accompany his brother Mr. Mohamed Ali, who procured to Europe last Saturday, intends addressing the Mussalman public of Bombay, in meetings, on the subject of his Anjuman. The object of this Anjuman, as far as we know, is to form in India a corps of Mujahideen Islam or Volunteers to fight against the Christians, in case they attack jointly the Ka'aba. Up to the present, we are told, only a lady, who is Mr. Shaikat Ali's sister, has taken the oath mentioned in the rules of the Anjuman and become a member." The first paragraph is intended to convey a clumsy innuendo about the motives of Mr. Mohamed Ali's departure for England. It suggests as if Mr. Mohamed Ali has, by this device, succeeded in saving his neck from the noose. The *Morning Post* has evidently been impressed deeply by this suggestion, but the fact is that such stratagems are not after the heart of Mr. Mohamed Ali. His record has been clean and nothing that he has done has been

shady or against the law of the land. But if there were any trouble in store for him, we are sure, he would have faced it manfully. All those who know him at least know this much that he is not of the stuff of which moral cowards are made. As regards the second paragraph, it is a tissue of misrepresentations and unblushing lies as would be evident from Mr. Shaikat Ali's letter which was published in our last. Such travesties of facts can find favour only in the columns of newspapers that have an inordinate love for sensation or are prone to excessive gullibility.

As we have already said, the *Morning Post* has quoted Mr. Shaikat Ali, and quoted him with a vengeance! Before reproducing Mr. Shaikat Ali's letter in its issue of the 22nd instant, it says: "We publish the following extract from the '*Comrade* on account of its *naivete* when the Mohamedans came 'to desecrate the Christian churches of Constantinople, we shall 'be prepared to accept their claim to a share (?) of civilisation. 'We do not know of any British administration which has yet raped 'a Mussalman place of worship and we know of no grounds upon 'which Mr. Shaikat Ali can pose as a person of superior morality 'nor, so far as we know, are the holy places of Islam in the slightest 'danger.' We wish we could reproduce Mr. Shaikat Ali's letter, for only thus could we show the superior '*naivete*' of this irresponsible fling. Mr. Shaikat Ali had only set forth the aims and objects of the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba and shown how rapidly it had grown in numbers, popularity and influence. But instead of acknowledging its past error of having regaled its '*chantele* with imported falsehoods, the paper sets about to lecture the Mussalmans about religious intolerance and their scanty title to 'a share (?) of civilisation' (Perhaps a 'share' is meant, for our contemporary does not probably mean that 'Civilisation'—like Maud Allan—should only show itself to the virtuous and the penitent.) We do not anywhere find in the letter that Mr. Shaikat Ali has posed as a person of superior morality. He has only stated his ideals, and they are surely innocent enough to deserve Christian charity. Such feather-brained bombast is often amusing even though it carries a dash of spitefulness behind it. References to Constantinople churches and British administrations are delightful irrelevances which usually relieve the tedium of dull intellectual effort that has to sprawl itself over every inch of space—every day.

THE *Makhzan*, of Lahore, is an Urdu monthly of repute which has, for the last few years, served the interests of Urdu literature with considerable distinction. We remember the time when it was first launched by its well-known editor, Sheikh Abdul Qadir. Like a wonderful "new star" it came into the sky of journalism and the welcome which it received from the Indian public, and notably the Mussalman section of it, was extremely cordial. It is to be regretted, however, that since its return from England, where he was called to the Bar, Sheikh Abdul Qadir has been in a sort of retirement, and the *Moslem* community has not derived from his talents that benefit to which it had been looking forward for sometime. But we never anticipated that the *Makhzan* itself will be affected some day, and to our astonishment and regret we find in the August and September issues of that magazine the strange account of a certain Dr. S. Salim Varesi (who is described as the editor of the magazine, although Sheikh Abdul Qadir's name, too, appears as the editor on the first page), an account so strange that we feel compelled to examine in the interests of the Mussalman public the pretensions of the learned doctor. Owing to the recent unhappy events in the Balkans the Indian Mussalmans have begun to manifest a rapidly increasing but, we hope, an intelligent interest in Turkey and everything Turkish, and inasmuch as it is our duty to restrain the newly developed energy of our community from running into wrong channels, we wish to describe the pretensions of Dr. Varesi at some length to demonstrate to our readers the danger of our community's interest in Turkey being exploited by unscrupulous people. For here is the editor of a respectable Urdu magazine, a gentleman who describes himself as "a Pensioner Civil Surgeon of Constantinople," "an M. A. in seven languages," an ex-student of the Hanidia College, who at military manoeuvres led, while in command of a detachment of his fellow-students, an attack which attracted the attention of Sultan Abdul Hamid as he sat in a window at the Yildiz Kiosk, and all the nonsense that he writes is devoured by the Mussalman community without demur. Dr. Varesi says he left India when he was 7 years of age, studied Theology at Mecca, passed on to Egypt to burn incense at the feet of the learned scholars of that country, and then proceeded to Constantinople where, as a student of the Hanidia College, he achieved great distinction. He studied French in France, passed

out as a doctor and as "an M. A. in seven languages," travelled extensively on the Continent, joined the Turkish Consular Service, and has at the age of 35 retired on pension; and the "Pensioner Civil Surgeon of Constantinople" has now taken up the editorship of the *Lahore-Makhzan*! To crown all this Dr. Varesi is a poet, and the August number of the *Makhzan* publishes his verses in Urdu, Persian and Arabic—verses, which, we confess, are altogether beyond our comprehension! The September issue opens with an article on the Hamidia College, and Dr. Varesi does not describe the courses of study, the life or the traditions of that institution,—we doubt if one of Dr. Varesi's imagination exists,—but he tells with gusto of how he was instrumental in obtaining a certain distinguished Arabic scholar's services from Damascus, and how he once played a prominent part at the College manoeuvres,—so prominent that at the end of the skirmish he found himself in Sultan Abdul Hamid's audience chamber, and had with him an interesting discussion, such as would have been the despair of the late Mr W. T. Stead himself! And truly delightful are certain passages in the course of this narrative. We will give only two by way of example. Say, Dr Varesi: "We extended the wings of our force, so that it formed a complete circle, and now we advanced *court-martialing*." The last two words have a military ring about them in an otherwise flat and insipid narrative, but their use leads us to doubt if the entire significance of a court-martial is grasped at the Army Headquarters at Simla, and if that unfortunately be the case, the officers responsible for the discipline and tactical training of the Indian Army might well ask Dr. Varesi to help them! Dr. Varesi's description of the Hamidia College building beats for its originality anything that we have ever come across. What would our readers make of this: "Around the College have been constructed several small octagonal domes, the shadow of one falling upon the other, so that the time the *Equator is established* the combined shadows fall in the water in such a manner that you can see the whole College reflected." We plead guilty to absolute inability to understand either the engineering principle on which the domes have been constructed, or the manner in which "the Equator is established." The whole description of the so-called Hamidia College is full of such absurdities as would make a child laugh, and yet this is the article which has been given the place of honour in a magazine serving a very literary section of the Indian public. But how did we first suspect that there was something wrong with Dr. Varesi's claims? Thereby hangs a pretty tale which we will not keep from our readers.

Dr. VARESİ happened to visit Bhopal recently, and his visit to Rajputana and Central India was duly announced in the August issue of his magazine.

The Crisis.

At Bhopal Dr. Varesi, "the retired *Civil Surgeon* of Constantinople and an M. A. in seven languages," was the guest of a high dignitary of the State, and continued in undisturbed possession of his attainments for three or four days. But there is always a fly in the ointment. One evening Dr. Varesi sat in his host's drawing-room reeling off yarns by the dozen about his doings and travels in the Turkish dominions, his absolute command over French, and six other languages; but among his audience—Oh! the unlooked-for disaster!—happened to be a certain officer of the State who knows French, an old Aliqarh boy, whose translations from French passages have often appeared in these columns. This gentleman greeted Dr. Varesi with *Bon soir, Comment allez vous?*—and the answer was a look of blank astonishment followed by (pooh-pooh) words in an improvised language which is not spoken or understood anywhere in the world. Dr. Varesi has good nerves, as a consequence apparently of the bloodless battles that he has fought and the military distinction he has won! "Oh," said he in Urdu with a shrug of his shoulders, "You are speaking in the '*Salam*' language; French does not contain such harsh words as '*Comment*' and '*vous*.'" We are sorry we have hitherto been unable to discover where the *Salam* language is spoken. Our correspondent, not desirous of at once losing the treat which Dr. Varesi's improvised language provided in the assembly, continued the discussion for a while, and the latter waxed very warm and eloquent and looked as though he could, like Bottom the Weaver "play Eccles rarely." The final débâcle was not long in coming. Dr. Varesi was asked "By the way, how do you spell Monsieur?" "M-O-S-I-U" was the fearless reply. "You are right," answered our correspondent; "it is spelt like that by the shores of the Bosphorus!" The bubble of Dr. Varesi's scholarship was pricked and he gave up the sponge. It is not this journal's wont to analyse people's academic qualifications, but in the interests of the general public we have considered it our duty to call attention to the conspicuous or probably unconscious humbug of a gentleman, the effluvia of whose versatile genius constitute the intellectual food of thousands of the *Makhzan's* readers. We fear the food will not be wholesome. And we have another fear too, and that is that a section of the public may in its ignorance resort to the "Pensioner Civil Surgeon of Constantinople" for Medical advice!

The Comrade.

The Indian Moslem's Tasks.

I.

THE period of stress and storm through which the Mussalmans of India are just emerging, has brought them face to face with a great crisis in their history. The stress and the storm have not been due to transient accidents—a mere effervescence of communal sentiment that has been ruffled somewhat unusually by the rough and tumble of Indian politics. They have been the result of causes of far deeper import that have gone to the very roots of the communal consciousness and touched the entire gamut of its sensibilities. No community can pass through convulsive experiences of such a thorough-going character without feeling completely out of gear. The shock of surprises, of grief, of disenchantment upsets its whole intellectual and moral being. It feels its prospects and horizon gone, its dearest instincts bruised, its faith in eclipse, its ideals broken into fragments like a reed, and its fundamental beliefs and first principles challenged and mocked in a grim world of hate and conflict. The Mussalmans of India have just emerged from this shattering experience. The past few years have made an epoch in their history; the immediate future will determine its import and its bias. The life of the community is at present in a state of utter flux. The supreme question at this supreme juncture is whether the community will rapidly gather fresh will and repair its faculties of self-direction or waste itself away in futile regrets and barren sentiment. No one can pose this question without realising the vital bearing it has on the future of Islam in India.

Let us first examine the dangers of this novel and critical situation. In common parlance the Mussalmans have arrived at the parting of the ways, facing the gray vista of unknown things—the Future—with an embarrassed and puzzled air. The din and clash of battle is over, the echoes of its shouts and its cries are dying away, the fret and fever of the struggle has almost ceased. The overstrung nerve and the pent-up emotion, even in direct moments, have their zest. Will they give place to a mood of blank, paralysing despair? The question forms a vital subject of study in communal psychology. Without, however, delving into such uncanny things, one can get some idea of how the Mussalmans would comport themselves in a flat, depressing period, that requires all the strength of character and silent, devoted toil of the community, by studying their behaviour in the period of stress and storm. It is needless to state that the Moslem excitement in India had been entirely due to the troubles, the sufferings and the trials of the Moslem communities abroad. The aggressive movements of Europe against the independent Moslem kingdoms, the grave menace that threatened their independence and life, the sheer greed, intolerance and the naked assertion of brute force that have characterised these aggressions, shook the Indian Mussalmans to their depths. For the first time in their history they felt the pulse of Islamic unity and recovered their deep attachment and devotion to the basic ideals of their creed. This manifestation of Islamic brotherhood and solidarity has proved in an unmistakable manner that Islam is not yet a spent force, that it is not a mere fetish holding stupid communities in thrall, sucking their lifeblood and exacting worship without reverence. It is still a force of cosmic vitality moulding the lives of millions. The sense of common danger has brought home even to the most indifferent among the faithful the magnitude of their common heritage. The sense of loyalty to their creed is the most significant and central fact about the Mussalmans of India to-day. The future of the community that still retains something worth living and dying for cannot be without promise. But the danger is lest the utter loss of faith in the secular ideals of Europe should drive the community back within its shell to nourish dull hatred or implacable sense of wrong and shut itself in stern isolation from the healing touch and due graces of the larger life of the world. A community cannot realise itself through hate any more than an individual. It has to turn all disappointment into a food for fresh spiritual vigour, and through bitter herbs of experience it has to be made whole. Certain tendencies of the Moslem mind at present are a little perplexing and they will have to be vigorously combated if they at all develop signs of persistence. The time of patient and accurate stock-taking is to-day, and cannot be postponed without involving communal affairs in chaos. It is our plain duty to examine with some care the tendencies that wear an aspect ugly and full of menace. Plain speaking may not be palatable, but it has got to be faced. No Mussalman can shirk the duty without betraying himself.

The most disquieting tendency that strikes a dispassionate observer as he surveys Moslem affairs is that the community is acquiring a taste to run by taking the bit in its mouth. To some it may even appear that the bit and the reins no longer exist. No community can do in these days without an organisation, without a guide, without some supreme controlling hand. The will must be disciplined if the purpose is to be achieved. We trust we will not be mistaken. We are not holding a brief for the charlatan and the quack that had so long held the community in an iron grip as vice. They have got their deserts and rightly; and we may be sure they will never get a chance to exploit once more the confidence and goodwill of the Mussalmans. But if the old charlatan and the quack have been found out and stripped bare of their glamour and their pretences, it is all the more necessary to guard against the growth of a vicious and cynical temper which revels in denouncing all new effort as charlatanism and deceit. The spirit of negation, of distrust, of lofty disdain will render the community intellectually bankrupt and morally sterile. Some of the loudest voices that have played on the credulity of the Mussalmans and awayed them by their mystic clamour and high-falutin' notes have mainly been directed to discrediting all that is old. They have done some useful work in helping to destroy old idols. But whenever they have come to point the new path and fix the new goal they have fumbled and only made the confusion worse confounded by their tall garrulosity. They have cried for light and emancipation, and have filled the whole atmosphere with dark, unsettling suggestions of problems they do not understand. The shades of the prison-house are still as thick as ever. These were the voices of the stern and will probably die away with the last peal of thunder. But they have succeeded in creating among the Mussalmans a spirit of doubt and reverence. We trust the spirit will not linger long and will soon be replaced by something more trustful, more robust, more energising which would give the community strength and confidence enough to address itself to its new and heavy tasks. The supreme need is the organisation of the communal energy and the evolution of the communal will.

Another danger is lest the Mussalmans might accidentally acquire a taste for sensationalism. There has been nothing, on the whole, throughout the period of excitement that could feed such a temper. The feelings of the Mussalmans were stirred deeply, and naturally and enough, they found a genuinely forcible expression. It is, however, manifest that the strain of effort is followed by inevitable intellectual and moral lassitude, and the manner in which the community carries itself through the period of reaction will show the stuff of which it is made. The period is bound to be felt as insipid and dull unless the community is capable of putting forth fresh creative energy to provide new foci of interest and fresh stimulus for constructive endeavour. Nothing would be more disastrous than that the memories of the past should be stereotyped into dead images and become the one infatuation of the Mussalmans. Only another disaster of still graver magnitude would be needed to lift the pall of inertia from the life of the community. It is hard to imagine the fate of the people who do no progress but revolve, who are shot from one crisis into another. The Mussalmans have been fed on themes of superb fascination and great tragic power. The themes have not been unsuited to the occasion. But some of the lusty penmen have eternally lived on honeycomb and tried to extract the utmost emotion from every event, big and small. They have lavishly spent their wealth of adjectives and dressed the mearest fact up to the dignity of Divine revelation. What they have spent in chronicling the fall of the sparrow would have sufficed for less gushing souls to record the doom of the world. (Could these bouts be indulged in without creating a taste or a craving for more?) The Mussalmans have usually been noted for their sanity and balance, and we trust they are intellectually robust enough to shake themselves free from the glamour of the phrase and the tyranny of the catchword.

All these dangers may appear to be vague, but they are none the less real and terrible. In the plastic condition of mood and feeling in which the Mussalmans find themselves just now, prompt and well directed efforts have got to be made to create new unity of purpose and clear the path ahead. If things are left to take their own course, the mood may be hardened into cynicism and the feelings may run into sterile waste. The past has been crowded with events, and the experiences of the Mussalmans are, if they only knew, a powerful challenge. They have yet to prove if they are fit to play an adequate part in shaping the course of human history. They have undoubtedly learnt some new lessons through recent trials, and these lessons have to be fully taken into account. They have to take stock of the present situation, restate their purpose and brace themselves up for a long spell of sustained endeavour. Their tasks are serious, and the whole energy of the community will have to be applied to accomplishing

them. They have in the first place to provide themselves with full intellectual and moral equipment to preserve their status and individuality amongst the progressive races of India. Then they have to estimate the wider political conditions that govern their existence and shape their activities accordingly. Then, again, they have to participate in activities which draw their impulse from the aspirations of India's peoples and to formulate the terms on which such participation will be desirable both in their own interest and in the interest of the country as a whole. These are great tasks in all conscience. We hope the Mussalmans will rise equal to the demands of the situation. We have only indicated the character of these tasks in broad outline to day, but in subsequent issues we propose to examine them one by one and discuss the ways and means by which they can be fulfilled.

Sir James Meston and the Deputation.

IV

It will not be inappropriate to examine, at this stage, the reasons which led Sir James to deal with the Moslem question in the way in which he has done. We do not entertain any desire to be unfair to the Mussalmans, though we believe it has been unhinged by the spectacle of a great feeling and a sturdy armed among a quiet and contented people like the Mussalmans by the events in the Balkans following so closely on the news of similar events in Tripoli, Morocco and Persia. Anxious to be popular with all classes and to leave after him the memory of a peaceful and prosperous quinquennium, he found himself face to face with a state of excitement which was none of his own creation and which certainly went far beyond the confines of his own Province. He also found ready at hand official and non official advisers anxious to make the utmost capital out of this state of Moslem feeling and to frighten Sir James Meston with exaggerated accounts of Moslem excitement. His excessive eagerness for establishing a record of good government led him into a desire for excessive government, and the first mistake he made was his hurried visit to Aligarh and his account of his discovery of a mare's nest. His second mistake was the betrayal of undue haste in declaring his determined hostility to a boycott which very few among the Mussalmans had taken seriously. His third mistake was the pronouncement of *fatwas* in the case of Moulay Abdul Karim of the Nizam's Government and an exegesis of the Islamic law on the *shoos* which was no doubt inappropriate, but which nobody felt it necessary to say he would not like to be discussed academically. And now on the last occasion, we find Sir James Meston manifestly annoyed with the Mussalmans of Cawnpore for trying to maintain their recognised religious rights and subsequently with the whole community for offering them its sympathy and support.

Sir James Meston has the virtues and the faults of his Service, inasmuch as he is ready to believe the worst of the world against the world, even if he is not ready to screen or shelter the Services in order to save its face. We have hitherto refrained from discussing in detail the allegations of atrocious conduct against Mr. Pym and the popular belief that Sir James Meston gave this official a very bad quarter of an hour when he arrived post-haste from Bombay on the 4th August. But we have already expressed our sincere regret that Sir James Meston should have unnecessarily quoted the statement of Mr. Sim and on that slender support placed the entire weight of a judgment which is unjust not only to the Muslims of Cawnpore, but to the entire Moslem community. On this point," said Sir James to the Deputation, "I assure you, gentlemen, that I did not rush to a conclusion." We fear in giving this assurance Sir James Meston was deceiving himself without convincing his hearers. For he confesses that before the Mosque was demolished he did not consult Moslem doctors of law and the implication of anything which could have reconciled him to the demolition is that we can discover in his letters and telegrams to and from his letters to and conversations with other Mussalmans as the *proponent* of Mr. Sim who, when consulted by Sir James, "told me that when the Muhammadans took him to see the Mosque, they crowded into it with their shoes on." This is the statement of which the correctness was "unreservedly" accepted by Sir James Meston when he wrote to us on the 2nd July, and with regard to which he said six weeks later in his reply to the Deputation "the evidence I believe in spite of attacks which have been made in the Press." But was it the Press—and the "outsider" Press—only that attacked this solitary piece of evidence? Sir James does not refer to the letter of some prominent Muhammadans of Cawnpore, addressed to Mr. Sim on the 20th July, in which referring to his statement they said: "We are desirous of knowing when you went into the *dalan* of the Mosque with your shoes on, or you saw the Muhammadans crowding into that part with their shoes on. We all know that the portion demolished is observed as sacred and no such act is permitted or was ever per-

mitted there. To make facts clear, we hope you would be pleased to inform any of us the occasion or occasions when you were taken by any member of the Muhammadan community to the *dalan* and other Muhammadans following you crowded there with shoes on." Nor does Sir James Meeson refer to Mr. Sim's most unsatisfactory reply addressed after more than a week's cogitation, and perhaps consultation with Sir James himself, in which he said that "in view of the circumstances that have arisen, I regret that I do not see my way to comply with your request." What a pitiful exhibition of resourcelessness on the part of an official who evidently stuck at nothing when he desired his own will to be done? Why did Sir James not compel Mr. Sim to make the facts quite clear by naming the occasion and the people about a matter which decided the fate of the Mosque? And what were "the circumstances that have arisen" in view of which Mr. Sim was unable to see his way to comply with the request of Mr. Majid Ahmad and eleven others? Unlike Sir James Meeson, Mr. Sim could not even take refuge behind "the events of the 3rd August," for the simple reason that six days intervened between the 28th of July when the supposed circumstance had already risen, and the 3rd of August when "the events" were to occur. Or was it that like a far-seeing Civilian he could look into the future and divine the circumstances which arose a week later? To us it is of little importance what Mr. Sim saw or did or wrote. But the habit of mind of Englishmen generally and of Civilians in particular, of being ready to credit any and everything uttered by an Englishman generally and by a Civilian in particular against the united testimony of everybody else is an element of the political situation to-day which has a supreme importance. So long as this habit lasts justice between European and Indian and particularly between the Civilian and those over whom he rules must remain merely a matter of luck than of evidence, and although British prestige for holding together may be enhanced, British prestige for justice is bound to diminish. When the events of the 3rd August had taken place, we found even so far minded a journal as the *Empire* of Calcutta asking in evident surprise why Mr. Sim should have given incorrect information to Sir James Meeson. Evidently it did not occur to the *Empire* to ask that if mankind, including Englishmen and Civilians, is occasionally obstinate and self-willed, why should Mr. Sim be credited with having been nothing but reasonable and accommodating; that if mankind, including Englishmen and Civilians, occasionally makes statements which are not true, why should Mr. Sim be considered to be devoid of all imagination and entirely devoid the capacity of invention? The fact is that Sir James Meeson had not a scrap of evidence against the carelessness of the demolished patron, except the misstatement of Mr. Sim, and Mr. Sim had not a title of evidence to offer to support his misstatement. In these straits, no wonder, Sir James has been unwilling to let go the straw which he has so long been clutching and no wonder Mr. Sim cannot see his way to tell the truth and seeks cover behind circumstances that have not arisen and will never arise.

In our second telegram to Sir James Meeson we had begged him to take no further action without consulting some Muhammadan lawyers and *Ulama* and in his reply, dated the 23rd May, Sir James had done us the honour of considering our request "very temperate and appropriate." And yet it did not only prove sterile before the lat of July, but evidently the subject of idle regrets after the 3rd of August. For, although Sir James "did not, it is true, consult doctors of law", we have his own assurance that he has done it since and "with varying results." Could we not ask why he did it since when on the 23rd of May the matter did not contain even "any element of doubt"? "Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers," and although Sir James Meeson has since been compelled to seek the Mullah in his seclusion, we are constrained to say that the motive appears to be not the satisfaction of genuine doubt but the bolstering up of Mr. Sim's misstatement. It is, however, a source of considerable consolation to us to know that Sir James Meeson has consulted the doctors of law "with varying results." Luckily every Moslem doctor of law is not a Khan Bahadur or Shamul Ulama, nor goes about in Government House motor cars or is placing a suit with half a dozen medals jangling on his breast. And not every Shamul Ulama does not entertain European guests at his father's mansion on the anniversary of his death with Kellner's "O. C. S." Whisky. Results are, therefore, bound to vary, or the Chief Secretary would by this time have procured millions of the *fatawas* of sycophancy given in reply to the *fatwas* of a title-distributing bureaucracy. We are no doubt assured by Sir James Meeson himself that he did consult "a number of Muhammadan gentlemen whom I know to be orthodox and representative of their class and thoroughly reliable". But for some unknown reason he has not mentioned the names of these gentlemen, and we are unable to judge of the orthodoxy, the reliability and the representativeness of any but the Khan Bahadur class. It is indeed a favourite method of bureaucracy that although it consults none but members of its own class before formulating its policy, it gathers sedulously enough the opinions of a few men

dependant on itself for so-called honours and for advancement in office and often even for bread itself, and these opinions are paraded with a great flourish of trumpets as the views of the more "sensible," "sober", or "responsible" portion of the public. This is, as we have said, no new trick: but we must say we always regarded Sir James Meeson as an official above the use of such ancient and well-nigh exploded stratagems, and our sorrow as our surprise is, therefore, all the greater when within a year of his tenure of office as the head of the Province we find him masticating the old morsels of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. For we have no doubt that if this diaphanous veil were torn from the faces of his orthodox, representative and thoroughly reliable witnesses, we shall once again behold the hideous reality of Khan Bahadurdom.

But before we close the examination of evidence barely indicated or actually offered by Sir James Meeson, let us too invite His Honour to "a dispassionate consideration of the facts distinct from technicalities." We presume that inasmuch as a good deal of water has flown under the Ganges bridge at Cawnpore since Sir James called the demolished portion of the Mosque "a bathing enclosure", he is prepared to concede that the eastern *dalan* contained in addition to an *istighathana*, drain on either side of which Mussalmans made the *wazu* obligatory on them before offering prayers. Now we ask Sir James Meeson himself, who states in his letter to us that he is "not unfamiliar with the usages and sentiments on the subject, having visited many mosques with devout Muhammadans," whether he ever came across a single mosque where Mussalmans went to the place where *wazu* was made with their shoes on. Sir James Meeson no doubt knows that if a Mussalman made *wazu* (that is to say, washed his hands, wrists, gurgled, cleaned his nose with water, washed his face and his arms to the elbow, passed a wet hand over his hair and the back of his neck, and passed a wet finger and thumb inside and outside his ears and then washed his feet up to the ankles, and all this with great care and repeatedly) and within a few minutes of these ablutions had a few winks of sleep, he would have to make the *wazu* over again just as carefully as before. Perhaps he also knows that he would have to take off the thickest of socks and wash his feet also just as if they were covered with dirt, and that it is only if he had leather *moccas* (or inside boots) on, which covered the feet up to the ankles in such a way that moisture could not ordinarily penetrate them, that he would be permitted to pass wet fingers over his covered part instead of ungloving them and washing them in the prescribed manner. Now such being the rigour of the ritual in connection with the ablutions what would the most ordinary commonsense, as distinct from all technicalities say to the wearing of shoes by Mussalmans in a part of the mosque where they make their ablutions and walk bare-footed after the *wazu*? If dry stockinged feet have to be uncoovored and washed again three times because a few minutes dozing has intervened, what does mere commonsense dictate in the matter of wet feet which carry along all the dirt and dust of a congregation's shoes from the *wazukhana* to the mosque? His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's own familiarity with the usages on the subject should be sufficient to enable him to give a satisfactory reply to this. But if his own unaided experience is not enough, we have no doubt His Honour can readily supplement it with the standards of a number of Muhammadan gentlemen whom he knows to be orthodox and representative of their class and thoroughly reliable. The plain fact is that there is no mosque in the world and from the very nature of things there can be no mosque in the world where Mussalmans go with their shoes on to the place where ablutions are made before offering prayers. And surely Mussalmans have not yet lost all sense of shame to use as a bathing place an open *dalan* which by no stretch of imagination could have been called "a bathing enclosure" unless the man who told Sir James it was one was as big a liar as he who said that Mussalmans crowded into the *wazukhana* with their shoes on.

But why need one discuss all these technicalities, as Sir James Meeson calls them? We have never heard it disputed that the part demolished and acquired for the extension of the A. B. Road was a religious *wakf* or endowment. That being so the Land Acquisition Act cannot apply to it for it would mean that *wakf* lands and buildings dedicated to God can be acquired for sanitary roads, police lines and even public latrines and urinals. We ask Sir James to declare if this is in consonance with clause 85 of the Government of India Act of 1833 which required the Governor-General in Council, as a necessary consequence of "the removal of restrictions on the intercourse of Europeans" with the Indian territories of the East India Company, "to provide with all convenient speed for the protection of the natives of the said territories from insult and outrage in their persons, religions and opinions." We ask Sir James to declare if this is in consonance with the letter or the spirit of the Despatch of the Directors of the East India Company which accompanied this Act and in which para. 40 particularly refers to the abovementioned clause,

and in which para. 41 is almost a prophecy of the state of affairs which prevails in some cases in spite of all the legislation then enacted. The Directors said that "Eagerness of some temporary advantage, the consciousness of power, the pride of a fancied superiority of race, the absence of any adequate check from public opinion, the absence also in many cases of the habitual check supplied by the stated and public recurrence of religious observances, these and other causes may occasionally lead even the settled resident to be less guarded in his treatment of the people than would accord with a just view of his situation." We ask Sir James to declare if this view is in consonance with the Note appended to the Report submitted in 1887 by the Indian Law Commissioners (appointed under the Act of 1883) with reference to the Chapter entitled "of Offences relating to Religion" in the draft Penal Code which said "The principle on which this Chapter has been framed is a principle on which it would be desirable that all Governments should act, but from which the British Government in India cannot depart without risking the dissolution of society." "It is easier," said the Law Commissioners, "to argue against falsehood than against truth, but it is as easy to pull down or defile the temples of truth as those of falsehood." And they continued "All the considerations apply with peculiar force to India. There is perhaps no country in which the Government have so much to apprehend from religious excitement from the people. The Christians are numerically a very small minority of the population, and in possession of all the highest in the Government, in the tribunals and in the army. Under their rule are placed millions of Muhammadans of differing sects, but all strongly attached to the fundamental articles of the Muhammadan creed. Such a state of things is pregnant with dangers which can only be averted by firm adherence to the true principles of toleration. On these principles the British Government has hitherto acted with eminent judgment, and with no less eminent success, and on these principles we propose to frame this part of the Penal Code." It is only too well known that the chief contributory cause of the Sepoy Mutiny was the belief of the Indian army that its religion was being outraged. We need not refer to the result of these apprehensions and have no desire to dwell on this topic any longer than is absolutely necessary. But we may and in fact we must focus the attention of all our readers and particularly of Government on the good that came out of evil, namely, the Royal Proclamation of Victoria the God which has come to be recognised by all classes of people in India as the Great Charter of their liberties and rights. The most important portion of the all-important document is the paragraph in which our Sovereign had said:

"We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under Us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of Our subjects on pain of Our highest displeasure."

Now we ask Sir James Meeson to declare whether the view on which the official at Cawnpore have acted throughout is in consonance with the letter and the spirit of this noble and wise proclamation of our late Queen Empress and whether they would have secured her approval or incurred her highest displeasure had she been spared to us to-day? Sir James Meeson is no doubt aware that clause 22 of the Government of India Act of 1881, which enabled the Governor-General in Council to pass the Land Acquisition Act, laid it down that ".....provided always that the said Governor-General in Council shall not have the power of making any law or regulations which shall repeal or in any way affect any of the provisions of this Act or any of the Acts of the 3rd and 4th years of King William IV. Cap. 85....." which after the passing of this Act shall remain in force. How comes it then that an un repealed provision of Act which required the Governor-General in Council to protect the religions of the people of India is now treated as null and void and a portion of a building duly made a *wulf* and dedicated to God is acquired to day for the making of a footpath along a road. All sorts of excuses, such as the comparative absence of sacredness, and the doctrine of laches, are set up to defeat the law as well as the Royal Proclamation? We have shown His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor no little courtesy in discussing at this length the plea of laches and the question of sanctity. But we must and do make our stand on the unalienable right of the Muhammadans that all property made *wulf* and dedicated to God is immune from every interference. The Land Acquisition Act cannot claim to be an exception to the well-known maxim of law, *generalia specialibus non derogant*. The language of every enactment must be so construed, as far as possible, as to be consistent with every other which it does not in express terms modify or repeal. The law does not allow any exposition to revoke or alter by construction of general words any particular statute, when the words may have their proper operation without it. It is never presumed to have only general cases in view, and not particular cases which have been already otherwise

provided for by the special Act, or, which is the same thing, by a local custom. Having already given its attention to the particular subjects and provided for it, the Legislature is reasonably presumed not to intend to alter that special provision by a subsequent general enactment unless that intention is manifested in explicit language. The General Statute is used as silently excluding from its operation the cases which have been provided for by the special one. Moreover, it is required by the free spirit of British institutions that the interpretation of all legislation should be favourable to personal liberty. Legislation which encroaches on the rights of the subject, whether as regards person or property is similarly subject to a strict construction. It is a recognised rule that it should be interpreted if possible so as to respect such rights. It is presumed, when the objects of the Act do not obviously imply such an intention, that the Legislature does not devise to confiscate the property or to encroach upon the right of persons, and it is therefore expected that if such be its intention it will manifest it plainly, if not in express words, at least by clear implication and beyond reasonable doubt. Surely there is nothing in the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 that the acquisition of lands and buildings contemplated in the Act includes lands and buildings made the subject of a religious endowment and dedicated to God, and if the free institutions of Great Britain require us to interpret all legislation very strictly in order to respect the rights of person and property as far as possible, do they not require that laws should be so construed as to interfere in no way with the religious beliefs of the people which, in India at least, are dearer to them than their persons or property? We maintain that the Land Acquisition Act applies to land which can be lawfully alienated and to land to be acquired from owners and others having interest in it who are "entitled to act" in the manner explained in the Act itself. We, therefore, hold that it does not apply to land which cannot be sold, exchanged or given away and to land which is already used for a public purpose and has no owner in the sense of ownership of private property nor even trustees "entitled to act" in the manner required by the Act itself. Are public worship and purposes subsidiary to it less public than the making of a road even if it be a "Sanitary Road" that any portion of a mosque whether comparatively more sacred or less, according to official comparisons, can be acquired under the Act.

This should not be a difficult doctrine for Englishman or Christians to understand, nor too unreasonable to be appreciated and upheld, for we find that the Ecclesiastical Law of England is on all fours with the *shariat* of the Qu'ran in this matter. The property owned for the benefit of the Church of England which is most directly ecclesiastical in its nature is that which by an act of consecration has been set aside for ever to sacred uses, and the most important part of such property, and that which is most essential for the one performance of the ministrations of the Church, consists of the churches and churchyards which belong to, or are used in connection with the parishes to which they appertain. In the Ordinary, *i. e.*, the Bishop is vested the care of all the churches and churchyards in his diocese, and under the Bishop, the Incumbent of the Parish, *i. e.*, the clergyman or vicar has a general control over the same within his parish. The Vestry is the Council of the Parish for ecclesiastical purposes, and one or more of the members of this Council in every parish are chosen to act as churchwardens to whose direct custody the property of the church and churchyard and their maintenance and repairs are committed. A church or churchyard ceases to be the property of the donor, who, by dedicating his property to God, voluntarily sacrifices it for the attainment of sacred objects. When a church or churchyard has thus become devoted *sacrosanctus* it can never be used as a habitation for man, nor has a judge any power to sanction the use of it for secular purposes, and no alteration or addition can be made to it without a "faculty". An injunction may be obtained from the High Court of Justice against making an alteration in a church or churchyard if it be attempted without a "faculty". The word "faculty" signifies a privilege or special dispensation granted to a person by favour and indulgence to do that which by the law he cannot do. A "faculty" is granted by the Court which every Bishop has for the trial of ecclesiastical causes within his diocese. It is presided over by the Bishop's Chancellor who acts without any control on the part of the Bishop, and is called the Consistory Court. A "faculty" is applied for by petition which must ordinarily show that it has been approved by the parishioners in Vestry assembled, and before the grant a citation is issued in general terms to all persons interested, requiring them to appear and show cause if they oppose the "faculty". In a "faculty" case an appeal lies from the Consistory Court to the Provincial Court, and thence to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Now that these preliminaries have been fully explained our readers will have no difficulty in understanding and appreciating the full force of the decisions which we quote on the subject. *In re: Plumstead Burial Ground*, reported in the Law Reports, Probate Division, for 1895 at page 225, from the Consistory Court of Rochester, the facts were as follows: The vicar and churchwardens of a parish church in

the diocese of Rochester petitioned the Ordinary to decree a "faculty" to authorise a strip of consecrated ground, added to the churchyard under the Burial Act, 1852, but in which burials were prohibited by the Secretary of State's order, being taken therefrom and made part of an adjoining public highway for the purpose of widening the same. In their petition they alleged (*inter alia*) that no interments had ever been made within the portion of the churchyard proposed to be so dealt by the "faculty," that inconvenience was caused to persons attending the church from their being no pathway on the highway adjacent to the churchyard and that the proposed widening would enable such a pathway to be made, and would conduce to the convenience of those attending the Church as well as of the general public. On the hearing of the motion for issue of citation, the Chancellor refused to entertain the petition and delivered a judgment from which the following extracts are taken.

"Consecrated ground is ground separated and set apart from all common, profane and secular uses whatever, and dedicated to ecclesiastical purposes forever by the definitive sentence of the Spiritual Court, which, according to English law, has jurisdiction with the consent of the owner of the land consecrated, to issue such a sentence. A definite sentence in point of fact cannot be recalled even by the authority which promulgated it. From very early times ground once consecrated has been held to be permanently subject to the conditions imposed by the sentence of consecration. It cannot be used for any secular purpose, and then preservation of its sacred character is placed under the protection of the ecclesiastical authorities. So well recognised and enduring are the disabilities of consecrated ground that where it becomes necessary to use the site of a church or churchyard for secular purposes an Act of Parliament is requisite. I now turn to the authorities of which there are several. They seem to establish two propositions:

1. That a portion of a churchyard may not legally be used either for enlargement of a highway or for any other secular purpose.
2. That the Ecclesiastical Courts have no jurisdiction to authorise such a use of consecrated ground, and therefore any faculty purporting to confer such authority on any person is bad.

The Chancellor then quotes a judgment delivered in 1852 by Doctor Lushington who refused a petition of the Rector and Churchwardens of St John's, Walbrook for a faculty to permit part of the burial ground to be thrown into the highway, and relied on a similar judgment of Sir William Wynne, when the latter was a judge of the Archdeacon Court. Then the Chancellor goes on:

"In *Harper v. Fisher* in the Court of Arches, on 1859 churchwardens were proceeded against for having, with the approval of the Vicar, the Rector and the Bishop, personally permitted a portion of the churchyard to be separated from the remainder of it and to be taken into a public road. Dr Lushington continued as follows: 'I may, therefore, it once declared what I believe to be an undoubted law, that it is not in the power of any Ecclesiastical Court whatever to allow any portion of consecrated ground to be devoted to secular uses, or to grant a faculty to confirm such an appropriation. From the earliest period that I have been acquainted with these Courts I have heard the law so laid down. Applications have several times been made to me sitting in the Consistory Court of London to permit minute portions of churchyards to be appropriated to secular uses, but I have always refused because if I had allowed small portions of consecrated ground to be so used, I could not have rejected applications extending to the whole. In fact it would be leaving the matter to the discretion of the Judge which would be contrary to law.'

In *Key v. Pusey* in 1899, Chief Justice Cockburn expressed a very clear opinion on the point under discussion as follows:

"At this time I do not happen to express a very decided opinion that the doctrine laid down by Dr Lushington is perfectly correct, that when ground is once consecrated and dedicated to sacred purposes, no Judge has power to set a faculty to sanction the use of it for secular purposes and that nothing short of an Act of Parliament can divert consecrated ground to its secular character."

This is the Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England, and we cannot conceive that Sir James Weston, at least, could have been ignorant of it when he wrote to us on the 23rd May that "public business cannot be held up except for good and sufficient reasons," and again on the 2nd July when "public business" was not "held up" even to the good and sufficient reason that Sir James had been considering our last letter and the Memorial submitted through the Hon. the Raj Sahib of Mahimabad, and His Honour wrote to us: "To what extent are public improvements to be obstructed by minor concessions to individuals or sections of the community? We must all agree, if we wish for public good, to discriminate between the big things and the small. If every inconsiderable trouble is to be magnified into a racial grievance, and accepted as such, then good-bye to the usefulness of Government and to the advance of public welfare." Our answer to His Honour's question is that public improvements are to be "obstructed" in India to the same extent as and no more than Ecclesiastical Law "obstructs" them in England, and we may add that "the usefulness of Government" has not departed, and the advance of public welfare has not ceased in England simply because consecrated ground can never be used for any other purpose except by Act of Parliament.

We are confident that we have established every point that we sought to prove, though we maintain that we were called upon neither to disprove Moslem law, nor to prove the officials' neglect

of the requirements of the law of Land Acquisition, nor even to establish the greater or lesser sacredness of any portion of the building so long as it was not denied that the building had been dedicated to God under a proper *wakf*. But we have yet to meet the eternal doctrine of Prestige as applied to the demolition of the Machhli Bazar Mosque. The Deputation "most respectfully and earnestly" prayed for the restoration of the demolished portion and thought it need hardly assure His Honour "that the order prayed for, if passed, will have the effect of allaying the growing excitement and healing the wounded feelings of the entire Moslem community." And what was Sir James's response? In the first place, he stretched the prayer into the possibility of a request that land be given in compensation for that which was forcibly and sacrilegiously acquired, an attempt which does credit to Sir James's persistence but to little else. In the next place, he showered compliments on the members of the Deputation which could satisfy none but the name. And finally he refused to pass the order prayed for and regretted that it was impossible. Had he stopped at that, it would have, in all conscience, been bad enough. But he did not. He went on to explain why he could not accept the prayer of the Deputation, and thus furnished another example of

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(The excuse for the offence is worse than the offence.)

"Had we met," said Sir James, some weeks ago and discussed the matter as we have done to-day, I cannot say what the result might have been." "But," continued His Honour, "the whole state of affairs has been altered by the events of the 3rd August and I regret it is impossible for me now to pass any such order."

In this case I have to think of the broad administrative considerations which underlie the maintenance of Law and Order, and the neglect of which would mean misgovernment and chaos. Like you I cannot discuss the calamity of the 3rd August while still *sub-judice*, though I may join with you, as I sincerely do, in deploring the loss of life and suffering which have occurred. But, without in any way anticipating the results of the judicial enquiry, it is my clear duty to proceed on the principle that Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force."

Now does this, as interpreted by commonsense and without any diplomatic garnish, mean anything more or less than this that the Justice must take a back seat when Prestige is a competitor? If at most a thousand Mussalmans of Cawnpore, mostly boys and young lads, and older men of little or no education, returning from a crowded meeting composed of all classes of Mussalmans numbering some twenty thousand, had not heaped up loose bricks without mortar on the site of the demolished *Dulan* of the Mosque, and had not been fired upon by the Police for abusing an Inspector and hurling some brickbats when interrupted by the Police and the District Magistrate and killed and wounded to the extent of several hundreds and subsequently arrested to the same extent and locked up and tried the rights and claims of the remaining seventy million Mussalmans might perhaps have been considered. But because these one thousand Cawnpore have behaved as they have done and have died and been wounded in hundreds, and the fate of another hundred odd hangs in the balance in the Sessions, the merits of the case of others in Cawnpore and elsewhere, who never touched a brick of the mosque nor abused a Police Inspector nor stoned the Police and the District Magistrate will never be *sub-judice* and will never be decided upon. This is certainly not justice and if this be "the broad administrative consideration" we are genuinely sorry for "the broad administrative considerations." Had Lord Morley and Lord Minto refused to extend the Legislative Councils and to give Executive Councils to older Provinces, refusing at the same time to appoint Indian Members to the Imperial as well as Provincial Councils, because some of the Indians who wanted a larger share in the administration of their country were plotting the overthrow of Government and the terrorising of its officials, we could have understood though we could never have admired, the motives of their action. But Lord Morley, while he came to give his consent even to the deportation of some Indians suspected of being irreconcilables, never moved by a hair's-breadth from the policy of rallying all the Moderates to his side. And Lord Minto's reply to the taunt of giving way to fear was one that would outlive a thousand "broad administrative considerations" of Sir James Weston. For, said his lordship, a truly strong man is he who is not afraid of being called weak. Judged by these standards, Sir James Weston has proved himself to be as weak as unwise, and we cannot pretend to admire his prowess any more than his prudence. But if Sir James has failed to follow Lord Morley and Lord Minto, has he followed the more recent example of Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge? Let us turn for a moment to the famous Dispatch of the 25th August, 1911. One of the four requirements which the Government of India then regarded as indispensable to make a settlement of the partition question "satisfactory and conclusive" was that it "must be so

clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation." And yet in para 9 the Government of India had to admit that "various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam has no doubt benefited greatly by the partition, and the Muhammadans of the Province who form a large majority of the population are loyal and contented but the resentment among the Bengalis in both the Provinces of Bengal who hold most of the land fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs is as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal." Again in para 13, the Government of India, referring to the partition, stated that it relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share. On the other hand, as we have already pointed out, it was deeply resented by the Bengalis. In para 15 also the 'violent hostility' of the Bengalis is the dominant theme. The Dispatch goes on to say that "although much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Muhammadans of that province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been in a great measure counterbalanced by the violent hostility which the partition has aroused amongst the Bengalis." In effect Government wished us to believe that although the new Province had benefited greatly by the partition, and that justice was at last done to its Moslem population, which was loyal and contented, all these advantages were sufficiently counterbalanced by "the resentment among the Bengalis," by "the bitterness of feeling" which was "very widespread and unyielding," and by their "violent hostility," to have induced Government to modify the partition in the manner in which they did so. If these clear confessions admitting the direct contrary were sufficient for the Government of India and for the Secretary of State "to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour and agitation" then we were astounded at the lack of sense of proportion in Sir James Meeson when he discovered "broad administrative considerations" not in the restoration of the Mosque, an act dictated clearly by a sense of justice as well as by that which the Government of India called 'broad grounds of political and administrative expediency,' but in keeping it unrestored because an unarmed crowd of about a thousand people, mostly boys and young lads, fired by religious zeal hoped to obtain salvation had heaped loose bricks without mortar on the site of the Mosque and were shot down in hundreds, locked up for some weeks, refused bail and tried by a Magistrate whose judicial account has contributed some original ideas and opinions to the legal literature of the world. One would have thought that if the Government of the United Provinces was anything like the public testimonial about the absence of vindictiveness which it gave through His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the authorities and the Police at Cawnpore, the sufferings of the dead, the wounded and the prisoners under trial would have been sufficient to vindicate the prowess and pugnacity of Great Britain with or without the gratuitous insults heaped upon the Counsel for the defence by Judge and Magistrate alike. But not only must the U. P. Government strain at a gnat when the Government of India and the Secretary of State swallowed a manure-moth barely two years ago, but it must run out and set the batteries to slaughter the goat. Sir James must know that his speeches to the Congress Committee and the Arya Samaj are no more lost on the Mussalmans than the advertisement about a *Hindu* Chauffeur for a U. P. Government Car. They are not unlikely to get jealous of the good fortune of their fellow countrymen and to learn to cultivate the arts which have made them so popular with His Honour and his Government. For they cannot forget a silly old saying

کھاری بس نہیں جلا گنجائی کا بیٹی

(He could not do anything to the potter, so he twisted the ears of the she-donkey.) If one can just as easily be a potter, then why remain a she-donkey any longer? This was likely to be the psychology of the Mussalman in the near future.



Indians in South Africa.

PRIVATE cablegrams from South Africa bring the news that the "passive resistance" campaign has again been revived on a very large scale and that hundreds of Indian men and women are courting arrest and that the number will increase from day to day. This step Mr. Gandhi and his comrades have been obliged to take as the South African Union Government, contrary to the terms of the

provisional settlement of 1911, have deliberately broken faith with the Indian community in many important respects. The racial bar—"the bar sinister of inferiority" as Lord Morley aptly described it and against which Indians have been fighting for over ten years—still disfigures the latest Emigration Act so far as the Orange River Free State is concerned. For, according to sec 7 of the New Act, Asiatics alone, not any other people but only Asiatics, have to make a declaration on entering the Free State, humiliating to them, unnecessary for the purposes which the Free Staters have in view and in fact "entirely wanton imposition" as Lord Amulphill has indignantly termed it. The introduction of this clause in the Act is a flagrant breach of faith and even Lord Curzon admitted in the recent debate in the House of Lords that "it was a blot on the Bill."

Another gross instance is in regard to the question of the right of the South African born Indians to enter the Cape. This right which the Indians have been enjoying for years has now been taken away. It would affect prejudicially the interests of as many as 30 to 40 thousand South African born Indians. The Act in this respect stamps an inferior status on them.

A third instance still of the breach of faith on the part of the Union Government is in regard to the taking away of the indentured Indian's right of domicile in Natal. According to the definition of Domicile to clause 39 of the recent Act, an ex-indentured Indian in Natal who had paid the £3 tax and acquired rights of domicile under the existing laws might find himself any day a prohibited immigrant. Lord Sydenham in discussing this provision in the House of Lords pointed out that it was a serious hardship. Lord Curzon went further and said—

The case was really stronger than Lord Sydenham put it, because not only did it apply to the Indian the man who after serving five years under his indenture then settled down in the country to some occupation paying his £3 a year but it applied to his wife and family and it applied to all of them in a very invidious form. In operation it meant that if the man in the interests of his business or for any other reason wanted to leave the country for the purpose of seeing his friends or relatives in India, or went to any other part of the South African Union he thereby lost his right of domicile. And it meant in the case of his wife and family, supposing his wife went home to see her relations in India, supposing he sent his children out to Bombay to be educated, that they lost their right of returning to the country. The Indians felt not only that they were losing a right in Natal which they at present enjoyed but they regarded it as an attempt to force them back into indentured labour or, if they were not willing to go back into indentured labour, then to drive them out of the country.

The most reactionary provision of the recent Act is that which takes away the right of appeal to the Supreme Court and makes the aggrieved Indians more or less victims at the hands of Emigration Boards constituted by South African officials who are steeped in racial bias. Hitherto Indians have enjoyed the right of appeal to the Supreme Court "on facts as well as on law." That right has now been reduced to an appeal on law only.

And all these reactionary provisions have found a place in the recent Act which is being enforced since August 1, despite the clear declaration made by Lord Crewe on behalf of His Majesty's Government, in a despatch dated October 7 1910, "that any solution that preposterous or weakens the position of Indians in Cape Colony and Natal would not be acceptable to His Majesty's Government."

Amongst other breaches of faith on the part of the Union Government I must not fail to mention the case of the Poll-tax. According to the Emigration Law Amendment Act of 1895, and by subsequent Act, every Indian immigrant imported into the Province at the termination of five years' indenture is called upon if he or she wishes to remain in the Colony to pay in addition to the annual £1 poll-tax imposed upon every male adult, an annual payment of £3, a similar sum is payable by both male and female offspring commencing from the age of 13 in girls and 16 years in the case of youths. It is apparent that an Indian immigrant, out of an average income of £12 to £15 per annum, which is the total sum he is capable of earning, has to pay £4 to the State for the privilege of earning that sum in that country under the protection of the Union Jack, and if he is the proud possessor of an immigrant consort he should pay for that privilege an additional sum of £3. And if he has any children, for each of them he must pay £3 a head. These Acts, apart from the severe hardship which is inflicted on them, have been the ruin of many a home, and it has blighted the future career of many girls and youths by driving them to destitution and immorality.

The imposition of this £3 tax has been a constant source of irritation and when the Hon. Mr. Gokhale went to South Africa to study the situation on the spot, he came to the conclusion that it was a cruel and unjust imposition. On his representing the matter very strongly "the Ministers definitely promised Mr. Gokhale this £3 poll tax should be repealed and the Ministers told the Governor-General that they had given him this promise." And yet attempts are being made by responsible South African officials to explain away this promise in a most unworthy manner. Let me add that the object of this cruel poll tax is nothing else but to utilise it as an instrument "for driving Indian labourers into re-indenture." As many as 20,000 Indians are liable to pay

this tax : and yet, on an average, only 8,000 have been able to pay it. Of the untold misery and sufferings to which the remaining thousands are subject I cannot find words enough to describe.

I wish also to refer to a cruel and ambiguous provision in the recent Emigration Act regarding the recognition of marriages celebrated in South Africa according to Hindu or Mahomedan rites. The recent decision of the Supreme Court at Pietermaritzburg in the case of an Indian whose wife was declared to be a restricted immigrant on the plea that the marriage was polygamous, because the plaintiff had married the woman under Mahomedan rites, in a country permitting polygamous marriages, is simply staggering.

Not content with all this the authorities in South Africa are stringently and rigorously enforcing all legal and administrative provisions against Indians in all possible directions. It is impossible to condemn in sufficiently strong language the part which the Colonial Secretary and the Imperial Government have played in regard to this matter. The recent Emigration Bill which has been the subject of so much criticism was introduced in the Union Parliament on the 14th April, was passed on the 18th June and received the assent of the Governor-General on the following day. It is astounding that the Governor-General should have given his assent to this Bill the moment it was passed without an opportunity to the Imperial Government to scrutinise it. It is astounding still that the Colonial Secretary should have neglected to discharge an obvious duty which he owes to His Majesty and his Indian subjects. No wonder that Lord Amulhull, Sydenham and Curzon have complained that His Majesty's Government have failed to recognise the seriousness of the situation and deal with it in a statesmanlike manner.

I have taken the liberty of encroaching upon your space with a view to putting before the public how real and just are the grievances of His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa, and how under the circumstances narrated above, they are justified in starting once more the campaign of passive resistance—the only peaceful and constitutional method of agitation left open to them. The Indians of South Africa are now determined to see that the objectionable provisions of the latest Act are removed from the Statute Book. They appeal to the Imperial and Indian Governments and also to the Indian and British public and to the press to do their utmost to protect them from this un-British and autocratic legislation. They also make an earnest appeal to the Crown to exercise its Royal prerogative of vetoing this measure within twelve months of the date of promulgation. Until this is done, Mr. Gandhi and his brave band of followers, men and women of all classes and creeds, and of various stations in life, will be required to go to jail any number of times and undergo ordeals fearlessly and dauntlessly as they have done in the past. And while the passive resisters are in jail, hundreds of business firms and individual traders and hawkers, will find their trade paralysed, not to speak of the desolation and misery which will be brought on many a home in South Africa. The present campaign of passive resistance will be the fiercest ever witnessed. And the Hon. Mr. Gokhale who has just returned from England advises the Indian South African League to make a public appeal for funds in aid of our suffering countrymen in South Africa.

The Indian South African League sincerely hopes that the present appeal for funds will bring a response which will be befitting the heroic character of the struggle in which our countrymen are just now engaged.

I am glad to be able to state that the response to my personal appeal for funds has been encouraging. I wish in particular to refer to the generous donation of £100 (Rs. 1500) which Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, one of the most public spirited citizens of Madras, has been pleased to give. On behalf of the League I desire to thank him not only for the munificent donation but for the readiness with which he offered it.

The following is the first list of subscriptions :

	Ra
Mr. C. P. Ramasami Aiyer, B. A., B. L.	... 1,500
Mr. K. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B. A., B. L.	... 150
Dewan Bahadur Govindarajulu Aiyar	... 100
The Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar	... 100
The Hon. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma	... 100
Mr. T. Neugebauer, B. A., B. L.	... 100
Mr. G. A. Natesan	... 100
Total	... 2,150

The Indian South African League sincerely hopes that political Associations and leading gentlemen in the mufussil will soon respond to this appeal.

It is requested that all subscriptions be sent direct to The Indian Bank, Ltd., to the credit of the Indian South African League.

MADRAS :
13th October 1913.

G. A. NAIESAN,
Joint Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Panjab Moslem League and its Recent Activities.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—It was really with considerable amusement coupled with commiseration that I read only the other day in the columns of the *Civil & Military Gazette* a rather noisy account of the recent activities of the Executive Committee of the Panjab Moslem League in connection with the general Moslem situation in India, as it existed prior to the message of peace delivered in person by His Excellency Lord Hardinge at Cawnpore,—that centre and fountain head whence proceeded the stream of bitterness that mingled with and affected with poison the wholesome and sweet waters of the great rivers of Islam in India. The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi's past career as a public worker had never been an honourable one, but his recent outpourings, pitched in true Congress key, over the imperative necessity of conjoint political work between the two most important communities of India, and his presidency of a mass meeting in the Bradlaugh Hall, rich with the memories and traditions of true Congress Savants, where a united protest was entered against the continuance of an administrative practice, to which the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy stood eternally wedded, had led the wondering public of the Nationalistic School to expect that, after all, Mr. Shafi was going to throw off the swaddling clothes of overweening Loyalty and thus redeem his past. But the Muhammadan community of the Panjab that understood too well Mr. Shafi's moves, and ever received them with considerable distrust, mingled with suspicion sounded at once a warning note, and knew full well that the new wine of the Swaraj could not possibly stay long in a brittle Loyalty flask. Soon the loud and tall talks of Hindu-Moslem co-operation in the field of politics became an echo of the past, and those practical schemes of securing this millennium, which were being proclaimed from house-tops, as it were, retraced their steps into the limbo of the Dead whence they had been dragged out to regale temporarily a foolish public. Anxious however to regain the precious ground of official favour, which a rather precipitate drifting into the whirlpool of All-India politics had lost him, the Honourable gentleman began trading upon his own community and found a golden opportunity for his object in the Delhi meeting convened by the Notables of Islam in India, honestly perhaps to tide over a great crisis in the life of the community. He immediately repaired to Lahore and in pursuance of the cue obtained from Imperial Delhi, convened a meeting of the Executive Committee of his Provincial League and opened the proceedings with a speech full of inanities and vague generalities calculated to impress the authorities. He condemned the intemperance of language indulged in by a certain section of the Press in India and branded the general excitement among the Moslems as undesirable and without any justifying cause. It is unnecessary for me to traverse categorically Mr. Shafi's findings. They are not worth the paper and the effort at refutation, and the community can never even deign to cast a passing look towards them. His Excellency Lord Hardinge's action in restoring the demolished portion of the mosque and thus laying unction and balm to the lacerated heart of a great community is our best answer to those ill-mannered croakers and unwise critics who open their lips after the event. But as remarked above, it is merely wasting time to correct those Sir Oracles who saw no justification in the condition of ferment of the Indian Moslems. My most immediate object at present is to enquire of the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi and his colleagues of the Executive Committee as to why they sealed their lips so long and did not come forward with their belated advice earlier than the Delhi meeting, although the Cawnpore affair had been troubling the mind of the community for several months. Can the Executive Committee of the Provincial Moslem League quote to its credit any earlier resolution diagnosing the present situation and prescribing effective remedies for its solution? If the reply is in the negative, one is led to the inevitable inference that evidently the Honourable Mr. Shafi and his

myrmidons of the Provincial League took their inspiration from Delhi, and by passing ineffective and empty resolutions in quick succession to the Delhi meeting and by advertising them in the Anglo-Indian Press, perhaps hoped to regain the ears of the official hierarchy which had turned away from them in wrath, and also to share with the Nawab of Rampore the credit of any result that was expected to follow the now famous gathering at Delhi. Government can certainly realise that such wordy resolutions from almost defunct institutions that do not carry with them the voice of the public, can serve no purpose and merely represent the halting efforts of those would-be leaders, whom a scrutinising public has dethroned from their pedestals, to regain their prestige, at any rate, in the eyes of the Government, if not of their own community. But the community must not pass over with silence such tactics. It must apply the Surgeon's lancet to these sores in its body politic and must either end them or heal them. It is really inexplicable that the *Observer* should have seen in the resolutions under consideration of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Muslim League an "assertion of the inner elements of the community." But leave the *Observer* to its own musings. The resolutions in question deserve to be publicly condemned, and I propose that a general vote of censure should be passed at every district centre against the audacious Executive Committee of the Provincial Muslim League or at any rate against the opening speech of its Secretary. The veteran Islamic Press should also bring forth its whip and mercilessly lash such of our *Gandum Auna Jan Farosh* as make light of and play with the most dearly loved and highly cherished sentiments of the community.

DEMOCRITUS.



Reminiscences of the Railway Police.

III.

I must redeem the promise, made in a previous letter, to briefly describe the way in which the professional poisoner, who selects railway carriages for his field of operations, carries out his "nefarious little plans." A man of this class finds little difficulty in marking down a likely subject for his purpose, a rich *bahadur* or a simple rustic zamindar bound on a pilgrimage to one of the many sacred shrines of the Hindu religion. Crowded though the third class compartments usually are, an Indian passenger seldom troubles about the affairs of his fellow travellers. The poisoner contrives to get into conversation with such quarry as his discrimination assures him will repay the execution of his criminal designs, and soon offers the victim hospitality in the form of *shebet*, or *chappatis* with a layer of *sidy* or some other vegetable, rolled so as to resemble a giant sandwich, or perhaps an invitation to take a pull at his *chulah*. The last mentioned device requires greater skill in correct placing of *dhatara*—the poison almost invariably employed—than the *shebet* or *chappati* medium. It is not the wish of a poisoner to kill his dupe, thus incurring the guilt of murder, but merely to rob it. Later to a state of insensibility, lasting sometimes for nearly twenty-four hours. Of course the worst, as well as the best of us make occasional mistakes, and an overdose of *dhatara* may prove fatal to the victim swallowing it. As soon as the drug begins to take effect, the poisoner pretends anxious solicitude about the sudden disposition of his friend, declares that he must be suffering from *balhac* (fever), a complaint made to explain most Indian sick attacks. He assists the half-sensile traveller to alight at some small roadside station, and assists him to the *manzilkhana*, a place resembling a *serai* and which corresponds to the Waiting Room provided for Europeans. If his exit from the train occurs at night—and more especially during the cold weather—either the railway employees or the other occupants of the place are likely to pay attention to the sick man and his companion. To relieve the sleeper of the purse or coin cloth containing rupees or notes is an easy matter for an expert in that line of business, and the poisoner—the body safely conveyed to his own keeping—takes a ticket for some distant centre, commonly returning along the route he followed when he fell in with his prey. Before that luckless mortal has recovered consciousness and can report his loss, also give a description of the individual who administered the *dhatara*, the crafty poisoner is a couple of hundred miles away from the scene of his crime. Under these circumstances, the trade of poisoning on railways is a fairly safe, and paying, one to adopt. Fortunately for the community at large, poisoners of the professional type are not exempt from the strange folly that leads to the detection of most people engaged in crime. They become attached to a particular inn—as the carnivora also do—and eventually attract the notice of the constables on guard duty with all Passenger and Mail trains. Their movements are watched, and the time arrives when they are caught in *flagrante delicto*, the handcuffs are slipped on to their wrists and they disappear from their favourite haunts for a period of seven or ten years, according to the length of time they have practised the profession of drugging and robbing unsuspecting travellers and the number of cases that can

be proved against them. I doubt if poisoners work in gangs or belong to any secret society devoted to *zeekrani* (poisoning), after the manner of the now extinct *Thugs*, those worshippers of Bhownani and handlers of the deadly *roomal*. During a long experience of Police work, I have come across instances where a poisoner had a young boy with him, probably engaged to act the part of a decoy, or as proof of the tender nature of his supposed parent or guardian. There must always have been the risk of a lad of tender years yielding to Police pressure—in the event of being arrested—and confessing what he had seen while a travelling companion of his quondam "guide, philosopher, and friend", the professional administrator of hurtful drugs.

Europeans are prone to accuse the Indians of attaching scant value to statements made before a Court on oath, giving their evidence from motives of a personal nature, or in accordance with financial arrangements made by the opposing parties in the Cutcherry compound. Still for hard swearing, it would be hard to beat what one sometimes hears in the course of a Joint Enquiry when an accident happens on the line and the authorities strive to ascertain where lies the blame, with the Traffic or the Loco. Branch of the railway service. A strong, if mistaken, *esprit de corps* prevails on these occasions and most contradictory versions of the same set of facts are readily given. Of course the witnesses are not placed on their oath, or solemn affirmation, yet it is not too much to expect them to relate what they may know of the accident, as truthfully as lies in their power. When it is remembered how the locking of points, the handling of signals, and other matters connected with the safety of running trains are entrusted—to a great extent—to the mercies of the Indian staff, you feel inclined to believe that in the existence of a "sweet little cherni, who sits up aloft," and who must look after the lives of passengers, drivers, and guards, with the same care as a similar angelic being is supposed to watch over those who go down to the sea in ships. In the case of Mail and Passenger trains, a stationmaster is held responsible for seeing that the points are properly locked, but I doubt if that duty is not often relegated to an Indian pointsman. On a cold winter's night, when the Aryan brother waxes somnolent and performs his work half asleep, half awake, it is cause for wonder, and congratulation, that serious accidents on Indian lines are of rare occurrence. In fact, all events of this sort with which I had to deal took place in shunting vehicles, and within the precincts of what is termed the Station Yard. Fatalities did not attend such collisions as a rule, though I remember a *conteste* of this sort at Cawnpore where a pointsman was killed, and where the Joint Inquiry had not only to contend against the petulant utterances of Traffic and Loco. officials, but those of representatives of two rival Companies, the East Indian and the Cudd & Rohilkhand. The proceedings lasted several days and unless my memory plays me false—a decision of the "not proven" description was finally delivered.

There were sundry privileges granted to Inspector of the Railway Police thanks to which his pay went a bit further than would otherwise have been the case. One could purchase goods from Refreshment Rooms at Company's rates, about half what the ordinary traveller has to pay, and were given free Passes for a servant, an Orderly and—at request—one of your detectives. It takes some time to grow accustomed to the fatigue of constant journeying up and down the line, but these must be made in order to exercise the supervision over the subordinates, posted at small stations and under charge of a Sub-Divisional Officer of the same standing as a *Thumdar* in the District Police. Besides, T. A. had to be earned in order to increase the salary of a hundred rupees, the amount paid to me as an operating Inspector. It took me a week or two to conquer the weariness arising from rattling along, at all hours of the day or night, and frequently obliged to alight at some roadside station at an unorthodox hour. Since I had joined the Force when the hot weather was in full swing, I found this perpetual railway travelling very irksome to start with, but soon got accustomed to the motion of the trains and a sort of instinct for your awaking at the time of reaching your destination. With the advent of the cold weather, I enjoyed seeing the East train discharge its cargo of people, returning from leave to England, when we reached Mankpur Junction, then the halting spot for *chota hazri*. It is all very well to grumble at India and talk of its being a land of exile, but the majority of the male passengers seemed anything but sorry to be back again amid the old familiar surroundings and lit their after-breakfast cigar with an air of cheerfulness, not always visible when the same individuals were met in Town, or leading a dull life at some cheap seaside resort. India still is the country, *per se*, for the gentleman of moderate means. In my next, and last, article about the Railway Police, I shall endeavour to sketch the characteristics of some of the subordinates who served under me, also of some of the quaint persons encountered on my journeys along the line.

A. N. G.

The Cawnpore Settlement.

Press Opinions.

The "Indian Daily News."

THE sudden visit of the Viceroy to Cawnpore over the Mosque question is one of the first attempts in India to meet a critical situation by personal treatment, and Lord Hardinge is to be congratulated on seeing into things for himself. Lord Hardinge will hear from his military and other ignorant friends that he has been weak and that it is a great mistake in India to show weakness. Nothing is further from the truth. It is the weak man who refuses to learn, who talks of force and of never giving way. The strong man enquires and if he is wrong admits it, and to admit you are in the wrong is an elementary sign of strength. The result will be an enormous revolution of feeling among the Mahomedans and an increase in their feeling of loyalty to the Crown, because they see that they can get relief at last. To have continued the proceedings would have led to ten years' ill feeling, at the end of which something of the sort that Lord Hardinge has done to-day would have had to come. And so ten years of ill-will and disaffection on the part of the Mahomedan subjects of India has been avoided. Lord Hardinge has justified his position as a ruler of men and as an Englishman—a species almost extinct in India. The Mahomedans, we think Lord Hardinge will find, will not be ungrateful.

From the telegram which we get from Cawnpore about Sir James Meeson's feelings, we draw the inference that he will not resign, and in fact resignations are very unfashionable—and indeed not profitable. Since Sir Bamfylde tried to bluff, and got taken at his word people hesitate even at bluffing, and really it is hard on an official to be put to such an alternative. Officials are not rich as a rule, and in fact no one nowadays can afford that most expensive of luxuries "self respect." Sir Bamfylde even regrets it, as one can see from his excursions into the *Times*, whenever he can pick up the Government of India, and one hardly knows whether to laugh at him or pity him. We are now discreetly told from Cawnpore what Sir James Meeson would have done in certain events—he would not have returned if something had not been done to save his face, but in fact he will return right enough. But he has had a lesson in the art of governing, a lesson which he ought really to have brought away from South Africa, for he was one of the celebrated "Kindergarten" the set of extremely clever, able, brazen and everything else young men with whom Lord Milner surrounded himself when he proceeded to govern South Africa. It was a brazen Kindergarten, the members were all governed by the rules of logic, who gathered premises as others gather premises and formed syllogisms but with results not at all satisfactory. Where they ought to have succeeded logically, they failed contrary to all the rules of the logic, and the Kindergarten became a Herod's tragedy. It was broken up by the reluctance of the Boers to be ruled by logic, and the Cawnpore crisis has been also due to the absurd abhorrence of all ordinary human beings for logic. Sir James, in fact, is one of those splendid persons, who prefer to be wrong with Plato, but to be wrong with Plato is to invite the same fate as Plato. Condemnation by the ignorant? Perhaps so, but in order to rule the ignorant you must share their prejudices, you must not be too wise, too always right, too preternaturally clever. Otherwise the only true position in life for you is to be Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford. And the only two members Plato would have come to grief at Cawnpore.

The "Bombay Chronicle"

Too much importance need not be attached to the violent criticisms of Lord Hardinge's action in regard to the Cawnpore Mosque affair, which have appeared in some of the Anglo-Indian papers. These papers represent a class of people in this country, not large, but extremely "vocal," who are quite incapable of appreciating the fact that, if a Government would be strong, it must first be just, and that if it is strong it can afford to be magnanimous. India has become accustomed to their gloomy prognostications and noisy protests whenever an official mistake is rectified or a large-hearted policy carried into effect. The *Englishman*, of Calcutta, is, as usual, thrown into a paroxysm of hysterics over the event, which, it declares, may prove to be "a greater blow to British prestige in India than was the disaster at Maiwand,"—or let us add, Maud Allan! Sir James Meeson, it urges, regardless of the facts that he "fully concurs" with the Viceroy's action, would do better to resign than return to "face the indignities to which he will now be subjected," and we are solemnly assured that the Cawnpore settlement proves what the reversal of the Partition suggested,—that "Government trembles before violence!" The only danger to British prestige that exists in India at the present moment, so far as we know, is the licence which journals like the *Englishman* enjoy to revile and belittle the Government in the eyes of their readers whenever things are not done in

accordance with their way of thinking. They are the greatest enemies of the "prestige" of which they are always prating, and for which it is clear they have not in reality the smallest respect or concern. But this hysterical and almost incoherent screed of the *Englishman* is hardly to be taken seriously. We had all this sort of thing, *ad nauseam*, at the time of the Delhi changes, and recently the *Englishman* in a moment of unaccustomed sobriety, has been constrained to admit the change for the better which the policy of justice and conciliation and the reversal of an admitted error brought about in that instance. We do not know that the protests of other journals, though expressed with less violence, are of any more importance. They most of them write with a sublime indifference to facts. The reversal of the policy of one of the most brilliant members of the Civil Service is made a feature of their criticism as though brilliance and the Civil Service were sort of sacrosanct things that should make the admission of error impossible, and, in face of the Viceroy's definite and unqualified statement that this most brilliant member of the Civil Service was in agreement with the action taken. "One of most extraordinary situations which have marked the history of British rule in India," says the *Statesman*, with an abandonment of all sense of proportion, while the *Civil & Military Gazette* is indignant at the interference of the Governor-General with a provincial governor, wishing apparently to set up a sort of new constitution for India, in which the Viceroy, like a constitutional monarch with his cabinet, would merely exist as a sort of figurehead to register the decrees of the provincial governors. All this exaggerated and eccentric writing merely demonstrates how foolish it would be to attach any importance to the views of these representatives of European opinion, the more sober portion of which will, we believe, recognise the wisdom of the Viceroy's action, as the *Times of India* in its dignified comment seems inclined to do. It is more profitable to turn to the comments which are being made in these quarters where this "trembling before violence" is supposed to be going to have so dangerous an effect. Here we find, in the telegrams which are pouring in on the Viceroy from Moslem Associations, and the restrained and appreciative expression of opinion in the Indian papers, that magnanimity and concession to religious sentiment are having just the effect that we predicted. The generous action of Lord Hardinge is being taken in exactly the right spirit, and instead of being received as an encouragement to agitation and violence, is regarded as "another link of the golden chain which already binds Lord Hardinge to the hearts of the Indian people."

The "Indian Social Reformers."

The situation was embarrassing in the extreme to the Mussulmans as well as to the non-Mussulman press which was anxious to uphold the authority of Government and to see that nothing happened to cloud the bright hopes formed of Sir James Meeson's régime. If there is one thing more than another which goes against the grain of Indian conceptions of right and wrong, it is the defence of anything which even seems to savour of sacrilege. To the Hindu, and this is equally true of the Indian Mahomedan of the cultured class, all religions are equally sacred. They are so many different roads to the one Goal, the one far-off Event towards which the whole creation moves. The occasional conflicts of the rabble of both communities, do not in the least represent the abiding and long-established sentiments of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities to each other's religious feelings. When the consensus of Mahomedan feeling insisted that the portions of the mosque demolished was an integral part of the mosque, the attempts to make out that it was not so, smacked a little too much of special pleading. We have not the least doubt, now that the cases pending before the magistrate have been withdrawn, that the action of the local authorities in demolishing the disputed part of the mosque was precipitate and imprudent.

So much should have been clear to every one who looked at the question from a detached standpoint. It must have been evident to the Viceroy who has shown in various ways that it is not only his judgment and his vast experience of men and things, but also, and most of all, his conscience, that he is called upon to apply to the problems of administration that come before him. The unique reverence—we use the word advisedly—which the country feels for him, arises from the conviction that to him in small matters as in great the voice of the inward monitor is supreme. Let his critics say what they will, the action of the Viceroy has added to the enduring strength of the hold of British rule on the considered judgment of thoughtful persons of all classes and creeds. An immense responsibility rests on the community of India, and more particularly on the Mahomedan community, to

prove beyond cavil that they can and do appreciate the Viceroy's courageous and magnanimous action. We should not omit to add that the announcement that the settlement now effected is in accordance with Sir James Meeson's advice, and that it will not involve his resignation, has been received with sincere satisfaction. India can ill afford to lose an administrator of his moral and intellectual calibre. A single error of judgment can not obliterate the devotion of many years.

The "Poona Mail"

We fear a grave blunder has been perpetrated at Cawnpore, and the only grain of satisfaction to be derived from the transaction is that the Government of India has been brave enough though at the last moment, to face the music. We refuse to admit Lord Hardinge made a case for the withdrawal of the charges. We venture to point out that in such a matter as this the individual desire of the Viceroy or the desire of the Government of India must not alone be considered. There is such a thing as public weal, and this seems to us to have been ignored. The premature exercise of clemency in favour of the Cawnpore accused will work an unwholesome influence among many who in this country to-day seek to place themselves in direct conflict with established law and order.

The "Parsce."

It is a generous solution, for which the authorities deserve special recognition. Indian communities will always regard it with feelings of profound admiration for the spirit which Lord Hardinge has brought to bear on the administrative problems of India. To the Moslem world it is a solution which must appeal as worthy of the greatest Moslem power in the world. It is a great moral gain that Government have learnt to study and appreciate the point of view of the aggrieved communities in questions respecting their social grievances.

The "Observer."

News of the settlement will be hailed with irrepressible delight throughout Moslem India and Lord Hardinge's magnanimous statesmanship will evoke universal gratitude. His Excellency has not only carried peace to Cawnpore Mussalmans, but applied an ointment to the lacerated feelings of Mahomedans throughout India.

The "Indian Spectator."

H. E. Lord Hardinge had the privilege of enjoying the confidence of a Sovereign who was known as the Peace-Maker of Europe. The disciple has learnt the art and carries out the traditions of his master. It was a wonder to us how under a Viceroy who had given peace to Bengal—at least to the moderate section of the political thinkers of the province—by revising the first partition, the mosque affair at Cawnpore could be allowed to assume proportions which the dispute about a few feet of ground could hardly justify. We suppose that Sir James Meeson had to look to the prestige of some local officers, and the Government of India could not ignore the prestige of the Local Government. It is no good dwelling upon the story it has ended happily. A solution has been found for the difficulty, in which the municipality, the Local Government, and the trustees of the mosque have all concurred. It is so simple that the wonder is that the disputants did not think of it before. It consists in raising the level of the *damm* and thus meeting the convenience of the foot-passengers below as well as of the worshippers at the mosque. The relative position of the different parts of the structure remains the same as before. Thus the prestige of all parties is saved, and what is more, the charge against the alleged rioters is withdrawn in view of the settlement and the sufferings already undergone by them. The Moslem world in India must now resound with the cry, "Long live Lord Hardinge, the Peace-Maker!"

The "Madras Mail."

We trust that the announcement made by the Viceroy at Cawnpore closes the painful episode which has so agitated Mahomedan circles in India. We entirely approve of the action taken so far as the dupes of the agitators are concerned, and in view of all the circumstances, we are not disposed to question even the extension of clemency to the agitators themselves. But we hope that no one among the less responsible of the new leaders of Mahomedan opinion, whom recent events have brought into temporary prominence, will fall into the error of confusion, clemency with a weak concession to an outcry. With the settlement of this matter, there should be a better change of those wiser leaders, to whom the Mahomedan community and India owe so much, making themselves heard again.

The "Punjabee."

In a recent article on the lessons of the Cawnpore affair we had occasion to institute a comparison between that affair and the Partition of Bengal, not because we believed the grievance in the one case to be anything like as real or as serious as the grievance in the other, but because there were points of similarity between the agitations in the two cases and, what was more, the Mahomedans themselves seemed to think that their wishes had been as completely ignored in the decision arrived at by the Cawnpore authorities as

those of the Hindus had been in the case of the Partition. His Excellency the Viceroy has now completed the parallel. When it was announced a few days ago that the Viceroy had decided to pay a visit to Cawnpore in connection with the mosque affair, those who knew Lord Hardinge had no difficulty in anticipating what was coming. His Excellency would not have consented to go to Cawnpore, if he had not found a solution of the Cawnpore trouble and if he had not felt sure that he would be able to bring peace. Of the solution that he has found and which he announced in the speech he made in reply to the address presented to him at Cawnpore, it is necessary for us to say little. It is enough that both the Mahomedans as well as the local authorities seem to have loyally accepted His Excellency's decision. That it should have been reserved for His Excellency to arrive at so simple a solution of what was represented as a matter in respect of which there could be no compromise is no very complimentary either to the local and Provincial authorities or to the Mahomedans themselves, and the suggestion made in the telegram to the *Civil & Military Gazette* that Mahomedans would not have been satisfied if the terms now accepted had been offered by the Local Government or the District authorities is quite as little complimentary to either. The one party to whom the settlement now arrived at is in the highest degree complimentary is His Excellency the Viceroy. His mission in this country, he can now boast and boast rightly, is to bring peace. Twice during his Viceroyalty has he been called upon to meet situations of equal difficulty and complexity. On both occasions he has vindicated his statesmanship and justified the confidence reposed in him by his King and country.

The "Bombay Gazette"

It may be that the Viceroy's act will not meet with universal approval but at all events it will have the effect of allaying the feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in Cawnpore and of unrest caused by the incident of August last among the Mahomedan community generally, and that is its only justification. A hundred and six under-trial prisoners without discrimination were liberated and the charges against them were withdrawn. It is here that the action of His Excellency will be criticised, and under ordinary circumstances we should have asked questions as to the consistency of words and actions. As an act of clemency, it is surely without parallel, and we trust that it will not be misread as one of weakness. If it bring permanent peace and contentment not only in Cawnpore but among the whole of the Mahomedan community in India it will not have been in vain.

The "Advocate of India"

Lord Hardinge has shown in this matter a generous desire to conciliate the community which has felt itself grieved, and has taken a course which only a strong Government could afford to follow but which few rulers would have the courage to pursue. It is very sincerely to be hoped that the magnanimity displayed by His Excellency will not be misunderstood or taken advantage of, that the Mahomedan community will recognise in its evidence of the goodwill, often sorely tried, entertained towards it by the Government, and that all India will appreciate the Viceroy's action and remarks as proof of the spirit of justice and widespread tolerance underlying British rule.

The "Jam-e-Jamshed"

The message of peace which H. E. the Viceroy gave to the Mahomedans of Cawnpore will delight the whole of the Mahomedan world. The Liberal policy which Lord Hardinge has adopted in regard to the mosque affair will be cause of rejoicing not only to Mahomedans but to all Indian communities. We assure the Government that Indians greatly appreciate the liberal policy of the Viceroy which has rather enhanced than decreased the prestige of the Government in the eye of the Indian populace. There is no doubt it will restore confidence in the intentions of the Government and the Viceroy's meritorious administration will find an immortal place in Indian history.

The "Madras Times"

Mahomedans in India after this magnanimous pardon of the ill-advised misdoings of the Cawnpore crowd will not only be convinced of the clemency of the Government but of their policy of strict neutrality in religious matters. Lord Hardinge possesses the strength of the proverbial giant, but he declined to exercise that strength in a tyrannical manner, and preferred to pardon the guilty and to give the blessing of peace to the Mahomedan community. Lord Hardinge's policy in this matter should appeal to every generous mind.

The "Hindu."

We are glad Lord Hardinge has done the right thing in as far as was possible in rehabilitating the portion of mosque which had been demolished, and in directing the prosecution of those who were concerned in the riot to be withdrawn. An act like this, far from striking a blow at British prestige, as foolishly imagined in some quarters, will strengthen the hold of Government upon the confidence of the people.

The "Indian Patriot."

We are sure that mercy will not be mistaken for weakness by the better class of Mahomedans, who know full well that nothing would have been easier for the Government than to have persisted in its course by the policy now resolved upon. The Government have shown the greatest consideration for Mahomedan feeling, which we have no doubt will be widely appreciated.

The "Express."

There were not wanting signs that the good sense of the Moslem community was decisively asserting itself. Not that the extremists have moderated their crude demands, they still sway the press and their voice is as strident as ever. But even now, amid the din, could be heard the voice of reason and of self-respect, and taking one thing with another, it is a reasonable inference that the recent agitation had spent its force. The dramatic intervention of the Viceroy in the affair of the Cawnpore mosque will perhaps tend to still further allay the prevailing unrest. That unrest originated largely in circumstances lying outside the sphere of Indian administrative action. The Moslem community had undoubtedly been stirred to its depths by events in Turkey. One readily sympathises with the sentiment that was roused, but it found expression in forms, and gave rise to demands, hardly reconcilable with reason. At this stage, the incident of the Cawnpore mosque occurred and at once diverted the attention of the agitators to a local, tangible "grievance" which was made the pretext for delivering a concentrated attack on the Government. The Viceroy's speech makes it perfectly clear how entirely the local Moslem community was responsible for the ugly turn that events took. At the same time, it must be said that had the authorities of the United Provinces Government been wise, the world might never have heard of the miserable street improvement scheme at Cawnpore. It ought to have been held in abeyance—it had been in a state of suspended animation for two or three years—or even dropped altogether. Our executive officers possess great merits and undoubted abilities, but they are lacking in the quality of imagination in most deplorable measure. The agitators were astute enough to make the most of the act of the blundering officials of Cawnpore.

It seems ungracious to criticise the speech of a statesman who truly described himself as a messenger of peace and who has, by a finely conceived course of policy, conciliated a community in the throes of an agitation however misguided. And we deliberately refrain from criticism. For their part, the Moslem community is said to be satisfied. At any rate they should be. But is the Government really satisfied that it has done right? Ought the public at large to be satisfied that law and authority have been vindicated? We gravely doubt it, and we venture to say that those who have a clear comprehension of the main facts of this deplorable affair will doubt it too.

We think the settlement should have come later in point of time and that it should have taken another form. The mosque should have been restored not partially and clumsily but wholly. The only effect of the present compromise will be that around the square and the footpath will cluster bitter memories of August 1st. We hold, too, that no settlement of the mosque affair should have been made till after the conclusion of the trial of the under-trial prisoners. In other words, their prosecution should have been proceeded with, followed eventually by clemency. In fact, the putting with the law at this stage is a grievous blunder. The Crown went as far as it could in meeting the defences half way, but the overtures were publicly rejected. The Viceroy says that the under-trial prisoners have already "suffered severely." They elected to "suffer severely" in open court, rather than accept the reasonable compromise that was offered by the Crown. And now the Government has withdrawn the prosecution altogether. We repeat this is not vindicating the law. The Local Government has been placed in a most invidious position, in the temporary absence, too, of its permanent chief. What the future consequences of the grave step now taken may be cannot be foreseen; but they must be considerable. If the prosecution of the accused has been rightly dropped, how can the Crown undertake the prosecution of anybody in analogous cases in which religious feelings have been roused and offences against public order have resulted? We frame this question without endeavouring to answer it.

The "Advocate."

A Simla telegram to the following effect has been published.

"It is announced that the Viceroy has received a telegram from Sir James Weston expressing gratitude for His Excellency's intervention in the matter of the Cawnpore Mosque incident, and delight at the successful settlement of the unfortunate episode. The Viceroy has also received a message of congratulation from the Secretary of State in the same connection."

This news will be read with feelings of gratification throughout these Provinces and let us hope will also allay the feeling of anger of the Anglo-Indian press. The entire Indian Press approves of the action of His Excellency the Viceroy and joins in the hope that the

wise action taken by him will remove all dissatisfaction. Meetings of Mahomedans have been held at Amroha under the presidency of Nawab Vikarul-Mulk, at Moradabad, Poona, Madras and other places to express gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy. Calcutta has raised a voice of dissent, but this ought to be drowned in the chorus of approval. The feeling at Cawnpore is of genuine satisfaction. On Wednesday night an attempt was made to illuminate certain houses in the prominent Bazzars of Cawnpore, but these attempts were prevented. It is believed that Mahomedans of Cawnpore will fix a special day for rejoicings.

The "Civil and Military Gazette."

As for the Cawnpore mosque affair, if anything is certain it is that it (agitation) was engineered from start to finish. There was no real grievance for anyone to redress. But just because the Mahomedan community's passion had been aroused something had to be done to pacify them. So far as we have been able to see, those passions were gradually dying down of their accord; a very large section of the community had already begun to realise that agitation had lost a good deal of the force which the energies of certain industrious and not over wise persons had given to it. If clemency had to come—and no doubt such accused in the rioting cases as were guilty of the charges brought against them were not the real offenders from a moral point of view—it could have come and should have come when the law had been fully vindicated. The dropping of the cases at this stage is liable, we regret to say, to be read as a sign of weakness such as has caused Government policy of late years to be described with some justice as a policy of "cane and jam"—and "jam" distributed to those who deserve to be "canned." Then, again, we cannot think that the intervention of the Viceroy in a matter of this kind is altogether prudent. It may establish an unfortunate precedent. Provincial Governors ought to be left to manage the affairs of their own provinces with as little interference as possible from the Governor-General-in-Council or otherwise. If Viceroy's are to be expected to intervene in disputes of this nature, the authority of Local Governments will rapidly disappear; there will be a tendency constantly to appeal to Simla over the Governors' heads and a growing temptation to listen to such appeals. These are tendencies that require to be rigorously checked and for this reason, however much we may sympathise with His Excellency's desire to bring peace to the land, we cannot regard his intervention on this occasion as wholly wise. All that we can do is to hope that events will show that His Excellency has been right and his critics wrong.



The Islamic World.

Mineral Resources of Turkey.

TURKEY, especially Asia Minor, has from all time had the reputation of being an important mining region. The numerous vestiges of workings encountered on every side are proofs of the practical interest shown by former generations in the development of mines, and modern investigations appear to have established the geological fact that powerful upheavals have centralised, within certain circumscribed zones, minerals such as antimony, arsenic, calamine, silver-lead, gold, copper, chrome, emery, lignite, manganese, bitumen, etc., the deposits of which have been fully established.

There is no doubt that mining enterprises would be capable of larger development if foreign capital was available, but, owing to the unsatisfactory conditions which have prevailed, capitalists reject the proposals submitted to them. Difficulties resulting from the inexperience of the promoters of mining enterprises, as well as the formalities required by the Mining Department, have also contributed to drive away capitalists.

The Ottoman mining regulations are more or less based on those in force in Europe, and if carried through officially as written, they leave little to be desired, although in comparison with the mining laws at present existing in Egypt they are cumbersome and unwieldy.

The discoverer of a mine may obtain a prospecting licence ("permis de recherche") available for one year, but which may be extended for one year more. This prospecting licence may take anything from one to ten years to obtain, and it is on record that at Adana in 1903 there were no less than 1,200 applications for prospecting licences registered in that vilayet alone. To have a mere registration costs no inconsiderable trouble and expense, yet not one final concession had been obtained, although in many cases untiring efforts had been made to obtain the same during five, six, and more years. The new mining laws of 1907, however, have simplified procedure, etc., and the obtaining of a concession is much easier.

Should the working under a prospecting licence be satisfactory, a Firman or Imperial Concession is applied for, and after inquiries and formalities of a more or less lengthy duration, depending chiefly on the ability of the applicant to influence the decision of the

authorities in whose hands the matter lies, it is granted. The general term for a concession is 99 years, and once obtained the rights acquired are transferable.

The lands acquired are subject to a small fixed annual rental, and the mineral actually exported is subject to a proportional tax or royalty, varying from 1 to 20 per cent according to the class of mineral and the method in which it is mined (quarried or obtained by shafts and galleries).

Of the 217 mining concessions issued by the Ottoman Government (the list is some few years old) no less than 67 were issued to British subjects. With the exception of the coal mines of Heraklen (worked to a large extent on behalf of the Admiralty and the exportation of a few thousand tons of copper ore from Alexandretta), the whole of the active part of Turkey's mining industry appears to be in the hands of British subjects.

Chrome and emery are the only two minerals being operated on at present, the estimated yearly output of these minerals being each about 15,000 to 20,000 tons.

The whole country vying on the Gulf of Alexandretta is rich in chrome deposits. Like the emery industry, the chief exportation of this mineral is from Smyrna and adjoining ports, and there is every indication that before many years this part will be able to produce sufficient ore to supply the world's requirements.

Copper is perhaps one of the most widely distributed minerals in Turkey, its occurrence having been reported in nearly every vilayet in Asia Minor. The Arghana copper deposits (Darbelen) are remarkable in a region which is rich in mineral wealth. The ore was first discovered about 1896, and the eruptive soil extends for from 9 to 10 miles square, containing, according to authority, very large percentage contents of copper, sulphur, and iron. The main vein has a mean thickness of 46 feet, and sometimes as much as 50 per cent pure metal has been obtained. That the ore is rich is shown by the fact that at one time it was conveyed to Tokat, 225 miles, to be smelted, but these smelting works have fallen into disuse. Now, after being roughly smelted on the spot with charcoal brought from a distance of 10 miles, it is conveyed on camel-back to Alexandretta (20 days' journey) and exported, 1,400 tons being shipped annually in this way. Near Tokat, in the vilayet of Sivas, are several enormous deposits, and nuggets of large size and great purity are reported to have been obtained. Within a few miles of the sea, near Alexandretta, there is a so-called large deposit extending for over a mile, and samples smelted by local blacksmiths have yielded over 25 per cent pure metal. Several rich ancient mines have also been discovered close to Smyrna.

Immense deposits of silver, lead and antimony exist in the vilayets of Adana, Diyarbakir, Sivas, and Trebizond. In fact, like copper, it seems to be well distributed throughout Asia Minor, but in few cases has anything been done to develop these deposits and then only in a small way.

Many deposits of iron exist, the most important being near Zeitoun, vilayet of Aleppo, where the supply is said to be practically inexhaustible and of excellent quality. The Government, however, have taken no interest in this deposit, except to prohibit a company from starting work on a large scale to develop the supply of iron to the surrounding Americans. At the present time the ore is carried on horseback a day's journey to be smelted, and it is said to take 2,000 piastres worth of wood to smelt 100 piastres worth of iron. It is believed that the use of timber as fuel for the smelting of iron and copper has done more to deplete the forests than every thing else combined.

A large number of deposits of manganese exist in several vilayets, the most important being Trebizond, but nothing so far has been done to develop any of them in a businesslike manner.

Only one gold concession has been taken out. In the Aleppo vilayet valuable deposits are now known to exist, and the inhabitants of one small village obtained £1,000 worth of alluvial gold in 10 months by means of hand sluicing on flat stones, the gravel from the bed of the stream being lifted by hand. For years strenuous efforts have been made to obtain a stream over some ancient mines in Aidin vilayet, supposed to be those mentioned by Strabo in Book 14, chapter 5, paragraph 28, as one of the sources of the riches of Tantalus and the Pelopides. Gold is also found associated with arsenic, values up to 50 ounces to the ton being reported.

Undoubted evidence exists of deposits of mercury, sulphur, silver, boracite, arsenic, meerschaum, Fuller's earth, asbestos, alum, cement, jet, litharge, gypsum, phosphates and other good commercial minerals. There are regions also where coal (Heraklen), asphalt, bitumen, and petroleum exist and are being or have been worked.

As the owner of vast mineral areas, and being in need of sound industrial enterprises, not only to keep her own people in the country but to create a large internal revenue, it is time that serious

attention should be given by Turkey to the development of its mineral wealth. In the past the fearful delays and obstructions in obtaining a simple prospecting licence have kept from the country the necessary enterprise and capital to give the industry even a start, and in the few cases where there was any prospect of establishing a part of the industry interference by local authorities (official and unofficial) has generally choked off business. The great cost of obtaining the first prospecting licence, the greater cost of obtaining the final concession, and the large taxes demanded by the Government on all mineral produced have always made it difficult and often impossible to arrange for working conditions. During the last few years the Ottoman Government has shown a disposition to offer facilities, but in this direction it has not gone far enough, and there still exists a number of useless, vexatious delays on the part of officials of every grade. All this must stop if anything is to be done to establish a mining industry worthy of the country. An easier, cheaper, and more businesslike manner will have to be adopted in obtaining initial prospecting licences, and the Government could apparently with advantage adopt the system now in use in Egypt. The final concession might easily be obtained in the same manner, and a small annual tax per acre on the ground, together with a fair tax on the mineral won (say 2 per cent), would within the space of every few years yield a large and growing revenue, besides providing a living for the people of the country. Indirect advantages would also be obtained by an increased import trade and a big increase in the farming and grazing industries. The large investment of foreign money would also cause a greater and keener interest in the development of the Empire, and there is no earthly reason why Turkey within a very few years should not rank as one of the greatest mineral centres of the world.—A Correspondent in the *Statist*.

Ottoman Finances.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, Sept. 23

TURKEY'S SOLVENCY

A LITTLE paragraph in the Press to the effect that an interest of 2 per cent for six months will be paid on the United Debt of Turkey on and after September 15 or March 15, as the case may be, passes very often unnoticed by the reading public. It is, however, the proof of Turkey's solvency and is worth more than the many and long articles which have appeared of late, most of which have pointed out that the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of bankruptcy. In fact, some people go so far as to say that if Turkey is not bankrupt she ought to be, forgetting that few, if any, of the rules of modern economics, or anything else for the matter of that, apply to this country.

Turkey is hard up, no doubt, owing to two years of war and the necessities of her large army, but the revenues of Asiatic Turkey are coming in well and the harvest is good. The receipts of the Public Debt Administration for the five months, March-July, of the current year only show a falling off, compared with the corresponding period of last year, of £19,000 on a return of £12,600,000 and this in spite of the loss of territory.

THE REMOVED BOYCOTT.

But a short while ago the world was talking of a financial boycott to bring Turkey to terms, and to-day hardly a month later, we hear of an arrangement with France for a loan of £24,000,000. France accepts the raising of the Customs duties to 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, and will allow her subjects in the Ottoman Empire to pay the "contribution" or professional tax. In return, France obtains the concession of the Samsun-Sivas-Erzurum Erzingan and branch railways, the ports of Heraklen and Ineboli, on the Black Sea, and the ports of Tripoli, Carfa, and Jaffa, in Syria. In addition to this, Italy has just obtained a concession for fifty years for a railway from Adana.

FRANCE AND TURKEY.

The success of the negotiations with France is due to Djavid Bey, the able ex-Minister of Finance. All this does not look very much like a financial boycott, nor indeed as if France or Italy were expecting the immediate financial collapse of Turkey.

Reforms for Mesopotamia.

An Arab View.

I SAT with my old friend Abdul Kerim bin Omar one Ramazan evening at his country house on the banks of the Shatt-el-Arab. A cool, still night had succeeded the long-drawn-out August day. The evening meal was over, and seated by the waterside in the

pale moonlight, we discussed matters of local interest and the Arab movement for reform.

"Our laws are excellent as you know," said Abdul Kerim, "but the men who are sent to administer them are bad. Taxation is fixed *in light*. A *mallach* [landed proprietor] pays £21 per *jarrah* a year for his date garden, or in some cases a fixed sum; a farmer pays the *khoms*, amounting to one-fifth of the value of his harvest and a small tax on his cattle; and the merchant pays the *virghu*, as the *tennetu* or income-tax is called here, there is no *amlak* or house tax. There are not heavy items, but the abuse is in the collection. The sums unlawfully taken by the tax collector are large. We sometimes pay twice over and the amount first collected does not always reach the coffers of the Government. The *tennetu*, for example, is levied at the will of the collector and not on any fixed basis, and the merchant makes the best bargain he can."

"And how is the revenue disposed of when collected?" I asked.

"The authorities," replied my companion, "are ordered to send all the money they can get to the capital and apply to Constantinople when funds are wanted for local expenses. But there is no money to spare, so the Government is starved and the *Defterdar* [Chief Treasurer] has to borrow from the merchants in order to carry on the business of the State. In the last six months £120,000 of revenue has been sent to Constantinople, and there is not now a piastre in the Treasury. So the officials are not paid and they must take money unlawfully from the people in order to live."

"But," I remarked, "if the officials are not paid they doubtless do no work!"

"That is true," he answered; "and when a man has business at the Serai or in the Government offices he must come and go and waste his time; for his affairs are delayed beyond measure from day to day, and unless he pays money to the officials he cannot finish his work."

"Your roads and bridges are not repaired," I observed, "the creeks are undredged, and the public buildings are tumbling down. Why does not the municipality attend to these things?"

"My friend," said Abdul Kerim, "the office of the *Bekledye* exists, indeed, but only in name. The President takes the taxes allowed him by law for the purpose, but God only knows what he does with them and no one inquires! No money is spent on improvements in the town. The creeks are not dug or kept open, they are full of mud, and when men travel to town by boat they cry out, for they stick in the mud if the tide is low. The carriages run as they like, and as often as not fall into the creek, for no one regulates the traffic, and if a man dwells on the high road he cannot enter his door where the carriages stop, for they stand in his doorway. A tramway was begun four years ago, and the fronts of all the houses were pulled down arbitrarily by the Government in order to widen the road. No compensation was given and the owners had to rebuild themselves or pay money to the authorities to save their dwellings. The road remains as it was and the tramway has been forgotten."

"And the law courts," I asked, "is justice observed?"

The old man shook his head sorrowfully. "Sahib," he said, "there is no justice here, and if a man cannot settle his business amicably it is better for him to lose his money rather than go to law and waste more. Moreover, if his opponent is powerful, he will find no pleader to help him."

"These are undoubtedly serious grievances," I remarked, "but how do you propose to remedy them? Will the new law for the reform of the Vilayets help you?"

"The new law," answered Abdul Kerim, "may alter the form of the administration in certain respects, but the abuses will probably continue unless the dishonest officials are weeded out and honest folk sent in their place. The law, as it stands, does not give the Provincial Assembly the power to control the affairs of the people, but rather extends the powers of the Vali, and so it is of little use to us. A good Vali would in any case do us no harm, but a bad one is thereby made more powerful, and may, therefore, hurt us more. The best man is he who benefits his fellow-creatures! What we really want is permission to spend some portion of the revenue collected in the province on local improvements, such as roads, bridges, tramways, the supply of clean water to the inhabitants, lighting the streets, the establishment of hospitals, schools, and the like; we do not want all the money to be sent away and get nothing in return. The *Vakouf* properties too, should be administered according to the intentions of the founder, and the money spent as willed by him. We are told to respect the command of God and be kind to His creatures; this is forgotten. The money is taken away by the State, and the pious foundations of dead men are thus rendered

of no avail. A curse upon the unworthy ones who do these things! May God give them their deserts! The officers who serve in the army of Irak should be chosen from among the Arabs; we do not want strangers here who understand neither our tongue nor our ways. The use of Arabic should be allowed in the courts and the Government offices and our language taught in the public schools more extensively than at present. A law indeed has been passed permitting this, but it is not obeyed. The State lands in Irak should not be sold to strangers, as is now proposed, if they must be sold to furnish money to the Government, let them at least be granted to the inhabitants of the province who are ready to pay for them. The law courts, too, should be improved and justice secured to rich and poor alike. Wrongdoers must be punished and public security maintained; we would fain sleep peaceably in our beds like other folk. In order to obtain these things, the powers of the Vali should be limited and those of the General Provincial Council increased; but, alas! the contrary is the case. Nevertheless, God is merciful, and our time may come, for there is nothing in this world without an end, and he who waits wins what he wants."

"These appear elementary demands," I observed, "and very reasonable ones, too, but what say you Abdul Kerim, of autonomy for the Arabs, and the *La-merkezi* [decentralisation] that the newspapers are full of and all men prate about so much in the coffee-shops?"

The old man smiled and waved his hand caressingly towards the great river, where the long fringe of date palms cast a sombre shadow over the water, standing out like stately sentinels in the cold beams of the climbing moon.

"These," he murmured gently, pointing to the palm trees and the river, "are our politics, we have no other. Men use long words, indeed, and brave ones, but the *La-merkezi* springs from the mouths of a few individuals only who thus push their private ends and ambitions and put ideas in the minds of the Arabs that they do not find by themselves or rightly understand. What we need is a good and just Government to protect us from wrong and oppression, improvements in our fields and agriculture, and a market for our dates and grain. We ourselves, perhaps, are not well fitted to manage our own affairs, but the *Osmanli* oppresses us and robs us of our money without giving us aught in return. Nevertheless, it is not lawful to deliver the land of Islam to the Christian foreigner; we must find a remedy ourselves. We do not love our rulers, and they dislike us, but a common faith and a common interest bind us together, and an improved administration is all we can ask for or expect."

"And the Arab tribes," I asked, "what of them, and what are their feelings towards the Turks?"

"Sahib," he replied "these people depend on the Porte, it is true, but the authority of the *Osmanli* over them is merely nominal and the Arab mocks at the Government. How can it be otherwise? Their dealings with Turkish rulers do not tend to raise them in the scale of humanity. A Governor from Stamboul despises the Arab '*Donuz, hayani, bo; Arab!*' he says [The Arabs are dirt, without decency and without drawers!]. What said the Vali of Baghdad when he returned to Constantinople and was asked what sort of people these Arabs were? 'Their camels have no halters, their wives no shifts, and they themselves are without an *Iran*.' People follow the example of their rulers, and, as the Turks themselves say, '*Yoo fish stinks at the head first*'. But it is the business of the Governor to get the Arabs' money, and the relations between the two are little more than a trial of treachery and deceit. The Turk looks upon them as mere beasts, and they in turn have lost all confidence in the faith and honour of the Ottoman Government. '*Na'uzu billah Erham ar-rahimin*' [We seek refuge in God, most compassionate of the merciful ones!]."

CHEREBI in the Near East.

Selection.

The Danger in India.

Of all the problems that lie before the English people to-day there is none more vital, none more pressing than that of India. For the discontent there does not decrease nor can it do so. It is not sporadic but universal, and though it has its crests and troughs, it has no ebb but flows unceasingly.

India is lost to us in sentiment. She can no longer bear our rule. It galls her, and she resents it. She waits now but her opportunity, and given that, she will depart from us—will we or will we not. Yet that would be ruin to both of us; no one who looks facts in the face will doubt that this is so.

Therefore, before it is too late, it behoves us to take stock of the situation.

What is the cause that makes India hate us? She did not do so once.

We did not conquer India. She placed herself beneath our rule of her own free will. It was not English troops who won India, nor who kept India for us in the Mutiny. They were the nucleus, no doubt, but alone they could have achieved nothing. They were too few in number, too oppressed by the hostile climate, too immobile to achieve a conquest. An English army might march through India, it could not conquer it.

India was won by Sepoy regiments under British leaders, by Sepoy police, it was accepted by the people gladly. India gave herself to us a hundred and fifty years ago, and again ratified her consent but fifty years ago. Yet now she fiercely wishes a divorce, and she is bound to get it unless our relations change. What are the causes and the cure?

This problem of India is so serious, it may become at any moment so urgent that no opinion upon its cause and cure is to be rejected. I doubt if in many counsellors there be wisdom, but unless the counsel be weighed and verified, the public cannot know if it have truth in it or not. And the English public is entitled to know. When its great heritage is in danger it is its right, its duty, to look facts in the face for itself and judge itself. If India be lost through our apathy, whom have we to blame but ourselves? I therefore propose to summarise two articles that appeared on this subject in the August number of this *Review*, to extract what seems to me the gist of each, and to set against it certain facts. And as an outcome of these facts I have some remarks of my own to make. That done, the reader will I hope, have grounds to help him towards a judgment of his own.

The articles were by Sir W. Lee-Warner* and Mr. Cookson,† but for convenience I will take Mr. Cookson's first, for he writes of the disloyalty, and Sir W. Lee-Warner only of the methods of recruitment for the Civil Service, and as the latter should be governed by the state of India, Mr. Cookson naturally comes first. What are the causes that he has discovered? They seem to be five.

There is an antagonism between the East and West. The Indian hates the European and *vice versa*. The English woman will not go down to dinner with the 'black man'!

We have bad manners.

The Indian does not appreciate the railways and other material improvements we have made. They are disturbing to society and injure morals. English machine-made goods have partly ousted the native hand-made goods and so created discontent.

We have introduced new ideas into India and forbidden their expression.

India is irreligious.

Let us consider these.

Is the natural antagonism between the European and the Indian a new thing? Have they changed in their natures or have we in the last century? Did English women ever want to be taken in to dinner by Indians, and whether they did or did not, how would it affect the 800,000,000 under our rule? The answer is No. Our natures have not changed at all. Whatever natural antagonism—and it is strong—there is now existed always. India was contented once despite this natural aversion, why is she not so now?

Then as to manners.

Have our manners deteriorated since a hundred years ago, and, if so, why? Mr. Cookson does not say. It is, of course, the manners of officials and officers that matter, for the non-official Englishman does not count outside a few towns. Have the Services deteriorated? He does not tell us.

The third fact is not peculiar to India, but is common to all the world. Everywhere in old countries railways disturbed morals—that is to say, fossilised habits—and set up a new evolution. The objection to them has frequently been strong; it was so in parts of England and of France. But they were quickly accepted. Morals adjusted themselves. Nowhere did they cause revolution or irritation against government. Indian humanity does not differ from Western humanity in this matter, or indeed, any other fundamental matter; and herein is no cause for general disloyalty.

There is throughout the world a continual competition in goods. New kinds, whether imported or indigenous, are always ousting older and worse or more expensive kinds. England, for instance, now lives on imported wheat and meat. Some, of course, suffer, but the majority gain or they would not buy the new goods. The prevention of the entry of new things may drive people to exasperation, as with our English corn laws, but their admission never does so, because the majority gain thereby. So Mr. Cookson's third reason fails.

His fourth reason is that whereas we have introduced free ideas we have forbidden their realisation, which he contradicts later by saying that India is technically the freest country in the world, so that it is not clear what he does actually mean. I do not know the difference between technical and real freedom, and my experience is that in India there is little freedom.

His last reason is the worst of all. He says that what India is really suffering from is want of religion, and he suggests a new spirituality as a cure for all Indian ills. He says that there is 'common ground of essentials on which Hindu and Christian and Muhammadan may meet,' and he suggests that the cause of the trouble lies in want of religion, and its solution is more religion. Now this a common idea, and because it is widely spread, and is at the same time disastrously mistaken, it is worth while to consider it a little.

To begin with, there is no common ground on which Hindu and Christian and Muhammadan can meet. There is the common ground of humanity on which all men can meet if they will discard their creeds and return to the fundamental truths of life, but creeds are what divide and not unite. They are parasites upon the tree of life and are not parts of it. All progress is despite of them and not because of them. What India suffers from now is not too little religion but a great deal too much. What afflicts India is the inhumanity of caste, infant marriages, barem and zenana life, the tyranny of priests; the looking back at a dead past instead of forward to a living future; the despair of this life because it is objectless and therefore unhappy and the consequent desire for some other, the hatred of creed to creed and caste to caste. These are what ruined the free progressive India of several centuries ago and drove it into anarchy and despair. And under our rule they have increased and not decreased. We have extinguished two or three outrageous manifestations of religion, such as *suttee* and sacrifice; but, as a whole, religious bonds have grown tighter under our rule. India is more religious, and not less.

The solvent for such despairs and divisions is a common effort towards a common end—in the give and take of free communities such divisions gradually are worn away. But our rule has destroyed the village community and with it the communal life.

We have done more. We have by our system of courts and precedents fossilised all the laws of marriage, of family, and inheritance, which are parts of religion, so that no evolution is possible. Before we ruled there was continual change, but we have stopped all that. Even so enthusiastic a lawyer as Sir Henry Sumner Maine points out the disastrous effect so caused, and it is much worse since his day. India is bound in custom and religion so that she can hardly move, and we have but tightened the bonds and made them rigid.

When I hear this talk about the defect of India being want of religion and the cure being more of it, I am reminded of an old print, famous in its time but forgotten now, no doubt. A man is shown sitting at a table, his head between his hands, his face swollen and flushed, and his eyes bloodshot. All about him are bottles empty and full, and out of his mouth come the following words: 'My head gets worse and worse. I feel giddy and faint, and I can hardly move. I have tried brandy for it, and gin, and whiskey and rum and it is no better. What am I to do now? I know. I will mix them all together and take a bucketful. That cannot fail.'

And so it is with India. She is drunk with spurious drinks. Her head is muddled and her limbs are feeble. The cure is not more drinks nor yet mixed drinks, but the pure cold water of common sense. It may not intoxicate but it gives health. And health is what India wants.

Therefore it will be seen that Mr. Cookson offers no clear diagnosis of the Indian fever. Where he is specific he does not seem to have discovered anything new, and he has no explanation of the vague *Weltschmerz* that he notices.

Yet the reason of the unrest is not difficult to discover. To one who has been for twenty seven years among the peoples of the provinces as non-official and as official it seems quite obvious. India dislikes our rule because it hurts her, and the reason that it hurts her is that it has become bad. It has for fifty years or so deteriorated and grown more harsh, more unsympathetic, and more pedantic. India, on the other hand, has grown. She wants more liberty, not less. We held her in elastic leading-strings some fifty years ago. Now she is stronger she wants the strings relaxed but we have made them into iron and constricted them.

How does our government hurt her? In every way, I think, wherever it touches. Criminal and civil courts, revenue administration, and education hurt. But, most of all, the destruction of the village organism, bites and burns.

Take a few facts, more there is no room for.

The criminal courts are filled with perjury and false evidence; the police are most unsatisfactory; a jury system could not be introduced because juries would always acquit.

* 'The Civil Service of India,' by Sir William Lee-Warner, G. O. S. I.

† 'Why is there Disloyalty in India?' by Geoffrey Cookson.

Why is all this? Because the people hate our criminal system root and branch. We call it justice, they do not. Good men will not help it, neither by serving it as police nor by telling it the truth, nor by acting on juries. The people consider the courts are failures. And so does the Government, or why in Burma does it annually imprison over two thousand men for one or two years against whom not only has no offence been proved but none has been charged?

The civil courts are as bad. Perjury and forgery are common, and condoned. The courts are to a great extent but collecting agencies for money-lenders. The people despise them. In Burma, for instance, they resort to them less and less. And why? Here is one reason. Because even if after great trouble and expense you do get a decree, the chances are against you recovering anything. In 53 per cent of the cases in Burma in 1910 the execution was wholly infructuous. That does not mean that in the other 47 per cent much was obtained.

Our courts have petrified all custom into cast iron precedent. Much are our courts.

Our education is a failure, naturally, because its ideals are wrong.

And whereas the village used to be a self-governing unit, with a council of elders and a headman as mayor, we have turned the headman into an official of Government and the council has disappeared. Consequently the village as an organism is dead, local self-government has been killed. The one organism in India that had life and the possibilities of growth we have destroyed, and with it social life and evolution. Each villager is in every act under the eye of a Government official responsible to the district magistrate, a headman appointed, directed, punished, and dismissed by him. Naturally good men will not do such work. Such are a few facts out of very many.

Now how did this arise? And having begun why was it not soon and stopped? For one cause only. The Government is out of touch with life and facts. For fifty years it has been growing farther and farther away from the people and from facts. It used to be an aristocracy of men who were in touch with life, men who knew how to rule because they knew what humanity was, men who had open eyes, who tried to see and do what was right and just, and not simply what was legal. They softened and humanised the laws, they were respected, honoured, known as men, and not machines to grind out judgments. They were not bound by precedent but by a sense of right. But for some time now it has been a pedagogy, living in abstract thought, self-righteous, deaf and blind, a thing of formulae and precedent and law, whose only doctrine is uniformity, and which cannot think outside its narrow channels. It blames the people, not itself, for all its trouble. The Civil Service of India has become, as Beveridge said it would, a commission of schoolmasters, and his further prophecy of the inevitable and is not far off fulfilment.

Now this failure of the Civil Service has for long been growing increasingly evident. It has been evident not only to Indians and to non-official Englishmen, but to the Government itself. It has been full of complaints. Talis is being lost to us, and the Civil Service is losing it. Now why is this? A more serious question could not be conceived than this, for on its rectification depends not only the fate of India but of England also.

What, then, has Sir W. Lee Warner, Vice of the Council of the Government of India, to say on this most urgent question? Briefly what he says is this:

He quotes Mill to the effect that the success of the government of India depends on the personal qualities and capacities of the agents of government. He says that it is still so. He says that entrance to the Service of India by competitive examination has become part of our system, and therefore will continue. He says that India is not prepared to receive its officials from boyhood.

He wants more Indians in the Service.

Practically this is all he does say, and it is interesting to see what he omits. There are some other things.

The Civil Service has notoriously failed, and fails more and more to be efficient. It India is on the verge of revolution it is the Civil Service that is to blame, but he has nothing to say about this.

Indian civilians are ignorant of the people they rule, and cannot even talk to them, but they are able to hold their own in public debate, and have a sense of justice.

Well, I never heard that public debate formed part of the duties of any executive officer, so that this equipment does not seem very valuable. When a ship is drifting on the rocks, does it help if the officers can hold their own in public debate?

As to justice, I do not know quite what is meant by this. If common sense is meant, then the Indian civilian has none of it, or he would long ago have seen the growing trouble and tried to meet it. Had Clive no justice, I wonder, or Henry Lawrence, or Meadows Taylor? They were not University men.

Thus the whole crucial question is not discussed at all, and everything is assumed.

That India is passionately resenting her present government by competition wallahs is not thought worthy of discussion, but only details as to ages, etc. Where is the 'sense of proportion' here?

Again, 'India is not prepared to educate her Service.' Does she then prefer revolution? It would seem so. But if so, why not say so?

Sir W. Lee-Warner quotes Mill again, that the agents of Government should go out young. He assumes that twenty-four or twenty-five is 'young'. The men who knew India went out much earlier. Clive, Warren Hastings, Nicholson, and John Lawrence went out at eighteen, Henry Lawrence at seventeen, Lord Roberts at sixteen, Meadows Taylor at fifteen. You will find no man who has got to know India who has gone out at over twenty. By twenty-four or twenty-five a man is far too old to begin a totally new life amongst totally new conditions. He never does so adapt himself, and is reduced to form his opinions on what others say--on Mill, for instance. He has to live on paper knowledge, for he cannot acquire any other. Moreover, his personality, which is what Mill means by character, has been crushed in England by too prolonged a tutelage, and he is no longer a free-seeing, free-thinking man, but an automaton of rules and formulae. All this Sir W. Lee-Warner omits.

Again, he recommends the admission of Indians to the Civil Service, but he does not discuss its propriety, or even possibility. He assumes both. Yet there are great objections. I will mention two of them.

The present financial progress of India is due to the English merchants, bankers, and planters who have developed the resources of the country. They have invested a large capital in its development, and have a heavy stake in India. Without them India would be poverty-stricken and the present government impossible. English corporations hold too, almost all the public debt. They think, therefore, that their interests deserve consideration. Their first necessity is that order and peace should reign in India, and they are strongly of opinion that these conditions could not obtain under Indian civilians. What is to be done? They will not be ignored where vital matters are concerned, nor will they be overridden or outvoted. The events of 1884 in regard to the Ilbert Bill showed conclusively that they would not be content with mere remonstrance. They will stop dangerous measures if they can, and there is little doubt they can if they so determine. Is 1884 quite forgotten?

Again, those who know the people of India know that there could be nothing more distasteful to them than being handed over to Indian civilians, whether of their own race or not. This is very natural and indeed obvious. The people will accept the rule of an Englishman as head of the district because he is the fit and proper representative of the English Raj. But to put in one of themselves to rule them, supported by British bayonets--well, it does not require much imagination to know what would happen.

Thus against the appointment of Indians as civilians are arrayed all the English commercial and industrial interests of the country, and say two hundred and ninety-nine and a half millions out of the three hundred millions of British India. Are those quite negligible factors? Is it *justesse* to ignore them at the bidding of a small 'educated' Indian class?

Sir W. Lee Warner does not, of course, speak for the Government of India. His is not an authoritative utterance. Nevertheless he has been a member of the Council of India, and it will certainly not be unfair to suppose that his attitude to these burning questions reflect more or less that of the Government. It is just this attitude that causes despair in all who have the interests of England and of India at heart. It cannot look facts squarely in the face, it cannot think, it cannot go behind precedent, though that precedent be leading to destruction. It assumes everything--wrongly, and is concerned only with trivial detail.

India can be regained, but not by methods like these. Only the humanity that is in touch with humanity and not paper, only the courage that never shirks a fact, only that clearheadedness that sees beneath the surface up to the trend of ocean currents, can bring us safely through this trouble. We had common sense once--where is it now?

To regain India two things are necessary. We must so reform the Government of India that it be 'once more in touch with reality'. It must know India and must serve India; only by doing so can it serve England. The whole ideal and personnel must be completely changed, and then self-government must be cultivated. This must begin at the bottom, not the top; in the villages, not in council chambers; and on a firm and enduring base must be assiduously slowly grow. So can we win back India--there is no other way.

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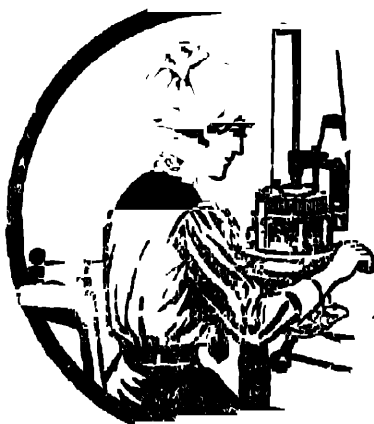
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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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of Parliament and if they did not object, on the grounds of policy, the Government would favourably consider the repeal of the tax. The Government had faithfully carried out the promise, but the majority of the Natal members objected to the repeal, except as regards women and children. The Government feeling that to promise to repeal the tax, in the present state of affairs, would be a public disaster with consequences which could not be foreseen, and they are not disposed to consider it with Mr. Gandhi. The repeal of the tax is an after-thought intended to influence the Natal Indians to whom the real grounds on which Mr. Gandhi started the passive resistance movement, and which never included the tax question, did not appear.

A Durban message dated Oct. 27, states that it is believed that the farmers in Northern Natal are being seriously affected by the Indians decamping. It is stated that large numbers of them intend to attempt to enter the Transvaal and support the passive resistance movement. Mr. Gandhi was present at a Conference of Coal, Agricultural and Sugar interests. The proceedings were private. Mr. Gandhi afterwards stated that the strike was not ended, and intimated that the work of the Conference was not finished.

A message from Capetown, dated Oct. 25, states that the number of Indians on strike in the Natal coalmines is difficult to ascertain. Two thousand approximately have struck out of four thousand. Public opinion generally condemns the Three Pound Tax. A strikers' fund has been opened at Durban, and subscriptions are plentiful both from Natal and the Transvaal. If the strike spreads to the sugar estates which employ seven thousand indentured workers, the position will become most difficult for both sides. The Protector of Immigrants in Durban states that the Government, some time ago, ordered that the tax should not be collected in the case of women.

China

A MESSAGE from Peking, dated Oct. 28, states that Captain Harold Christian, not Rear-Admiral Christian, has been appointed Director of the new Naval College, to be established at Shanghai. He will sail shortly with a number of British instructors of various branches, who will be employed by the Chinese Government. The engagement is for three years. China likewise desires the institution of several training ships.

The Minister of Finance has agreed to the immediate introduction of the reorganisation of the Salt Gamelle prepared by Sir Richard Dane, by which the Foreign and District co-directors will receive all the revenues direct. Bankers consider that this renders a diversion of revenue impossible. The Minister has submitted to the British, French and German Bankers, practical proposals for currency reform which are expected to lead to the realisation of a currency loan.

Death of an Editor.

A MESSAGE from Cairo, dated Oct. 27, states that the death has taken place here of Sheikh Ali Yusuf, editor of the newspaper *El Moayyad*.

The Week.

Balkan Crisis

London, Oct. 28.

A MESSAGE from Rome states that the Bulgarian troops are gradually advancing to occupy all the ceded positions in Thrace. Djemal Bey, the Military Governor of Constantinople, has gone to Gumuldjina to persuade the Mussulman population which has been highly resentful of subjection to Bulgarians to accept the Bulgarian authority without resistance. Bulgarian troops have found Mustafa Pasha and Malkofinnovo razed to the ground. The villages to the southward of the river Arda are on fire, having been fired by retreating Bashli Bazuks.

London, Oct. 26.

Belgrade: It is officially stated that all Servian troops have been withdrawn from Albania.

Persia.

It is expected that Indian trade with the Persian Gulf will be very active this cold weather as traders know that the southern routes into Persia are now comparatively safe.—*Englishman*.

Africa.

REUTER wires from Pretoria, dated Oct. 28, that replying to a telegram from the coal owners in Durban, Mr. Smuts denies Mr. Gandhi's allegation that the Government made promises to Mr. Gokhale with regard to the Three Pound Tax.

He says that Mr. Gokhale made a strong point of the repeal of tax. The Government replied that the tax was not important from the revenue standpoint, and promised to consult the Natal members

Tibet.

THE Chinese soldiers in Eastern Tibet are in desperate straits for food and money, and are grumbling against their officers. Constant demands for assistance reach Takienlu from the troops near Tibet, but he is compelled to refuse them owing to lack of funds.

Winter is beginning, and the Tibetans are ever on the alert to attack on a favourable opportunity.

Education in Behar

MR. J. G. JENNINGS, Principal, Muz Central College, Allahabad, left Allahabad on Oct. 24, for Behar to take up the post of the Director of Public Instruction. It is expected that the vacancy will be filled by the appointment of Dr. E. G. Hill, senior professor of the College.

Lieutenant-Governor under X-Rays

A TELEGRAM from Lahore, dated Oct. 28, states that Sir Michael O'Dwyer arrived at Lahore this morning and his injured arm was examined under the X-Rays by Major Sutherland, Principal, and Capt. Bott, Acting Professor of Surgery, Lahore Medical College. Examination showed there was no fracture but only dislocation of the elbow. His Honour, therefore, hopes to resume the tour in Gurdaspur District in a few days' time.

People's Bank Liquidation.

A TELEGRAM from Lahore, dated Oct. 23, states that in the District Judge's Court, Mr. Baschey, counsel for the directors of the People's Bank, asked permission to file an application for stay of liquidation proceedings to allow time for appeal, but the Judge refused permission. He, however, intimated that he had no objection to Messrs. Ferguson & Company continuing and completing their audit under the supervision of the provisional official liquidator. It is understood that an application will be made in the Chief Court for revision of the District Judge's order after the Dewali holiday.

Delhi Designers.

A REUTER'S message, dated London, Oct. 28, states that Messrs. Lutyens and Baker, architects at New Delhi, start for India on November 13th, to discuss with the Viceroy the designs they have been preparing. Sir Swinton Jacob has resigned his post as Adviser on the employment of Indian materials, craftsmen, etc., on the ground that at his age he prefers to be free of official responsibilities, but he will be in India this cold weather and has undertaken to give honorary advice and co-operation.

The *Times* says the Government intends to select as Sir Swinton's successor an Indian master craftsman of architectural experience and repute. The paper adds that it is also proposed that the studio at Delhi for indigenous architectural work shall be in Indian hands as far as is practicable.

School of Cairo.

REUTER wires from London, dated Oct. 29, that speaking in London last night, Mr. James Bryce suggested the establishment of a school to study the Musselman world as it was extremely important for us to have the fullest comprehension of Islam in its relations to Western civilisation. He thought that Cairo would be a good place for the school which would do for the Musselman world, the same kind of work as the school of Rome did for Italy.

Cawnpore Affair.

THE hide merchants of Cawnpore gave an entertainment on the evening of the 30th ultimo in honour of Mr. Max-as-ul-'Iqbal and the Raja of Mahmudabad.

Mr. Mohammad Kasim, Advocate, Moulvi Abdul Bari, the Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, the Hon. Shahid Hossain and other prominent Muhammadans, who took a leading part in the recent riot cases and in bringing about their settlement, attended. The entertainment took the form of an evening party and was followed by a dinner and a Mouloud Shant.

Some of the Hindu citizens have entertained Mr. Maabar-ul-Haque at dinner on the 31st ultimo.

Alleged Desecration of Cemetery.

A BOMBAY message, dated Oct. 27, states that the Borah community of Bombay are in a high state of excitement over the wholesale desecration of graves in their cemetery, tombstones being raised to the ground at Charni Road, which has been in use for nearly a century. The perpetrators of this foul deed are not discovered and the Commissioner of Police is being memorialised over the matter.

Zanzibar.

REUTER wires from Zanzibar, dated Oct. 25, that there are growing rumours here that Zanzibar will shortly be handed over to Germany in exchange for territory on concessions in other parts of Africa.

TETE À TETE



WE PUBLISH elsewhere the first article of a series which shall record the impressions of "A Fanatic Abroad." The features of "the Fanatic" are too familiar to need any delineation on our part; and even if he had chosen a thicker disguise than the

garb of wondrous transparency through which his spacious frame is mirrored in complete detail of limb and muscle, his soul—that loves a fair fight and is never known to have refused a challenge or failed in finding one—would have given him away entirely. Our "Fanatic", however, is not of the grim and awning cast, with his soul all aflame and the grief of a sinful and incorrigible world gnawing at his heart. There is a strong dash of the Bohemian in his "Fanaticism." He has enough irreverence to discuss old dowagers when his dinners are unavailing and dull, and quite a fund of irresponsible humour to enjoy a laugh—even at his own expense. And that is exactly what makes his "Fanaticism" so scandalising to such pillars of prim and stung respectability as the *Times*. He is now in a land where he will meet with a new challenge at every footfall, and all that is combative in him will come out red in tooth and claw. He will have a strenuous time of his life there, but he has a rare knack of enlivening toil with irrepressible wit. His revolts, his disappointments, his surprises and his defeats will delight us even more than his triumphs. Only thus can the rapier play of his satire be seen at its best. Our readers may be sure to get some rare treats, only we wish "the Fanatic" does not forget that the making of history is not half as interesting as the writing of it.

Errors have been made in certain quarters to show that the Calcutta Muslims are not satisfied with the terms of the Cawnpore Settlement. The allegation is entirely baseless. As a matter of fact, the gratitude of the Calcutta Muslims for the Viceroy has been as whole-hearted and sincere as that of their brethren in any other part of the country. We have received for publication the following letter from Munir Abdul Kalam Azad, the Editor of *Al-Hind*, on the subject, which speaks for itself:—"As the attitude of the Muhammadans of Calcutta to the memorable pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy at Cawnpore on the 14th October, 1913, has been misconstrued and misunderstood in certain quarters, I shall feel obliged if you will kindly allow me some space in your valuable paper to bring some of the facts into clear light and correct the misunderstanding. The meeting at the Town Hall was held under the auspices of the Cawnpore Mosque Defence Association. As the President of the Association in Calcutta and as the Editor of *Al-Hind*, I can fairly claim to know the pulse of the Muhammadan community generally and particularly the Muhammadans of Calcutta, and I can unhesitatingly affirm that the statesmanship displayed by His Excellency Lord Hardinge at this juncture has not only endeared him to the millions of Muhammadans in India, but has also, what I consider much more important, restored the confidence of the proverbially law-abiding and loyal Muhammadans in their faith that British rule in India was based on justice and that no injustice could take shelter under the British Crown in the impossible guise of 'Prestige.' The Muhammadans of India can never, therefore, exaggerate their gratitude to His Excellency for his timely interference in the Cawnpore crisis. You know, Sir, the dissatisfaction of a community to-day may develop into something more serious to-morrow. The transition in the case of Muhammadans, whose loyalty to the Crown has been so firmly deep-rooted, may have been extraordinarily rapid on account of the reaction which an ill-conceived policy and a deliberate affront to their religious sentiment was likely to produce. All true friends of the British administration and the Muhammadans, therefore, ought to be grateful to His Excellency for undoubtedly preventing

a great constitutional upheaval. On our part there have been clear manifestations of solid loyalty and gratitude on this occasion. Meetings to offer thanks to His Excellency have been held in all parts of India and the genuine grievance of the Muhammadans was at once turned into a sincere gratitude to His Excellency, and the loyalty of the Muhammadans to the throne was more enthusiastic than ever. In Calcutta, without taking into consideration the unauthorised meetings, only one representative meeting was held and that was in the Town Hall on the 12th instant under the presidency of Prince Gholam Mohamed. The proceedings were mostly conducted in Urdu and one is not at all surprised at the comments in some of the papers due I take it to the bad reporting of the speeches delivered. The President's speech, the other speeches that followed it and the enthusiasm of the audience were clear indications of the intensity of the feelings of loyalty and gratitude felt by all. In moving the resolution to offer thanks to His Excellency, the Hon'ble Moulvi Fazlul Haq laid full stress on the most generous nature of the remarkable and memorable pronouncement of the Viceroy. When I was called upon to second the resolution the very words with which I began were as follows:—"I have stood up to thank His Excellency the Viceroy on the message of peace he has brought for us with the same intensity of feelings with which I expressed my grief on the most unhappy incidents of the 3rd of August at Cawnpore." I regret that an attempt has been made to discredit this sincere feeling of thankfulness inasmuch as a resolution expressing the Muhammadan Law on the question of inalienability of any portion of the mosque or any land appertaining thereto was passed at the meeting. The main object of putting forward that resolution was to safeguard the interest of mosques in future and thus prevent the creation of a precedent prejudicial to the religious cause of Muslims. But the resolution was never meant to minimise the importance of His Excellency's pronouncements or the sentiments of thankfulness with which the Muslims are animated. Some of us still hold that a more satisfactory decision with respect to the restoration of the *dalan* could have been arrived at, but that does not mean that the Muslims do not appreciate the importance of His Excellency's decision or the generosity which pervades it. In conclusion I assure you, Sir, that the loyalty of the Muhammadans of India to-day is inspired by the magnificent effusions to the contrary more staunch, sincere and genuine based as it is, on a clearer appreciation and practical proof of the British sense of justice, and this has been chiefly the result of His Excellency's remarkable pronouncement at Cawnpore."

Events of some consequence and more or less wide import have helped to bring some aspects of the Hindu-Muslim question into considerable prominence. The old standpoints on both sides are evidently shifting their angles, and it is possible in a plastic state of thought and feeling to fix some fresh points of contact in inter-communal relations. The Hindu Press has recently treated Moslem affairs on the whole with studied courtesy and in unexceptionable tone. The Mussalman on their part are waxing eloquent over the thought of Indian unity, and the ways of some of them would strike one as needlessly demonstrative, if no allowance were made for the peculiar circumstances which have imparted to their expressions an unusual degree of energy and warmth. All the same, their readiness to face the problems of India in a new spirit and with an entire freedom of outlook is full of happy augury. It is, however, best to remember that the whole situation should be considered in the cold light of reason and commonsense in order to avoid hasty rushing to conclusions which may eventually prove to be embarrassing or irrevocable. We are dealing with the whole subject of Moslem situation as it exists to-day, and one of its important aspects bearing on the relations between the Hindus and the Mussalman would naturally deserve a detailed examination. For the present we may only say that all genuine efforts for closer co-operation are worthy of whole-hearted support on every side. But one should equally guard against all ill-considered attempts to force the pace. The things that lie at the root of mutual differences have not entirely lost their force, though they may be hid for a while under effusive talk and sentiment. Invitations to Mussalman to join the Congress in a body or to eternally renounce their right to sacrifice cows may have some genuine passions behind them. But they are suspiciously one-sided, and it would be unfortunate if the idea gets abroad that they represent clever attempts to make sport with the rights and ideals of a community that just now happens to be under the spell of a peculiarly yielding mood. The Hindus have within the last few weeks decided to make serious efforts to move the Government with a view to prohibit the sacrifice of cows at Ajodhia, and some of the Hindu papers have appealed to the Mussalman to prove their desire for future co-operation by voluntarily acceding to the wishes of the Hindu community. The

agitation that is just springing up on the subject and the appeal to Mussalman open up an important group of questions which we hope to consider in our next.

As we noted sometime ago, the Bengal Government has under consideration some proposals for effecting a change in the constitution of the Calcutta Corporation and for an appreciable increase in the number of its members. In setting forth these proposals the Government Circular had specially invited suggestions with a view to secure adequate representation of the Moslem community. As things are Moslem representation is lamentably meagre and altogether incommensurate with the numerical strength of the community, its weight and influence, and it was suggested that the glaring disparity could be removed effectively by allowing certain seats on the Corporation to be filled by Mussalman members through special electorates. Under the circumstances this was the only device that could ensure for the Mussalman a fair and decent treatment, and we had urged the Government of Bengal to persevere with its scheme to the finish and not to take fright at the clamour that the measure was certain to arouse in the Bengali Press. As a matter of fact the clamour has been characteristically loud and persistent since then, and the Government proposals have been denounced as another blow aimed at Indian unity. A whole series of facile arguments of venerable antiquity—old veterans that are known to have done splendid service on such occasions—have been let loose again to scare the Government into quietude. The Hindu-Moslem interests are identical in civic matters. Both the communities are children of the same soil and inspired by common aims. They can have no real difference of standpoint in any public question. Their duties and responsibilities are the same, and they should co-operate in loving harmony for the good of their common motherland. Beautiful sentiments these, only a perverse fate has willed it that they should be uttered in the hearing of the world just when the Mussalman shows an immoderate desire to share his neighbour's burden in working the institutions of their country. If the Hindus and the Mussalman have identical interests and have to serve the same ends on Municipal and District Boards and the Legislative Councils, it ought not to matter a scrap as to who gets into these bodies and the manner of his getting into them. Then why in the name of all that is wonderful should a fixed proportion of seats allowed to Mussalman, even granting that it is excessive, be made the subject of wild protests and tragic appeals to all that masquerades as "Nationalism?" For the sake of national unity? Only an utter want of the sense of the ridiculous would reconcile one to a perpetual farce like this. In a recent meeting of the Corporation, when the proposal to give the Mussalman separate representation was discussed, the Hindu members were all arrayed in opposition to Mussalman members, and the latter, though small in numbers, pleaded courageously for just and fair treatment. The Corporation may reject Moslem demand, but it will only record once more in legible letters that Mussalman should try to find effective means for extricating themselves from the paralysing dominance of an inconsiderate majority. The Bengal Government will not, we trust, abandon its attitude because the Bengali Press is against its proposals and the Corporation dominated by the Hindus opposed to a necessary measure of justice. The Bengali Hindus cannot be the true judges of Moslem needs, nor should they be the sole factor in shaping the policy of the Bengal Government. We need not say more on the subject just now as we propose to deal soon with the whole question of Moslem representation with special reference to Hindu attitude. We shall await the decision of the Bengal Government in respect of the question of Moslem representation in the Corporation with evident concern.

THE Cawnpore Mosque affair has been settled and complete tranquillity has been restored throughout Moslem India. It was the intensity and growing excitement of Moslem feeling before the settlement was made that was, among other things, responsible for the departure of Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan for England. Among the very first things that they did on reaching London was that they wrote a letter to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali setting forth the whole case about the Cawnpore Mosque affair from the Moslem standpoint. We have received a copy of this letter by the last mail. Had the mosque affair been still unsettled we would have refrained from publishing it, but as things now are, we should not withhold it from our readers as it embodies a statement of the case in so reasonable and lucid terms and suggests a solution so similar to the one arrived at by the Viceroy that it will, we are sure, dissipate all doubts about the

character of Moslem demands in the matter. It will show that Mussalmans were at all times prepared for any settlement of the affair that could be reasonable. The Moslem Mission to England was undertaken only after the Lieutenant-Governor had set his face sternly against the appeals and the wishes of the people. The letter, which bears the date of 10th October, is as follows. — "As you are aware, we have come to this country with the object of placing the Moslem point of view, and the salient features of the true Moslem situation in India and abroad before His Majesty's Ministers, Members of Parliament, and other influential men in Great Britain, as well as the British nation at large, through the important organs of the press, and by other suitable means, as we expressed to a representative of the Associated Press of India at Bombay, on the day of our departure. Among other things, the affair of the Cawnpore Mosque has induced us to come to England. Nobody is more likely than yourself to know the point of Moslem ecclesiastical law relating to religious endowments, and particularly to those dedicated to God for the purposes of public worship, and we will not therefore dilate on this subject. But the way in which, first, the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipal Board, then, the Collector of the District, and, finally, the Local Government of the United Provinces have dealt with a matter which presented hardly any difficulty, has made it one of great importance to our community. It is idle to pretend that the Mussalmans in India have no reason to fear that their places of worship are not as safe as they have been at any time since British rule was established for, since the Cawnpore affair, mosques have been demolished in Agia, Karachi, and Saharanpore, and although at Delhi the Chief Commissioner has promised to restore the mosque of Shah Abdul Haq Muhaddis Delhi, the demolition of which he said he neither authorised nor knew of till Mr. Mohamed Ali informed him, it is not yet clear whether in the laying out of the new capital all mosques would be preserved. In fact, it appears from a press communication that mosques and other sacred places would be preserved subject to the requirements of the new capital. You know better than anybody else how keenly Mussalmans feel on the subject, and it cannot be pretended that this is a matter in which political agitators have had any hand whatever at all. Judging purely from the point of view of Government, we think it imperative that the mosque at Cawnpore should be restored immediately. That is not a matter in which the Mussalmans of Cawnpore alone are interested, nor is it just to consider that their right of having all the sacred places respected can be prejudiced by any supposed laches of the Mohammedan members of the Cawnpore Municipal Board, or of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore in general, or by any ill-considered and impetuous action of a small crowd, mostly composed of very young boys and lads. We feel that among the many mistakes made by authorities in this affair not the least grievous has been the supposition that the Mussalmans of Cawnpore and "outside agitators" are sharply divided and distinct. We cannot accept the opinion that the incident of the 3rd of August has altered the whole situation so far as the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque is concerned. Indians, and particularly Mussalmans of India, may be very ignorant, but they are not so ignorant as to think that the restoration of the mosque would be an act extorted from Government by the display of force. The puissance of the Government and the dignity of the State have more than sufficiently been vindicated already. A small unarmed crowd was continuously fired upon for more than quarter of an hour according to the admission of the authorities themselves. Mr. Tyler has admitted that nearly 600 loaded cartridges were used on that occasion. The people were also charged by the mounted police with spears, and from incontestable evidence it can be proved that force was used in other ways also by the police in a most atrocious manner, and with results which if brought to the notice of fair-minded people, would shock them immeasurably. Since then, close upon 200 people have been arrested, and locked up in the common jail. More than a hundred have been committed to Sessions, and bail has consistently been refused. These men for more than two months have suffered virtual imprisonment. Under these circumstances we cannot see how any act of justice done to the Moslem community of India can be deemed to be extorted from Government by the display of force. In the ordinary course of things the Sessions trial would commence on the 15th October, and the best counsel that could be had in any part of India would be engaged for the defence. The evidence for the prosecution is purely oral, and the importance of the trial lies in the opportunity that the counsel for the defence would have of cross-examining the local officials of Cawnpore. Knowing facts as we do, and having most carefully considered them, we feel certain that these gentlemen would come off very badly out of so searching a test, and the position of Government would become even worse than it is at present. When facts have been elicited from the local officials in their cross-examination at the Sessions trial, both Civil and Criminal action will be taken against the authorities, and although it is open to Government to refuse to give sanction for the prosecution

of its officers, the results of Civil action would undoubtedly be such as Government have not yet perhaps contemplated. We feel certain that victory would in the end lie with the Moslems, and that not by resorting to lawlessness, but by taking full advantage of the protection of law. But there are some victories which are very much like defeats, and at any rate we feel that situated as we are, we cannot contemplate Moslem triumphs against the authorities with any great satisfaction. Such a victory as we have described would leave a very ragged edge behind, and if we wish well to our community we cannot desire such a result, although in certain circumstances that is all that we may have to be content with. We have always believed, and never more firmly than we believe to-day, that Government and the Moslems must work together with mutual confidence, and the utmost friendliness. The progress of the country at large, and the progress of our community in particular, depend upon the continued existence of such confidence, and such friendly co-operation. If there is a yawning gulf between, that is all the more reason that a "golden bridge" must be built across it, and we hope there is sufficient statesmanship left in the responsible officers of Government and in the leaders of the Moslems to persuade them to commence the construction of such a bridge without the least possible delay. Much as we desire to leave out of consideration at present anything less pleasant than such common action, we feel we shall be failing in our duty to Government and to our co-religionists if we do not also sound a note of warning in case Government could not be persuaded on its side to do what we suggest. Whatever the causes, whether the attitude of Government towards the Mussalmans in India, or the attitude of European Powers towards Islam and Mohammedan States, or even the activities of the leaders of Mussalmans, whom a correspondent has grossly and most unwisely vilified in the columns of the *Times*, only the other day, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the Moslem community in India is unwilling to tolerate actions such as have resulted in the deplorable incident of August 3rd. If the situation does not speedily alter for the better, we can take no responsibility for the actions of the more ardent spirits in our community. You know Sir, that it is not at all times possible for the most influential leader of his community to control the actions of all its individual members, and even if this had been possible in the past, it is not so now. Unless we are assisted by Government, it is very likely that in certain easily imagined contingencies, some Mussalmans may get out of hand, and may resort to actions which nobody would deplore more than ourselves. We know how, among other Anglo Indian journals, the *Pioneer* has been characterising your own warnings as threats, and we fear that ours also may be construed or may be pretended to be construed as such, but in the interests of good government and the progress of our own community we must risk something, and we have therefore not refrained from alluding to these much-to-be-deplored possibilities. But we hope all this will be averted by the action of Government, and we suggest, of course without prejudice, that on its side Government should decide to restore the demolished portion of the mosque, and withdraw all prosecutions, including that for sedition against the Mussalmans of Cawnpore. On our part, we are willing to pledge that we shall do our utmost to persuade our community that after the restoration of the mosque and the release of the men, no Criminal or Civil action should be taken against the authorities. We do not think there is any humiliation for Government in the action proposed, and we feel certain that such a decision will be the foundation of a renewed confidence and co-operation between Government and our community. We are most anxious that the sponge should be passed over the entire slate, and that the Mussalman community should be freed from its anxieties, so that it may return to the work of self-improvement, which has so unfortunately been disturbed in recent times by a succession of misfortunes. The Government also would be freed from the inevitable embarrassment, so that it could also pursue undisturbed the work of making India more prosperous and progressive. Are not these results sufficiently important to induce Government to do that which is, after all, only an act of justice? Even if it is something more than one act of justice, are not these results sufficiently important to induce Government to perform an act of grace? We may add that knowing Messrs. Tyler and Sim as we do, and the feeling in Cawnpore, and in fact in the Mussalman community at large against them, we feel that it would not be very desirable to let them remain much longer at Cawnpore. We do not suggest this in a vindictive spirit, but only with a view to make a restoration of harmony at Cawnpore reasonably assured. Government could transfer them in some suitable way without giving the transfer an appearance of being penal, though it will not do to reward them as we find some members of the Police Department at Cawnpore have been rewarded. That action cannot but embitter the feelings of those who have suffered unjustly, and grievously at their hands. It is possible by the use of force to suppress militants, but it is not possible to suppress bitterness of feeling in that way."

The Comrade.

Some Aspects of the Settlements.

AFTER the gracious message of peace and goodwill delivered by the Viceroy to the Moslem community in India, it would be the height of churlishness to rake up ugly incidents of the past or frame estimates of profit and loss in the spirit of a puffblowing attorney. The settlement of the Cawnpore Mosque affair embodies in its essence a great act of conciliation, and the Mussalmans have accepted it in the spirit in which it has been offered. It is easy to strike up an attitude of logical rigour and set down the decision about the mosque as inadequate. A few voices have, in fact, been raised in dissatisfaction and against the acceptance of a compromise where no compromise is held to be possible. The manner of the restoration of the mosque may not honestly appear to some to be in exact accordance with the Islamic law on the subject. It should, however, be remembered that the decision was arrived at after an eminent Moslem theologian, who is held in special esteem for his independence and love of Islam, had weighed and judged the issue. But even if it be true that the requirements of the Islamic law in relation to mosques have not been wholly satisfied in this case, we have to remember the circumstances which had rendered the affair a fearful tangle of motive and standpoint. The head of the Provincial Government had defied his attitude in uncompromising terms. He had been driven, much against his will, to precipitate judgment and found himself, all unconsciously perhaps, taking his stand in the last ditch of official prestige. The signal must have been enough to rally the powerful Service in chivalrous loyalty to the support of its chief. The issue was thus made naked with a sharpness that no one could mistake. The whole affair seemed to have been reduced to a straight, simple fight against "popular clamour." To yield to it was out of the question. A simple public grievance was, through a series of blunders, made to assume the character of a stark importunance, which the provincial Government chose to regard as a direct challenge to its authority and its might. It is needless to dwell on the usual fate of public grievances that happen to touch the *amour propre* of officialdom. When the mosque question had been shifted to such a plane we can well realise the delicate position of the Viceroy who had to utter the final word. On the one hand, there was a whole community smarting under a deep sense of wrong. On the other hand, there was the Provincial Government and its great officials who had elected to regard the maintenance of their prestige as their supreme concern. Under the circumstances it is impossible to exaggerate our admiration for the Viceroy who with the courage and wisdom of a great statesman has brushed aside the cobwebs of false pride and unbending faith in official infallibility, and by piercing straight to the heart of this affair has sought to right a wrong. It is the spirit of this noble act which has won the hearts of the Mussalmans. A few of them may not be fully satisfied with the decision about the mosque. All of them gratefully appreciate the great reparation that the whole settlement implies; and passing beyond the temporary loss and gain they may well fix their eyes on the great principles of justice, sympathy and tolerance on which the British rule has been reared and which have been vindicated once more in so signal a manner by this highest representative of the Crown.

The Cawnpore settlement by the personal intervention of the Viceroy has made a great impression throughout India and in a variety of ways. The Mussalmans have, as we have already said, received it in a spirit of great relief, and in their expressions of joy there is no note of exultation. Those who have sought to interpret it as a victory for the Mussalmans have a false estimate of the character of the community. If it is a triumph of Moslem agitation, it is far more a triumph of British justice. The real mood of the community is one of admiration for the strength of character of the Viceroy, of returned confidence in the pledges and imperishable traditions of the British Rule. The responsible organs of Hindu opinion share Moslem gratification in full measure. But the Anglo-Indian Press, that considers itself to enjoy the sole monopoly of advising those who are responsible for the governance of India, has, with few honourable exceptions, condemned the action of Lord Hardinge with varying degrees of violence. The rabid attack of the *Englishman* is of a piece with its whole character as the exponent of the "martial-law-and-no-d-d-nonsense" school of journalism. It says that the Viceroy's decisions "might prove to be a greater blow to British prestige in India than was the disaster at Malwanda," that Lord Hardinge would in future be held responsible "for giving a tremendous impetus to Muhammadan agitation in India" and that the Cawnpore settlement "has proved in a startling fashion that the Government trembles before violence." The writings of the *Pioneer* and the *Statesman* and

others of the ilk are only less ludicrous than that of the Hare Street oracle, though scarcely less suggestive of portentous consequences. This solid mass of opposition from the organs of the official and non-official European community in India leads to certain considerations which it is impossible to ignore in the best interests of the country. The first question that strikes one on an occasion like this—when Anglo-Indian Press thunders in ungovernable wrath against the Government of the country because it happens to do something which accords with the wishes or aspirations of the people—is: What is the position of these mentors and what is it that constitutes their *bona fide*? Manifestly they can have no interest in the progress of the Indian people from whom they are divided by a gulf of race, creed and sentiment. They have no permanent stake in the country, no abiding ties beyond a desire to strive to maintain in perpetuity an order of things which conduces most to their material well-being. The non-official Europeans, whose interests they profess to serve, represent a commercial class whose business activities have a very slight and not very wholesome bearing on the true economic progress of the land. Then, where do they come into the vital life of India that they should so largely dominate the political situation? Is it because they enjoy the patronage of the British official class and lend their columns to its fulsome support and full-throated laudation? This again raises a tough little question. The British official in India is virtually no more than a public servant who has to faithfully execute the orders of the Government that employs him and to advance the welfare of the public out of whose money he is paid. Is it desirable that he should try to influence public policy through a Press that professes to be his loudest champion, a Press that in almost every important matter is opposed to the public opinion of this country? The Anglo-Indian Press is never tired of telling the world what the great Civil Service of India thinks and feels on such and such a question, and the assertion is loudest when the rest of India is thinking and feeling differently. Does the Government and the people themselves exist simply that the Civil Service may thrive and rise in glory? Is it not rather a serious reflection on the sense of duty of the Civil Servants when their henchmen in the Press set them up in opposition to the legitimate wishes of the people or the decisions of those who alone can initiate public policy and are in the last resort responsible for the government of the country? The Cawnpore Settlement has shown in a striking fashion how irresponsible the Anglo-Indian Press can be, and how ready it is to offer gratuitous insults both to the people and the Government. It has no sympathy with Moslem "agitators," for they had the temerity to entertain a grievance and question the judgment of "one of the most brilliant members of the Civil Service." It has scoffed at the Hindu opinion because no consideration can decently be shown to a community that had founded the Indian National Congress and sown the wind of agitation. It has no respect for the King's representative and his counsellors whose action "might prove to be a greater blow to British prestige in India than was the disaster at Malwanda." (The European in India, however, might show his respect "for the Deputy of the King-Emperor only by throwing the blame for a gigantic blunder on that vague abstraction known as 'the government' or 'the authorities'") The only sane and admirable body of people are "the Europeans in India," official and non-official. It is they alone whose opinion is entitled to weight. It is their prestige that has really suffered, because a whole community of mere Indians has got prestige, because they have been allowed to build a forcibly demolished portion of their place of worship in a modified form and because a number of their long-suffering brethren, who were the victims of a riot which was none of their seeking, have been released. Such is the ideal of the British rule which the Anglo-Indian papers have consistently preached for years. Even the Viceroy, the responsible head of the Government, has no business to meddle where the prejudices of the European trader or the self-willed Civil Servant are concerned. Their words when once uttered should be considered as sacred as the Holy Writ, their acts as immutable as the Will of Heaven. With the conceit and littlenesses of a handful of Englishmen is to be bound up the fate of entire India. One wonders whether these papers, which profess to be more loyal than the King himself, realise the mischief they are doing to the cause of good government in this country. They prate about prestige and Empire. Do they know that they are striking at the roots of the principles which have built up the Empire and invested its name with that intangible something they call "prestige"? They are simply mummbling the husks, and imagine that they are forcing on the kernel and the juice. The Empire that is always in danger whenever its statesmen try to be just or a lid to the liberties of the peoples within its bounds, is a very shaky foundation indeed, and no cracker and prestige-monger can save it from eventually crumbling to pieces.

There is one effect of the Cawnpore settlement which, we trust, has been carefully noted by the class of officials who see in every public excitement a germ of sedition. As soon as the Viceroy's

announcement became known Moslem excitement ceased to exist. A stream of messages of gratitude has since been pouring on the Viceroy from every quarter of India. If the community had been simply nursing an idle grievance and playing with sedition the Viceroy's decision would have failed to produce such wonderful calm. The message of peace flashed on electric wings across the length and breadth of the land. The magic wand of sympathy broke the spell in an instant and the change is sudden and complete. Such magical transformation can not be effected where the iron has entered the soul and the heart has been hardened by dull hate. The one grievance which had deeply moved the Mussalmans has been treated with sympathy and the whole community is expressing its heartfelt feelings of contentment and loyalty. One need not claim that Moslem loyalty is, like virtue, cultivated for its own sake. It is, however, the sense of obligation and attachment to a tolerant and progressive regime which is felt by a race jealous of its self-respect, its ideals and its reputation for faithful adherence to plighted word. The religion of the Mussalman is his most exacting loyalty, and as long as he is free to practice it, he will remain absolutely loyal to the conditions that guarantee this freedom. The Cawnpore settlement has proved to the Mussalmans once more that religious tolerance established by British Rule is not an empty boast. We have reason to hope that all occasion for future misunderstandings on this score will be removed by a legislative measure which will guarantee the absolute inviolability of the places of worship of all religions and creeds, and will declare them immune from the operation of the Land Acquisition Act.

The Indian Moslem's Tasks.

II.

We indicated in brief outline in our last the important set of problems to which the Indian Mussalmans will have to address themselves with promptitude, if they mean to retain their communal individuality. And it cannot be repeated too often that the retention of communal individuality must be their supreme and vital aim. This alone is the ideal worth striving for. For this, in the last resort, they have to toil and fight, to stake all they have, if need be, to preserve it and all else that it implies. One may be perfectly sure that there is nothing exclusive, self-sufficient or sectarian in this ideal. Nationalism, faith in some great political doctrines, even the lofty aspiration to achieve the federation of the world, are lesser loyalties. If self-realisation is the ultimate end of man, if he has battled and striven since the birth of creation to achieve a synthesis which should include his entire experience of the known world and his brief, fugitive visions of the great Unknowable, then religion is the only thing that can afford him such ample incommensurable atmosphere. As long as a Mussalman believes in the truth and universality of the ideal of his faith, the preservation of his communal individuality shall remain his one ultimate concern.

But communal individuality cannot manifestly be had for mere aspiration. It represents the fruit of sustained and united efforts of a community that is moved by common ideals. Self-preservation in a world of struggle and rivalry is a matter of intellectual and moral equipment. The greatest need of the Mussalmans is, therefore, to prepare themselves intellectually and morally for the struggle that they have to face. This consideration ultimately resolves itself into a need for the development of a type of education that would evolve virile, energetic, and strong personalities.

Education has been for upwards of a generation the sole cry of Moslem India. Thanks to the efforts of a far-sighted man a true note was sounded at the start and Moslem attention was focussed to the real need of the situation. It must, however, be confessed that, in spite of the single-minded devotion of the first great missionary of Moslem education and the vast volume of literature and opinion that he helped to create, the results have been meagre and inadequate. The net gain so far has been that some progress has been made towards a unity of ideal and a number of men have been educated who partially realise the needs of thorough communal education. The rest is all a wonder and a wild desire. There is no organisation of effort worth the name, no complete sense of duty, no elaboration of ways and means. The existing mass of ignorance in the community is appalling. Everything has been left to chance and accident; and the result is that new generations of Mussalmans are being reared under vastly inferior conditions to those which furnish their equipment to the Hindus. The proportion of Mussalmans in higher education is steadily decreasing. In secondary education their percentage is alarming. The figures for primary education though not so disquieting are far from satisfactory. And then the quality of educa-

tion that is being imparted to Moslem boys can hardly lead one to hope that men of trained capacity and character will soon be forthcoming to guide the destinies of Islam in India. If only our communal guides and dictators cared to reflect over the silent shifting of relative power that is going on under their very noses, they would pause in their headlong race for self-assertive leadership.

The Moslem University scheme is intended to embody the Moslem ideals for communal education. But the scheme is still hanging fire. The ultimate fate of the project will hinge on the degree of earnestness shown by the Mussalmans themselves. The Government attitude in the matter may be stiff and undesirable, but it need not act on Moslem spirit as a cold douche. If the Mussalmans have an unshakable faith in their ideals and a capacity for sustained endeavour, they will have the University after their own heart. But this would not surely end their labours. The real test would come when they would find themselves in the position of the architect who has to design and create a vast bodily frame for the habitation of an ideal. The entire resources of Moslem character, intellect and capacity will have to be applied ungrudgingly if the University ideal is to materialise. Aligarh is to become in a still wider sense the nerve-centre of Moslem India. It has to evolve and fix the educational type. It has to create a vast organisation which would render the type accessible to Mussalmans in every part of the country and in every stage of intellectual and moral development. The task is great and would claim the steadfast devotion of the wise, the pure and the generous in the community.

But the University, even if it springs into existence to-day, will be of no great benefit unless the whole field from which it has to draw its sustenance is extensively tilled and prepared to yield abundant harvest. The education of Moslem boys and girls in the primary and secondary stages is a still more urgent problem. No solution can be satisfactory and complete without organising efforts on communal lines. For this, local initiative will have to be evoked in response to a common ideal and under the direction of a vast organisation working from a common centre. Will the great ones of the community, who bulk large on every platform that satisfied their self-complacency and spend their leisure in recounting their services to the communal cause, undertake this important task and organise a vast effort to rescue the masses of the community from the blight of ignorance? If they fail to respond, their younger and less showy compatriots need not and surely will not fail. Local organisations that already exist, the district leagues and Anjumans, should be converted into committees for the extension, supervision and control of Moslem primary education and they should be linked to a central organisation which would help them by contributions, suggestions and advice. The effort is worth the making, and all means should be applied to this end. Through lectures, pamphlets, night schools, even through agencies primarily intended for public amusement, a great campaign should be started to cast this monster of ignorance out of the land. It will be a noble effort. Every Moslem who realises the need should make a start in his town or village, single-handed and alone if he finds none to help him. His work may be difficult and the results modest and even discouraging, but he will not despair if he loves Islam and his country and is inspired by the matchless examples of those who have shrunk from no sacrifice to bring about light and emancipation on God's earth.



A Fanatic Abroad.

I

Mr well-beloved Comrade, I have shamefully neglected you these many weeks. Always ready with promises of reformation, I told you when I left you now a little over a month ago that not a week shall I miss in sending you a full and true account of the doings of the Fanatic abroad. I knew how I hated writing when I made this promise, and a foolish and conventional world will charge me with inaneceity on that account. But, my dear Comrade, you, too, knew, for a man who butters his thick chunks of bread with the rancid butter of journalism, how I hated writing, and yet you believed or pretended to believe in my promises! I care not what the world says of you, but if I was a rogue you were a fool, and, heaven bless me, I have not yet decided which is greater enormity.

I do not know whether you expect me to tender an apology for my breaking all these beautiful promises, or to hunt for excuses wherewith to justify my offence. But if I begin with excuses or apologies, you may be sure this letter will contain nothing but these insincere fabrications. Circumstances have too long been used as a Whipping-boy, and for the moment I am not original enough to think of any other scape-goat. So I offer no apology and will invent no excuses.

A journey by the P & O mail steamer is nowadays so commonplace an occurrence that it needs no description, and even though the time of the year when the Fanatic set out on his Westward voyage was such that the sea could provide some diversion from the ordinary humdrum routine of the voyager, was your Fanatic the only person on God's earth, or rather on the P & O Company's boat sailing on God's ocean, who is occasionally generous to the fish without meaning to be? As it was the monsoon was so weak that while we were jubilant, we could well grieve for you who have to gaze on the unrelenting skies day after day to see if they have any moisture in their eyes. Except for a day or two of breezy weather it was perfectly fine and calm, and in fact on several days we could well picture ourselves, that is to say if there had been no steam, like the barque of the Ancient Mariner as "a painted ship upon a painted ocean."

The Fanatic has no business to travel by first-class, and in fact, some people may say he has no business to travel except on foot or on the hump of a camel. But in these matters the Grand Vizier had the shaping of the Fanatic's destiny, and his associations would have justified the chartering of an entire boat. But luxury always reacts on the luxuriously inclined, and the Grand Vizier found himself in very meagre company not particularly enlivened by the presence of some venerable dowagers, and what a certain friend of ours would call "Alfonso." I fear you will have to supply a secret key to this kind of nomenclature, but the Fanatic feels he could never put the state of affairs more accurately than by using this fascinating expression. Our solitude and the company of antiquities was tempered by the presence of only one solitary figure which, to use legal phraseology, was not time-barred. But, as you know, the Grand Vizier is coy, and the Fanatic has a beard, and even the reference to such mundane affairs will not be misunderstood by anyone who knows them. In fact, as Chatterton would put it, confessions generally imply an absence of guilt.

The Fanatic, indeed, had no idea of a full knowledge of the meaning of the ship's bells, the only method of keeping time was to count by the meals. Indeed, the tyranny of the dining table became almost intolerable. We began the day with coffee, biscuits and fruit. This was the one meal we thoroughly enjoyed because for once it was the pyjamas that were *de rigueur*. The Fanatic in his loose nether garments and vague muslin shirt displaying a profusion of neck and wanly bosom and disguising the exact proportions of the equatorial regions into something almost human, was not only in his element but in fitting and appropriate apparel. This meal was preceded by the walk of a mile or two on the deck, and you can imagine what a delightful change it was for one who like the Kutub (not the Kutub Minar though not unlike it either) never stirred at all. After this first and best of all meals there was another "constitutional" of a mile or so, of course all with bare feet and with *sansculottism* in its literal sense, for the pyjamas was tucked up to the knee. This continued from 6 to 8, and sometimes even a little later, and the men were entirely in *pyjama* for the ladies had no more share of this freedom on the deck than they have in social freedom in India or in franchise in Europe. It is not for the Fanatic to say whether the world is better or worse without the company of woman, but he has been in many a smoking-room and now he has once more enjoyed the liberty of the deck every morning for a fortnight in company with mere men, and to judge by the demeanour of his civilised companions, they do not seem absolutely to detest the absence of the other and better half of humanity.

But I am digressing. I must return to the dining-table and discuss its tyranny a little longer. The next meal of the day was the breakfast which was served at 9 o'clock after the cool and comfortable garments of the East had been discarded for the suffocating collar and uncomfortable flannel or tweed suit of the prim and "proper" West. A very long list of rather insipid food had to be religiously gone through, and if for a change the man of the East turned to his native curries, he found ample justification for detesting the cookery of his country or, failing that, the P & O cook. Between nine and one there was a long enough interval, but the cook forced himself on the attention of the voyager at eleven with cups of beef-tea, and the worst of it was one felt too hungry to refuse the kindly-meant offer. At one o'clock the bugle was blown for luncheon, which was almost as elaborate as dinner, and a little fuller than a very filling breakfast. At four there was afternoon tea, and three hours later, sometimes even before the shining eye of the day was closed, there was the urgent call of dinner. The first bugle was blown at 6-30, and imagine the horror of getting into a starched

shirt, stiff collar, and suit of solemn black which goes under the name of evening dress when there was still a good hour before the sun would set. Considering the small number of first-class passengers and the extreme paucity of the element that makes men gallant and gay and inclined to think a little too much of their garments, this religious proceeding of getting into evening dress reminded the Fanatic of nothing so much as the Supreme Government honouring and decorating itself at every recurring New Year's Day and King-Emperor's birthday. It would be extreme irreverence and, indeed, something very like high treason to suggest in this connection the dance of the peacock in full gay plumage all by itself in the solitude of the jungle. But I do not know biology sufficiently well to be sure whether even the peacock dances in the jungle except in the presence of the peahen.

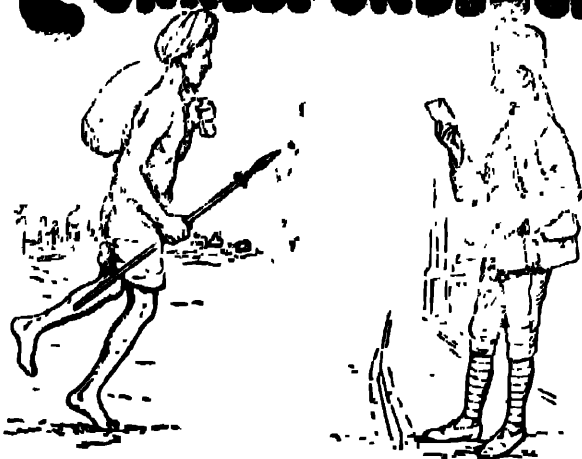
Another memory of the voyage that comes back to the Fanatic is his Goanese steward, who bore the familiar name of Gomez. The man on his first appearance gave us hopes that the Grand Vizier would be made comfortable throughout the voyage in spite of the absence of a whole host of servants whom he had left behind in the land of Kings, nabobs and rajahs. The man was smiling and sleek, and he promised every attention that the spoilt Oriental so sadly needs. But appearances are proverbially deceptive, and we soon forgot his smiling and sleek appearance in his still more deceptive and frequently recurring disappearances. Hardly had the Grand Vizier put on his shirt and nether garments when with a beatific smile the man of Goa would say "I am goin', sir!" Indeed towards the end of the voyage we often caught a fleeting glimpse of a sleek and smiling face, and heard a voice soothingly saying "I am goin', sir." How reminiscent he became then of "the smile without the cat" in "Alice in Wonderland" or, indeed, of a certain distinguished ornament of British politics and the House of Peers who claims to be ploughing his furrow alone. I am not quite sure whether two or three days before the end of our voyage he had not become merely like the cuckoo, an invisible but a wandering voice, for the gentle sea-breezes often wafted over into our cabin the soothing accents of a syrupy voice saying "I am goin', sir." My dear Comrade, do you not rush to conclusions, and believe that by the time we ended our journey, and our barque came into haven at the chief Mediterranean port of France, even the voice was hushed. Almost exactly two days before we caught sight of land dear Gomez became like some of the great ones in India, an insistent presence. And it is only a mean and sordid fancy which finds any connection between this mighty change in Gomez and the golden guineas of which we reaped the harvest on the day of our departure when he had only sown the wind or even the whirlwind of angry rebuke.

Our voyage was otherwise wholly uneventful except for some glorious cricket which was played mostly on the Second saloon boat-deck, for it seems that there is now an unbridable gulf between the first and second saloon passengers and the latter cannot come even for a dream-while to have a knock at the nets on the spacious first saloon deck. The Fanatic would have been discreetly silent about this part of the history of the voyage had his record on the scoring-sheet—it was a bridge-scoring sheet stolen from the smoking-room—been like the history of Vic's love—a blank. I can detect the incredulous twinkle in the eye, though my beloved Comrade is far removed from me. But I am prepared to swear before any number of Justices of the Peace, and to convince several dozens of good men and true among my peers that on several occasions my score was the highest, and I had to retire with honour as a sort of supernumerary Civilian because, according to the rules of cricket on board the *Arabia*, I had made twenty or more runs and could not go on. But what astonished even myself was my success with the ball. Evidently that weapon of offence, made of tow and covered with a network of string not unlike the first ball with which we played cricket in our school-days, lent itself well enough to my peculiar style of bowling (ahem!) and, to be absolutely frank, the limited space that was our wicket, added some terrors to my performance. Anyhow, nothing succeeds like success, and I found that after a couple of matches between Indians and the World, in which the World invariably came off second-best, the Indians were promised a match on the strict understanding that the Fanatic would not be allowed to bowl!

My dear Comrade, this week you must content with an account of what passed on the ocean wave only, and our little episode of a journey across the sand from Suez to Cairo, and Cairo to Port-Said, while our boat was sailing leisurely through the Canal, is an account of tramping on land, and this week I have neither the time to turn from one element to the other, nor have I yet recovered my land legs. Do not misunderstand me, please, and think of a groggy gait, for, as you know, the Fanatic is a Falstaff of temperance! Love and au revoir from

THE FANATIC.

CORRESPONDENCE



An Appeal to the Panjab University.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I will feel much obliged if you extend the courtesy of your columns to the following few lines :

It seems that the Senate of the Panjab University does not take the trouble of going through the books that it prescribes as the courses of instruction "The Hero as a Poet," by Carlyle—a chapter in "the Selected English Essays by Peacock," a course for the Degree examination for 1914 and 1915, shows that the book was not read at all at least by the Moslem members of the Senate, who must have given their consent before the book was prescribed.

The following few lines will be sufficient to clear my point. "Selected English Essays" by W. Peacock. Page 392, 393.

"He did not feel, like Mahomet, because he saw into those internal splendours, that he specially was the 'Prophet of God'—and was he not greater than Mahomet in that? Greater, and also, if we compute strictly, as we did in Dante's case, more successful. It was intrinsically an error, that Notion of Mahomet, of his supreme prophethood : and has come down to us inextricably involved in error to this day, dragging along with it such a coil of fables, impurities, intolerances, as makes it a questionable step for me here and now to say, as I have done, that Mahomet was a true speaker at all, and not rather an ambitious charlatan, perversity and simulacrum, no speaker but a Bibbler! Even in Arabia, as I compute, Mahomet will have exhausted himself and become obsolete while this Shakspear for unlimited periods to come."

At another place

"But as for Mohamet, I think it had been better for him not to be conscious! Alas, poor Mahomet; all that he was conscious of was a mere error; a futility and triviality—as indeed, such ever is. The truly great in him too was the unconscious—that he was a wild Arab lion of the desert, and did speak out with that thunder voice of his, not by words which he thought to be great, but by actions, by feelings, by a history which were great! His Koran has become a stupid piece of prolix absurdity inarticulate deep."

It is needless to say that no Moslem can tolerate such a book. It is a pity that such books should be prescribed, as contain nothing but the production of prejudices and bias.

Through your columns, Sir, I appeal to the Panjab University authorities to withdraw this odious book from the courses of study.

Yours faithfully,
A Moslem Student.

An Erratum.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

DEAR SIR,—In publishing in the Indian papers the list of subscriptions sent to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society by the Indian Muhammadans, an error was inadvertently introduced in this list, with regard to the remittances made by Mr. Qamar Shah Khan on behalf of the people of Rampur (State), U. P., India.

The correct lists are the following :—

Date.	Amount.	Remarks.
	Piastres.	
24 Mart 1928	11,887	Tripoli war.
24 Mart 1928	1,475	"
12 Ailool	16,956	"
24 Mais	10,955	"
26 Tashreensani 1928	8,792-30	Balkan war.
5	50,100	"
21	85,595	"
21	59,015	"
11 Kanoon Aival	121,191	"
12 Schubat	52,449	"

We will feel obliged for this publication, and thanking you in anticipation.

We remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

DR. ADWAN,

General Secretary ;

for The President, Ottoman Red Crescent,



Phantom Figures.

VII

THE P. W D

EXCEPT in big stations, our Roads and Buildings—an important branch of the Public Works Department—are entrusted to the care of an official termed the District Surveyor. He used to be known as the District Engineer, but apparently that title was deemed too lofty a one for the class of individual now usually occupying the post. This consists mainly of men who have gone through Rurki, either as students from an Indian School or selected candidates from British regiments. The latter were invited some little time ago to accept the designation of Assistant Engineer, thus winning admittance to the charmed circle of a Station Club, but most of the persons in question wisely preferred to retain the humbler designation, since that meant a higher rate of pension on retirement. Besides they gradually attained the dignity of Honorary rank and became entitled to be styled Lieutenants and Captains, albeit they had long since forsaken the field of Mars for the more lucrative pastures of Civil employment. I have often suspected that Balbus who—according to the Latin grammars—"built a wall" must have been a member of the ancient Roman P. W D although his satisfactory accomplishment of that feat might throw doubts on such theory. The Executive Engineer is decidedly a "personage": that billet being filled, for the most part, by officers from the Royal Engineers, for whose services the military authorities cannot find work in times of peace, so draft them off to Railways, or charge of a group of Districts, to supervise the labours of the Surveyor and check his monthly T. A. bills. The last mentioned task requiring no small arithmetical genius and acquaintance with P. W D. methods for hunting, (and capturing), the 'oof bird.

Some knowledge of the construction of bridges and barracks, of how a road should be metalled or a sentry box for Jail warders built, is expected from the District Surveyor, but the art of covering ground with the least inconvenience to yourself and the maximum wage for doing so is absolutely essential to success in his Department. Motor bikes came as a "boon and a blessing", until an unkind Accountant-General—horried to discover that many Surveyors were earning T. A. to the extent of four times their actual salary—felt constrained to introduce special rules for journeys performed by those distance-annihilating vehicles. Prior to the age of "bikes", motor or otherwise, one generally knew the residence of a District Surveyor by the presence of three or more bony-looking specimens of horseflesh tethered in the compound or being led forth—like mutes at a funeral—by their respective eyces. To the untiring energy of his stud the P. W D. official owed that welcome increment—not quite of the "unearned variety"—which enabled him to clothe his family in gorgeous apparel; live on the fat of the land (such as it is); and own a fair amount of house property as a source of income in his declining years. As masters of finance the Public Works subordinate has always excited my deep admiration, and I would gladly learn from one of the tribe the priceless secret of living at the rate of seven hundred a month, when your pay—as recorded in the Civil List—

does not exceed half that sum. Neither the Rothschilds nor Baring, nor even that Napoleon of Banking, Harkrishen Lal, can vie in the science of making both ends meet, and considerably overlap, in the same fashion as a Surveyor of ten years service. Paradoxical as it appears, his income apparently expands by contracting, and he sends his offspring home to be educated far better than were their parents: a feat many officials in loftier grades of society would fain be able to imitate. I do not venture to suggest any solution for this problem of expenditure, but merely record it as a curious financial phenomenon. Like Brains & Co., we all know the District Surveyors are "honourable men", and must dismiss the puzzle with the reflection that—in their case—Honour and Pieces go together. The different buildings erected under the auspices of our District Surveyor are often subjected to unfriendly criticism.

The houses he builds are said to possess the dual disadvantage of keeping their inmates hot in summer and cold in winter, while their admitted virtue—that of permanence—might almost be counted a vice, since it means the landscape of a Station being marred for dreary years of time by structures disgustingly stable, but devoid of any architectural beauty. Perhaps it is unfair to blame the Rurku student for not displaying the architectural talent of Sir Joshua Wren or Inigo Jones, because the course of study at that College is, very properly, framed for teaching the more practical every day work of a member of the Public Works. Seen at gala times, when illuminations are the order of the night, the symmetrical lines, the painfully correct angles and stiff design of Court Houses, Dak Bungalows, and other public buildings, lend themselves capitally to the use of the *churagh*; most effective medium for lighting up these solid masses of brick and mortar. On an occasion of that sort, they present a pretty picture and the national lamp—as the *churagh* might rightly be called—relieves their staid monotony in the same way as would an episode from the "Arabian Nights" enliven the dogmatic style of a paper on Political Economy or like subject, supposed to interest people, whereas it bores the majority of its readers. The P. W. D. has been described as the great "spending Department," a reproach not wholly unmerited, for if your District Surveyor be asked to furnish estimates for some piece of work, he usually arrives at a total far exceeding that of bazar contractors. More perhaps than any other class of European official does he fail to catch the spirit of the East or understand that the needs and comfort of householders differ in a London suburb and an Indian station. This inability to fashion his working plans and building projects in accordance with Indian customs and habits of living can be best witnessed when a Surveyor has to erect quarters for the habitation of Hindus and Mohammedans. Take the "standard plan" for a Police Station for example, and the houses meant for the Thanadar and staff. The fact, that nine tenths of Indians are benedicts, and besides seldom fail to have some dependent relatives on the premises, has been conveniently ignored in these structures, well adapted for the accommodation of a Railway Guard or married non-commissioned officer in a British regiment, still quite unsuited for the people destined to occupy them. The *ghushtiana* arrangements are absurdly inadequate and the luckless Sub-Inspector doomed to reside in one of these substantial, but most (in his opinion) disagreeable, edifices must wonder at the *Sukra* expending hundreds of rupees for housing him when he could provide himself with a much more rational and pleasant abode for a third of the cost. Hospitals and Schools are regarded by the District Surveyor as delightful gifts of Fortune, should one of these buildings have to be created under his charge: doubtless on account of the opportunity thus afforded of showing his superior professional skill and his readiness to tackle a big job. The planning of such major projects rests, we fancy, with the Executive Engineer, and—in any case—gras a pilgrimage from Department to Department, from one Office to another, ere finally mentioned and the man on the spot—the Surveyor—is ordered to interview contractors and have the work started. A business he is pardonably eager to commence. How the officer—Magistrate, Pollutaman, or Civil Surgeon—who has little idea of measurements, plans, sections, and profiles, is expected to pass a verdict on the suitability or otherwise of these from examination of a P. W. D. drawing—however correct to scale—is difficult to fathom. In most instances it would be prudent to write "Seen" on the covering docket, and leave the result to chance and the ingenuity of the contractor. As before explained, the social status of a District Surveyor hovers between the heaven of the Station Club and the society of Railway subordinates and the Reserve Inspector of Police. In small places a Surveyor—generally a thoroughly well-behaved and companionable sort of person—is allowed to join the former institution, higher dignitaries kindly recognising the awful loneliness for an European out off from intercourse—other than official—with members of his own race. If obstacles exist to his joining the Club it is nearly always due to Mrs. Surveyor. *Cherchez la femme* and the reason for ostracism is revealed. Some ladies who have succeeded in drawing prizes in the matrimonial lottery, in the shape of a Judge or Collector, are imbued with too great an idea of

the rank and position (in India) to care for meeting the spouse of a non-gazetted servant of the public, however large his banking account may be.

This prejudice, if intelligible, seems a trifle ridiculous, for everybody must have met *burra Mems* who were distinctly not of the caste of *Vere de Vere*; belonging in their own country to pretty much the same stratum of society as the women they despised hailed from. Snobbishness is a trait sadly out of place in a small station and contemptible wherever found, but is largely due to the erroneous notion entertained by many personages that the right to call yourself, and be regarded by others, a gentleman, depends entirely on whether your name figures in the Civil List or you are member of the Station Club. Because one meets Smith at a game of tennis or rubber of Bridge, and finds his womenfolk looking at the picture papers in the Club verandah, it does not follow that you are compelled to become closely intimate with S. and his family members. A Club is, rightly speaking, an open ground for social amenities, to terminate when you have stood Smith his usual afternoon peg or handed Mrs S into the trailer of their motor bike, nor necessitating invitations to dinner and frequent interchange of visits. Were this truth more commonly known and acted upon, the life of District Surveyors, and European subordinates generally, in little stations would not be so unspeakably forlorn and pleasureless as is now too often the case. The District Surveyor has a knack of employing his underlings in a most annoying manner when the season for repairing roads comes round. Going out to dinner you are brought to a standstill by barriers against further progress, and are fortunate if the presence of these bars has been indicated by lanterns dimly burning. To pull up the most used thoroughfare for a hundred yards or more and pile up heaps of *kankar* by the roadside—dangerous to man, beast, and bike—is a form of practical joke which few Surveyors are able to resist. On the other hand, should a Lieutenant-Governor announce his intention of motoring from one seat of Government to another a feverish anxiety is apparent to have the route laid down for the gubernatorial motor in perfect condition; level as the track at Brooklands. "Urgent projects" are left in abeyance and the attention of Smith and his fellows is concentrated on making smooth the transit of His Honour when that luminary of the official firmament traverses his jurisdiction, like a shooting star, of magnitude varying with circumstances, and the individuality of the particular constellation concerned. The District Surveyor who has the luck to be chosen for special duty at Government House, or in charge of some pet scheme of a local satrap, can assume airs and display pitying scorn for those of his *confidés* busied in the more humdrum task of attending to Roads and Buildings. He becomes more than first among his equals, since his labours are not unduly excessive, his chances for bringing himself to the notice of his august employer are many, and the road to wealth free from many of the stumbling blocks placed by wary Executive Engineers and the prying eyes of the Babus in the Accountant-General's Office in the path of a man who is desirous of emulating the hero of a play entitled "Get-rich-quick Jones," or some such designation. After the sale of the Camp fittings of a certain Durbar, it was reported—doubtless by the tongue of malicious envy—that several Surveyors had furnished their bungalows in a way to make Tottenham Road dealers green with envy at not having had an opportunity to submit a bill for the chairs, curtains, and, "trimmings" in general, which adorned the tents of distinguished visitors to afterwards embellish the rooms of a modest bungalow. Take him all round, the District Surveyor is a decent enough person, even if he has contracted a habit for looking at things in a somewhat peculiar light, and his services are of considerable use to the community at large. The exigencies of his calling have endowed him with a sublime belief in his own powers—or the expert skill of the Indian workman—for he will as readily undertake to build a Cathedral as to repair the culverts leading into a Collector's compound.

One could treat of him and his ways at greater length, but I hear the "Toot!—Toot!" of his motor bike and know that he is departing on a hunt for T. A., so may be left engaged in that meritorious pursuit without further descanting on his idiosyncracies, good or bad.

DEMOCRITUS.



The Behar University.

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

Now but the very foolish will question the right of the people of this country to express their views, individually or collectively, on all matters affecting them, directly or indirectly. And yet I am told, on excellent authority, that one of our educational pioneers, unknown in his own country but a great authority out here, fell into a hysterical fit over the Educational Conference held in September last at Bankipore. On what authority was the Conference called? What were its title, its credentials cried the indignant Professor? How did

the people dare to give utterance to their opinions? How did they, indeed? The astonishment, the wrath, the hysteria shook to its foundations the bulky frame of this doughty champion of Muscovite methods of administration. It was some time, to be sure, before his agitation and his fury abated. Not until then could he resume his normal, commonplace existence. Why all this anger, Professor? People do not care one jot for you or your views. They will, in spite of you and those of your way of thinking, continue to hold meetings, to express their views; nay, they would even venture to criticise your pontifical mandates. It is as well that you should be told plain truths, and we trust they will bear fruit even on a soil such as yours. Enough of you, Professor. Now, we will let you alone to float peacefully down the smooth surface of oblivion.

It is a matter for congratulation that the idea of a Mohammedan College, devoted exclusively to Islamic studies, has now been definitely abandoned. It is a wise, statesmanlike decision and it will have the enthusiastic assent of the entire community. I am averse from everything which is calculated, in the least degree, to accentuate or to bring into prominence racial differences.

Islamic studies should, without being aggressive or obtrusive, form part of the Arts' course, a part which should be left to the student, to take up or not as he may feel inclined.

As for the Bachelors of Islam and Masters of Islam—the two new degrees which the future university of Dacca will confer—their fate is sealed, the whole scheme is doomed to failure. And the reason is not far to seek. The majority of the students or rather their parents and guardians take a practical view of education. They are not poetical or impractical as the present writer is. Of course, to any mind the so-called practical view is a wrong view but there it is. We must take things as they are—much as we might wish them otherwise. What would they lead to? Would they lead to success in professional life or success in any other sphere of life? Would they serve as an avenue to high appointments? What will they do in the majority of instances? The study of exploded sciences, of hair-splitting theological squabbles, of long-winded discussions on unimportant legal points, will hardly be a source of culture and illumination such as we require in these days. They are all very well for a scholar intent on clearing up some obscure point or carrying on his researches into some dimly-lit region of mediæval study. But they can never put a student on a level with the ordinary run of students who aim not so much at scholarship as general culture to enable them to be useful members of society or successfully to face the struggle for existence.

Instead of studying Arab logic or Muslim theology or even purely theoretical portions of Islamic law it would be far better to insist upon a general study of Arabic and Persians, of course, a thorough study of those two languages up to the B. A. standard. It will provide a key to higher studies. What happens now is this. The student who passes out of the Calcutta Madrasah acquires no more than a mere bowing acquaintance with these two languages. He gets through the prescribed course in a hopelessly unmethodical fashion, and at the end of his academic course manages to obtain his degree. But his ignorance is appalling. Outside the prescribed course he knows nothing, he does not care to know anything. Put before him an unseen passage, Arabic or Persian, and he is at sea. I have personally known *maulvis* who have not only taken good degrees but who are actually engaged in teaching work, fail most hopelessly in their effort to explain Ibn Duraid or Ibn Abd Rabbih. This certainly does not redound to the credit of the institution which professes to give the highest order of instruction in oriental languages. Let the experiment be made any day and you will realize the poverty of knowledge of the *high-turbaned maulvis* who discourse so volubly to the poor and who pretend to distribute the pars part to heaven; of course, not without an ample monetary compensation.

And yet it is not very long ago that we had in our midst that tribe of intellectual giants to whom we cannot but bow in reverent admiration—the true products of our Eastern culture. To mention only a few representative names—Maulvi Abdul Hayy of Lucknow; Maulvi Kabiruddin of Calcutta, Hakim Abdul Hamid of Patna. But that order has passed away. We have now the sort of *maulvis* that I have described. But it is not their fault—it is the fault of the system. Everything now is a sham, an unreality. Western civilisation has done a great deal for us but it has also introduced hideous vices. It has taught us one thing to perfection. It is, if I may be permitted to coin a word *humbbugism*. Mr. Ali Iman is intensely anxious to perpetuate the memory of Lord and Lady Hardinge and we all admire gratitude wherever we find it. But has he ever revealed so glowing an enthusiasm nearer home as he has recently shown in connection with our benefactor at Simla; has he, indeed, ever shown a little of that enthusiasm for any one of his own race and religion; Basikh or Mir Taqi, Anis or Dabir, Zawq or Ghalib or even Syed Ahmad Khan or Mohsin-ul-Mulk? *Humbbugism*—that is the word which fitly and aptly describes the prevailing spirit of the times.

To resume the subject under discussion. This shallow superficiality must be done away with and something substantial substituted. Up to the B. A. a student—one, of course, who takes up that branch of study—should be given a thorough grounding in Arabic and Persian; and this, to be sure, is no extravagant demand. Four years is a fairly long time. It is highly desirable that educated Mohammedans should have first hand knowledge of their history and religion. To know the history of England and yet to be ignorant of the history of Islam; to read Shakespeare and yet to be a stranger to the Quran, is certainly a state of affairs not very creditable to us. And it is a painful truth that not one out of a thousand Mohammedans understands the Quran or knows anything of Islamic history. We do not wish to convert Mohammedans into a race of scholars. Even if we did so wish, it would be foolish because it would necessarily end in disappointment. All I urge is that those who do take Arabic and Persian should, by the time they pass the B. A. examination, be put in possession of knowledge sufficient to enable them to carry on further studies by themselves. They or at least some of them should not only acquire knowledge but also a taste for knowledge, an enthusiasm for learning. A university will ill discharge its function, if it does not inspire love of learning even in a small fraction of its *alumni*. Thus up to the B. A., I would suggest a general course of Arabic and Persian—confined mainly to literature and the history of Islam. After the B. A., I would suggest specialisation for higher studies. For the M. A., there should be specialisation and the M. A. course should extend to three years. Besides Arabic and Persian, the student, taking up the M. A. in oriental languages, should possess some knowledge of French and German. I would, indeed, go so far as to make French and German compulsory. We know how essential the knowledge of those two languages is to those who seriously work at any branch of oriental studies. It is impossible to go one step forward without French and German aid. They possess the best books on the subject and from their press issue the results of the latest researches. If we would really have serious, scientific, oriental study out here and not a mere futile farce we must have a proper staff to carry on the work. The specialisation may be in one of the two branches of Muslim learning: history and literature or law and theology. But it will be urged that the three year's course for the M. A. will frighten students away from this course of study. Very probably it will. But that should not stand in the way of efficiency. We would much sooner have one really serious student than a dozen triflers. But such a fear is groundless. As the love of study grows and the number of honest workers multiply, this post-graduate course will be a source and centre of increasing light. It will train men for original work and will, in course of time, become the nursery of true scholarship. There have been, there are and there will be in the future, in India men to carry on the torch of learning irrespective of any consideration of pecuniary gain or material advancement. But such true lovers perish, in these days of gross materialism, for want of mental sustenance. Not to speak of poverty, which crushes out all that is best in them, they suffer grievously from a lack of appreciation and encouragement, and of proper guidance and from an insufficiency of books. There is not one library here where you can find the most recent edition of the texts published in France or Germany, not one library where you can get the latest books on the subject you are studying. Everything is behind the times here and everything, forsooth, is wonderfully original. I do fervently hope that the newly created university of Behar will not indulge in freaks nor distinguish itself by rare originality. It will not, for instance, expect from its professor of Chemistry lectures upon Chinese Literature nor will it, we trust, call upon its professor of History to become the presiding deity of its Law College.

But if the object is extension of learning and higher learning—one thing, then, the Behar University must amply provide for. It must provide for a fair number of "fellowships", for those of its *alumni* who have won distinction at the university or have given indications of future greatness. To create an atmosphere of pure study—I use words of ominous import—it is of vital importance that you should put your student above petty wants. Learning must have undivided attention or none at all. Fellowships would do exactly what is necessary to put students, anxious to prosecute their studies, above want. It will save them from frittering away their energy in uncongenial walks of life. I use the word "students" in a wider, higher sense. I use the word as meaning those who pursue or are desirous of pursuing their studies after they have obtained the highest degree which their university can confer upon them. They will live within the walls or within easy distance of their Colleges, prosecuting their studies and enriching the store of knowledge.

But I am one of those who believe more in our own exertions than in Government aid. We must, of course, receive all that we get from Government with joyous thanksgiving but we must bestir ourselves as well. We have before us noble examples of unflinching

for instance, Tarak Nath Palit and Rash Behary Ghosh. (They must forgive me for mentioning their names without the suffixes and prefixes). Should they not inspire others to follow in their wake? Assuredly.

Let the people of Behar show in the cause of learning half that interest and half that zeal which they have recently evinced in decreeing a statue to Lord and another to Lady Hardinge. Has not Minerva equal, if not greater claims, upon their affection and their gratitude than our popular Viceroy, the father of the Province of Behar and the titular saint of the people?

"Our Government has done a great deal," says Syed Ahmad Khan, "for our education and our thanks are due to our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria. But I assure you that we would secure neither national education nor national self-respect unless and until we take our education in our own hands. It is wholly beyond the scope of Government to meet all our needs, to fulfil all our demands. In matters of national interest it is nothing short of folly; nay of positive shame, to throw ourselves entirely at the feet of Government. It should be our bounden duty to put our own shoulders to the wheel; to rely first and foremost on ourselves in the discharge of our national duties and obligations. We should look to Government for nothing more than bare encouragement and moral support. Were we to act thus, both the Government and the people would respectively discharge their duties" (Syed Ahmad Khan's address on Islamic education in India, p. 137). Golden words, worthy of being inscribed in golden letters.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

Mahomedan Education in India.

The special correspondent of the *Times* writes—

The circular letter recently issued by the Government of India to the provincial Governments on the subject of Mahomedan education has attracted considerable interest in India and elsewhere. It briefly recites the difficulties which attend the spread of education in the Moslem community, propounds certain remedies and commends the question to the Governments with the suggestion that committees be formed to make recommendations.

It is notorious that the Indian Mahomedan has fallen behind the Hindu in the matter of education. The generations have passed away who organized a widespread empire, constructed road, built fort, mosque, or mausoleum, and chronicled their deeds in memoir and history. The Mahomedan of to-day is less quick than his fellows of another faith to seize opportunity and pursue the course of instruction which leads—among other things—to office and to more lucrative professional employment. A kind of lethargy had settled on him. For years he lived in seclusion, participating but little in public life, content to play the rôle of the small landlord or the humble tenant. The Mahomedan did not like the Hindu, grasp the secular and Western type of education which the nineteenth century introduced with such remarkable results in India. With him instruction is intertwined with religion. Instruction has some of the elements of Islam must precede civilization training and that education long appeared to him the next which is based on Moslem civilization and includes the teachings of the Prophet and the exegesis of the Koran. In some parts of India he has his own vernacular, Urdu, which even when it resembles the language used by the Hindu population, involves a knowledge of the Persian script. Where Urdu is not the common speech of the Mahomedan he still seeks to learn it as a mark of refinement. Some knowledge of Arabic—even if mere rote knowledge—is incumbent. Persian is regarded as an elegant accomplishment. This leaves small leisure for the common vernaculars, for English and the many subjects which make up modern learning, and the time is not long past when the acquisition of English was regarded as a sin by certain of the strictly orthodox. The severe *pardah* system maintained in Moslem households precluded the education of girls at any save the tenderest age, and thus helped to deepen the darkness and stagnation.

AN IMPERSONAL

What are the precise stimuli which have aroused the Mahomedan of India from their dream it would be hard to say. If we analyze the initial stages of any widespread social change we generally find that the true cause is a connotation of deep-seated influences, these, long latent, find their effect owing to some occasion which focusses them, calls them into life and reveals their power to a community previously unconscious of their existence. The cause in this instance is the environment—the new material forces and the new ideals which during the past century have strongly impinged on the old order, but which found a less ready response in the Mahomedan than in less conservative and more nimble-minded communities. The occasion is less easy to divine. But the movement has been synchronous with marked changes in other Moslem countries and with certain internal events such as the Partition of

Bengal, which temporarily freed 18½ millions of Mohamedans from the strongly Hindu influence of Calcutta and produced an impetus which will long outlive the brief existence of a separate province.

Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the last eight years have seen a remarkable development in the attitude of Mahomedans towards education, an appreciation of the special difficulties which confront them in its attainment and a recognition of the disabilities in which their backwardness has placed them. The circular alluded to indicates certain remedies. In the matter of primary education the Mahomedan can no longer be classed as backward. The difficulties of religion and language already mentioned have largely been met by the utilization for secular purposes of the indigenous Moslem school—originally in the main a religious institution, often situated in or before the mosque, where a minimum of instruction in reading and writing was mingled with much rote-learning of the Koran. These schools have, by means of inspection and aid, been brought into the regular system and, without losing their religious characteristics, now impart secular instruction in a methodical manner. But complaints are still often heard of the want of facilities for learning Urdu in the common schools, of text books which take little heed of Moslem interests or even susceptibilities. To remove the latter trouble it is not suggested that stories turning on religious traditions should be excluded—for the value of the book for children would thus be seriously diminished. The objection raised is not to stories connected with religion, but to the fact that often the traditions only of one faith are to be found. If Islamic stories are included as well as Hindu, the cause of complaint will, it is thought, disappear.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

In the matter of higher education, the Moslem community is still deplorably backward. Again the causes are to some extent the religious and linguistic difficulty, but poverty and lack of Mahomedan representation on educational bodies combine to this result. The Mahomedans belong for the most part to the agricultural classes, there is also a considerable trading class among them. For neither is a high standard of education necessary. Hence it comes about that the schools specially designed for the community (the *mulla* school and the *maktab*) are of the elementary type. Special institutions of a superior kind are few and hitherto mainly devoted (like the famous *Madrassa* at Calcutta and elsewhere) to Arabic learning. For the most part the Mahomedan has had to look to the ordinary institutions. Long ago it was recognized that the prejudice of parents might be removed by the opening of higher classes in the shadow so to speak, of Islamic institutions and influences. High schools for the teaching of English were attached to some of the *madrassas*. Sir Syed Ahmad founded his famous college at Aligarh for the cultivation of Western learning among orthodox surroundings. Apart from the suspicious attitude of the community itself, there were complaints of the cold welcome often extended to the Mahomedan pupil in institutions of a distinctively Hindu character. Whether or not such things are fanciful it is the fact that the universities, the colleges and the schools are generally dominated by Hindu influences and controlled by bodies where Hindu interests are largely represented to the exclusion of Mahomedan. Thus, we are told that "among the one hundred ordinary members of the Calcutta senate only six were Mahomedans." The Mahomedan fears that his interests are not safeguarded and suspicions arise in his mind that his sons do not receive fair play. Secondary and collegiate education is mainly in the hands of private agencies; and it is not so easy for Government to assert its authority between class and class as in the case of elementary education which is mainly controlled by public bodies. In recent years new Mahomedan institutions have arisen—a few high schools, an Islamic College at Lahore, and (a surprising development) a second Islamic College fronting the mouth of Khyber to which the border people have largely subscribed. The Government of India favour the establishment of such institutions where it does not entail detriment to efficiency and discipline or unreasonable expense. But elsewhere (and this must necessarily mean in the majority of cases) the measures recommended are the addition of a teacher of Urdu to the staff of the ordinary schools, the maintenance of hostels for Mahomedans under private management and admitting of religious instruction, the appointment of a reasonable number of Mahomedans on the governing bodies of institutions and the provision of Mahomedan teachers and inspectors. This last is always a matter of difficulty by reason of the small number of qualified members of the community. Special scholarships for poor Mahomedans are already provided in some provinces; consideration of their adequacy is invited.

The Indian Mahomedans can certainly not complain that Government has failed to second his new aspirations. Much has been done by the provincial administrations; and, if there is anywhere delay or hesitation in utilising this spirit of renaissance, the Government of India have spoken plainly and given a direct lead. The result will be watched with interest by others as well as by the Mahomedan community.

The Islamic World.

The Turks in Asia Minor.

Their Future Position.

(By THE LATE PROF. ARMINIUS VAMBERY.)

THIS question must be viewed from two different points of view, namely, from a political and from an ethical one. As to the former, it is evident that the future of smaller and culturally less developed nations chiefly depends upon the intentions and plans of their more powerful and culturally more advanced neighbours. If the great Powers of Europe have made up their mind to put an end to the rule of the Turk in Asia Minor, and if they can come to an agreement with regard to the division of the spoils, then all the efforts of the Turk to bring on a revival will be utterly useless. But as experience has taught us, this is by no means an easy matter, for centuries had passed away before the antagonistic interests of the great Powers enabled our diplomacy to come to terms in the Near East, and ultimately it was the former subjects of the Porte, who pulled down their quondam master and oppressor. In Asia Minor this case will hardly repeat itself as we shall later on prove by details. As matters stand to-day, fortunately this event of history will not occur. Europe is decidedly sick of war and will apply all possible means to avoid international conflicts, nay the intention prevails to offer to the Turks all available facilities of cultural progress and for the stabilisation of the Ottoman rule amongst the Muhammadan subjects of the Sultan in the East.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

It is of course no secret that many of our great Powers have cast an eye upon the one or the other portion of Asia Minor, and they secretly foster the hope of realising their plans. France looks upon Syria as upon her old ground of influence, and she will certainly not allow any interference by a newcomer in that region. Russia pretends to have a right upon Armenia and the country of the Upper Euphrates; whereas Germany is believed to be the future owner of Anatolia, namely, along the line of her railway from the Bosphorus to Bagdad. It is only England which is said to be satiated with new territorial conquests and which does not aspire at possessions. It is difficult to say how far these assumptions correspond to facts, but it is beyond doubt that the realisation of the respective plans will entail serious complications, and none of the said Powers will go in light-heartedly to apply military force and so disturb the peace of Europe.

Such being the case it can be easily assumed that the Turk will have full leisure to advance on the path of reform and that he will do this with encouragement and assistance. There remains consequently only the question of good will and efficiency, which we have to examine. As far as I know the spirit of the ruling class in Constantinople from more than sixty years of practical and theoretical study, I can assure my English reader, that the modern Osmanli, far from being adverse to Western culture, is most anxious for a possibly rapid progress in the way of modern civilisation, and that he is fully convinced of the unavoidable necessity of this only means of his further existence as a nation. Besides the good will, he has proved hitherto also his full aptitude, for if I compare his social, political, and cultural condition of sixty years ago to his present situation, I would be intentionally blind in not seeing many, many proofs of progress and of the serious will to adopt the culture of the West. Of course we in Europe generally forget that Asiatics labour under the difficulty of the period of transition and that they cannot accomplish changes in a few decades, for which he wanted centuries, in spite of the advantages offered by our learning to the Greek and Roman culture, not to speak of our more favourable climate and better suited ethnical conditions. There is besides a fundamental mistake in our critical views relating to the reform of the East. We are decidedly too impatient, too much hurrying, and the matter in the East is too slow, too dilatory, in his movements, but in big questions, like that before us, we should be led by moderation and discernment, and take it as good luck, that we possess in the Turk a chance to ward off a serious conflagration in Europe and Asia. The Turk constitutes the only national element in the Near East thoroughly capable to rule and lead masses, he played this part from unmemorial times in various countries of Asia, and if sincerely supported, he is sure to answer to this role also, under the present circumstances, provided, as I say, the ground will not be undermined by secret machinations and rivalries of the different Powers, a circumstance which has frustrated more than one cultural effort in the past, causing failures, which cannot be laid properly at the door of the Turk.

SUPERINTENDING REFORMS.

In dealing justly with the difficult problem of reform in Asia Minor and of the reorganisation of the Turkish administration, we

too have to alter our former course in this question and to adopt greater vigilance over the policy undertaken by Turkey. Formerly we were satisfied by all kinds of sham reforms and delusive steps. Now the time of deception has passed, the work of reforms must be superintended, nay led by Europeans, and not as was formerly the case by Greek and Armenian Christians, who became willing instruments in the hands of the retrograde officers of the Porte and were the main support of laziness and of the most shocking abuses. No progress was possible with the assistance of these Levantines, who were lacking in the necessary character, knowledge and perseverance far more than the Turkish governors and other provincial civil officers. Here a radical change must take place. Europeans by birth, education and character must be entrusted with the main task of reforms and they should not be movable through the intrigues and whims of their native superiors. The apprehension that the leading statesmen of Turkey will not submit to such a restriction is out of the question, for they are themselves convinced of the usefulness of this measure, and they are themselves asking the assistance of Europe. The great question is always, which of the European nations ought to be chosen for this service, and although national rivalry might aggravate the questions, most people will agree that the English civil officer, drilled in India or in Egypt, will best answer to the purpose, and he alone can act to the satisfaction of Turkey and Europe. First of all his experience in dealing with Asiatics will enable him to deal successfully with Turks, Kurds, Arabs and Christian Orientals. His next qualification lies in his English nationality, for as such he enjoys a particular labour and respect in the eyes of Orientals in general and particularly of the Turks. The certain amount of gravity and earnestness in the behaviour of the genuine Englishman is very much liked and admitted by the Turk who finds fickleness and levity of manners most distasteful.

THE LAST RESPIRE.

Last but not least a good deal depends upon the good will of the Turks themselves, and on whether they can make up their mind to drop the ancient method of dissembling, and rise to the serious decision of work and of an unflinching joining to Western culture. This was hitherto not the case, for most of the efforts were sham, calculated to throw sand in the eyes of Europe and spend life by relying upon the rivalry of the great Powers. If the Turks will consider that this is the last respite accorded to them by Europe, they will have to gather all the national strength and try to issue victorious out of the great problem. But should they neglect the opportunity, their future will be irretrievably gone, they will cease to exist as a nation, and Europe will stand before the most dangerous task of dividing Asia Minor amongst herself, which will be much more difficult and connected with greater dangers than would have been the case in the Balkans. It is therefore in the interest of humanity and of the peace of the world that the powers of the Ottoman State in Asia Minor should consolidate itself, thus saving the world from a most ominous conflagration.

An Arab Manifesto.

WE ARE indebted to a correspondent for the subjoined translation of the "Rules of the Busreh Reform Society." These "rules," we are informed, were issued as a manifesto by one of the most influential Arabs of Busreh, and they may be regarded as embodying the views of the Liberal Party of Irak as opposed to the Young Turkish Party. Considered as a "human document" the rules are distinctly interesting. The most important article from the British—and European—point of view is undoubtedly the second, but it is almost impossible to say what value the declaration contained in it may have. The document evidently represents the interests of the well-to-do community in Irak. It is well known, of course, that there is a strong feeling in the district, as there is indeed throughout Mesopotamia and Syria, against the admission of foreign capitalists as concessionaires, and especially against allowing foreigners to gain control of the lands formerly owned by the ex-Sultan. With regard to the latter point the Constantinople Government may quite probably have to encounter very strong opposition if it endeavours to grant concessions to foreigners. But with regard to the commercial development of the country it is obvious that the employment of foreign capital is an absolute necessity; and it is probable that the existent opposition could be overcome by permitting the Iraqi notables and merchants to participate in foreign enterprises for the opening up of the country and the exploitation of its natural resources.

The wording of the document referred to is certainly quaint in places. The translation is as follows:—

I.—Our kingdom shall be an entirely Ottoman empire under the Crescent flag.

II.—No concession is to be given to foreigners. Our country must be protected from foreign intrigue and freed from foreign influence in every possible way.

III.—The Imperial Ottoman Government is a Mohammedan kingdom under the sovereignty of the Mohammedan Khalifah, the great Sultan, and is not an empire—as thought by nonmanly people.

IV.—All matters relative to general government such as the direction of foreign politics, the management of army and navy, of customs, of postal and telegraph services, the making of laws, the levying of taxes and rates, are the concern of the Central Government, but the vilayet General Council shall control local matters relative to its own management and to the forwarding and progressive improvement.

V.—The duty of the Governor is to carry out the instructions of the Central Government and of the General Council, and to appoint Government officers chosen by the General Council apart from those who are specially elected.

VI.—The General Council in each vilayet shall consist of members elected for four years under the presidency of one of them. There shall be one member for every 12,500 souls.

VII.—The General Council shall have supreme authority in all matters relating to the internal good of the vilayet, the making of internal laws, the establishment of companies for commerce, the arts, agriculture, and all branches of progress, and the granting of concessions for the same, the fixing of employees' wages, the abolishing of unnecessary officers. It shall have the power of consulting the Wali in what it thinks fit, and of demanding his dismissal in cases of necessity; of arranging local expenditure, instituting schools, cleaning the creeks, draining the marshes, constructing railways, working mines, and granting concessions for same, of laying out streets and building bridges, of assisting agriculture, establishing schools and depots for the distribution of agricultural instruments, and of seeds for the crops; of encouraging arts, spreading those necessary to the country by the institution of schools, of establishing chambers of commerce and exchanges; of endeavouring to increase trade by immediate improvements in agriculture, by building hospitals, homes for orphans and incapables, etc., etc.

VIII.—The General Council has the privilege of increasing the numbers of police, building police stations in necessary places, of choosing the police, from among those who have served in the army, of surveying the country; establishing land registry; changing the tithes and other taxes.

IX.—The General Council is independent in all its works, shall have power over the wali and all the officials, and shall not include among its members any officials, government contractors (?), etc.

X.—The General Council will elect by vote, for a period of one year, a committee of four of its members, one of whom shall be President.

XI.—This committee is to see that orders are carried out, is to inspect all public works in the vilayet, to arrange lists (?), appoint civil engineers, and to act in extraordinary cases in the place of the General Council, and to issue order on urgent matters when the General Council is not sitting.

XII.—All waste land and Government property in the vilayet is to be handed over to the General Council, which will sell part of these if it thinks good, will cultivate what is suitable for cultivation, and will distribute the green land to the tribes for habitation and cultivation.

A census is to be taken.

XIII.—All Mohammedan *Wakfs* in the vilayet, as well as the *Wakf* of all other religious bodies, should be handed over to their respective religious councils. The disbursement of the moneys of these properties should be in the hands of a committee elected for a fixed period. The members of this committee should be pious, honest men, who could be relied upon to spend the income on the object to which it was dedicated, such as mosques, schools, etc. Should there be any remainder this should be given to the *Muawif*.

XIV.—The Central Government should have the authority to appoint the Wali direct. He should come from the Irak, as he would then have a thorough knowledge of the customs of the local tribes. The Central Government should also appoint the judges, accountant, *mustawif*s, directors of customs, and posts and telegraphs. In making these latter appointments the Central Government would consult the General Council and the Governor, provided they had a thorough knowledge of the Arabic languages. As regards officials of other kinds, these should be natives knowing the local language and customs of the people. These appointments would be made after an

examination by the Wali, and after obtaining the approval of the General Council, or the Committee Constantinople should be advised. If after forty days from the date of advice nothing is heard from the Sublime Porte the appointments to be confirmed.

XV.—The appointment and dismissal of the internal officials of the vilayet should be governed by a special law, but the dismissal of the Wali by a majority—two-thirds—of the votes of the members of the General Council.

XVI.—A special order should be made as regards the appointment and dismissal of officials within the vilayet. It must not be possible, however, to dismiss the Wali unless two-thirds of the members of the General Council are in favour of dismissal.

XVII.—The revenue of the vilayet consists of two parts. One of these, arising from customs, postal, and telegraph departments, and fees paid in lieu of military service, shall be sent to the capital; the rest shall be spent locally.

XVIII.—The Government must establish the courts provided by the laws.

XIX.—The official language of the town among the citizens must be the local Arabic, and Krat must also be used in all the courts and for all public notices.

XX.—The Government should comply with the judicial and penalty rules of the noble law as much as possible.

XXI.—The Government should establish a court of discussion within the vilayet for matters of justice and penalty, but the sentences to be given from Bab-el-Fatwa (*Sheikh-ul-Islam*) and the Council of Precision (*Mejlis-el-Tuddikat*).

XXII.—A special lawyer with a knowledge of the Arabic language and local customs shall be appointed to inspect the civil and the law courts.

XXIII.—Private soldiers must serve in their own towns in time of peace, but in time of war the Government has the right to send them wherever it likes.

XXIV.—Officers knowing the Arabic language must serve in their own town in case of any disturbances (misunderstanding) between the citizens and soldiers.

XXV.—All arts and sciences are to be taught in our schools in Arabic. The study of Turkish and of religion is to be encouraged everywhere.

XXVI.—Exemption from military service is to be granted for twenty years to agriculturists, and for thirty years to house builders.

XXVII.—The General Council has authority to pass laws for the management of all public offices and courts, for the abolition of the existing difficulties and delays experienced by citizens when they have a small case on hand.

XXVIII.—Mohammedan women must be absolutely prohibited from committing adultery.—The *Near East*.



Selection.

Short Studies.

The Blind Man.

He was one who would have passed by the Sphinx without seeing it. He did not believe in the necessity for Sphinxes, or in their reality, for that matter—they did not exist for him. Indeed, he was one to whom the Sphinx would not have been visible. He might have eyed it and noted a certain bulk of grotesque stone, but nothing more significant.

He was sex-blind, and, so, peculiarly limited by the fact that he could not appreciate women. If he had been pressed for a theory or metaphysic of womanhood he would have been unable to formulate any. Their presence he admitted, perforce, their utility was quite apparent to him on the surface, but, subterraneously, he doubted both their existence and their utility. He might have said perplexedly—Why cannot they do whatever they have to do without being always in the way? He might have said—Hang it, they are everywhere, and what good are they doing? They bothered him, they destroyed his ease when he was near them, and they spoke a language which he did not understand and did not want to understand. But as his limitations did not press on him, neither did they trouble him. He was not sexually deficient, and he did not dislike women; he simply ignored them, and was only really at home with men. All the crudities which we enumerate as masculine delighted him—simple things, for, in the gender of abstract ideas, vice is feminine, brutality is masculine, the female being older, vastly older than the male, much more competent in every way, stronger, even in her physique, than he, and, having little baggage of mental or ethical preoccupations to delay her progress, she is still the guardian of evolution, requiring little more from man than to be stroked and petted for a while.

He could be brutal at times. He liked to get drunk at seasonable periods. He would cheerfully break a head or a window, and would bandage the one damage, or pay for the other, with equal skill and pleasure. He liked to tramp rugged miles, swinging his arms and whistling, as he went, and he could sit for hours by the side of a ditch thinking thoughts without words—an easy and a pleasant way of thinking and one which may lead to something in the long run.

Even his mother was an abstraction to him. He was kind to her, so far as doing things went, but he looked over her or round her, and marched away and forgot her.

Sex-blindness carries with it many other darknesses. We do not know what masculine thing is projected by the female consciousness, and civilization, even life itself, must stand at a halt until it has been discovered or created, but art is the female projected by the male; science is the male projected by the female—as yet a poor thing, and to remain so until it has become art—that is, has become fertilised, and so more psychological than mechanical.

The small part of science which came to his notice (inventions, machinery, etc.) was easily and delightedly comprehended by him. He could do intricate things with a knife and a piece of string, or a hammer and a saw, but a picture, a poem, a statue, a piece of music—these left him as uninterested as they found him. more so, in truth, for they left him bored and dejected.

His mother came to dislike him, and there were many causes and many justifications for her dislike. She was an orderly, busy, competent woman, the counterpart of endless millions of her sex, who liked to understand what she saw or felt, and who had no happiness in reading riddles. To her he was at times an enigma, and at times again a simpleton. In both aspects he displeased and embarrassed her. One has one's sense of property, and in him she could put her finger on anything that was hers. We demand continuity, logic in other words, but between her son and herself there was a gulf fixed, spanned by no bridge whatever, there was complete isolation, no boat plied between them at all. All the kindly human things which she loved were unintelligible to him, and his coarse pleasures or blunt evasions distressed and bewildered her. When she spoke to him he gaped or yawned, and yet she did not speak on weighty matters, just the necessary small change of existence—somebody's cold, somebody's dress, somebody's marriage or death. When she addressed him on sterner subjects—the ground, the weather, the crops—he looked at her as if she were a baby, he listened with stubborn resentment and strode away a confessed boor. There was no contact anywhere between them, and he was a slow exasperation to her. What can we do with that which is ours and not ours? Either we own a thing or we do not, and, whichever way it goes, there is some end to it, but certain enigmas are illegitimate, and are so hounded from decent cognition.

She could do nothing but dismiss him, and she could not even do that, for there he was at the required periods, always primed with the wrong reply to any question, the wrong aspiration, the wrong conjecture, a perpetual triangler on mental terms, a person for whom one could do nothing but apologize.

They lived on a small farm, and almost the entire work of the place was done by him. His younger brother assisted, but that assistance could have easily been done without. If the cattle were sick, he cured them almost by instinct. If the horse was lame or wanted a new shoe, he knew precisely what to do in both events. When the time came for ploughing, he gripped the handles and drove a furrow which was as straight and as economical as any furrow in the world. He could dig all day long and be happy, he gathered in the harvest as another world gather in a bride, and, in the intervals between these occupations, he fled to the nearest public-house, and wallowed among his kind.

He did not fly away to drink, he fled to be among men. Then he awakened, his tongue worked with the best of them, and adequately, too. He could speak weightily on many things—boxing, wrestling, hunting, fishing, the seasons, the weather, and the chances of this and the other man's crops. He had deep knowledge about brands of tobacco, and the peculiar virtues of many different liquors. He knew birds, and beetles and worms, how a weasel would behave in extraordinary circumstances; how to train every breed of horse and dog. He recited goats from the cradle to the grave, could tell the name of any tree from its leaf, knew how a bull could be coerced, a cow cut up, and what plasters were good for a broken head. Sometimes, and often enough, the talk would chance on women, and then he laughed as heartily as anyone else, but he was always relieved when the conversation trailed to more interesting things.

His mother died and left the farm to the younger instead of the elder son; an unusual thing to do, but she did detest him. She knew her younger son very well. He was foreign to her in nothing. His temper ran parallel with her own; his tastes were hers; his ideas had been largely derived from her, she could track them at any time, and make or demolish him. He would go to a dance or a picnic and be

as exhilarated as she was, and would discuss the matter afterwards. He could speak with some cogency on the shape of this and that female person, the hat of such an one, the disagreeableness of tea at this house and the goodness of it at the other. He could even listen to one speaking without going to sleep at the fourth word. In all, he was a decent, quiet lad, who would become a father the exact replica of his own, and whose daughters would resemble his mother as closely as two peas resemble their green ancestors. So she left him the farm.

Of course, there was no attempt to turn the elder brother out. Indeed, for some years the two men worked quietly together and prospered, and were contented; then, as was inevitable, the younger brother got married, and the elder had to look out for a new place to live in and to work in—things had become difficult.

It was not an easy problem for him, or for any person lacking initiative—a sexual characteristic. He might have emigrated, but his roots were struck deeply in his own place, so the idea never occurred to him furthermore, our thoughts are often no deeper than our pockets, and one must have money to move anywhere. For any other life than that of farming he had no training, and small desire. He had no money, and he was a farmer's son. Without money he could not get a farm, being a farmer's son, he could not sink to the degradation of a day laborer. Logically, he could sink, actually, he could not without endangering his own centres and verities—so he also got married.

He married a farm of about ten acres, and the sun began to shine on him once more, but only for a few days. Suddenly, the sun went away from the silent night, the silent night itself fled afar, leaving in its stead a noisy, dirty blackness, through which one slept or yawned as one could. There was the farm, of course, one could go there and work, but the freshness went out of the very ground, the crops lost their sweetness and candor, the horses and cows disowned him, the goats ceased to be his friends. It was all up with him. He did not whistle any longer. He did not swing his shoulders as he walked, and although he continued to smoke, he did not look for a particular green bank whereon he could sit quietly flooded with those slow thoughts that had no words.

For he discovered that he had not married a farm at all. He had married a woman—a thin-jawed, elderly slattern whose sole beauty was her farm. How her jaws worked! The processions and congregations of words that fell and dribbled and slid out of them! Those jaws were never quiet, and in spite of all, he did not say anything. There was not anything to say, but much to do from which he shivered away in terror. He looked at her sometimes through the muscles of his arms, through his big, strong hands, through fogs and fumes, and singular, quiet tumults that raged within him. She lectured him on the things he knew so well, and she was always wrong. She lectured him on those things which she did know, but the unending disquisition, the perpetual repetition, the foolish empty emphasis, the dragging weightiness of her tongue, made him repudiate her knowledge, and hate it as much as he did her.

Sometimes, looking at her, he would rub his eyes and yawn with fatigue and wonder. There she was! A something enwrapped about with petticoats. Veritably alive! Active as an insect! Ulpable to the touch! And what was she doing to him? Why did she do it? Why didn't she go away? Why didn't she die? What sense was there in the making of a creature that clothed itself like a holater, without any freedom or entertainment or shapeliness?

Her eyes were fixed on him, and they always seemed to be angry, and her tongue was uttering rubbish about cows, rubbish about hay and oats. Nor was this the sum of his weariness. It was not alone that he was married; he was multitudinously, egregiously married. He had married a whole family, and what a family!

Her mother lived with her, her oldest sister lived with her, her youngest sister lived with her—and these were all swathed about with petticoats and shawls. They had no movement. Their feet were like those of no creature he had ever observed. One could hear the flip flap of their slippers all over the place, and at all hours. They were down-at-heel, draggled-tailed, and futile. There was no workmanship about them. They were as unfinished, as unsightly, as a puddle on a road. They insulted his eyesight, his hearing, and his energy. They had lank hair that slapped about them like wet seaweed, and they were all talking, talking, talking.

The mother was of an incredible age. She was senile with age. Her cracked carle never ceased for an instant. She talked to the dog and the cat; she talked to the walls of the room; she spoke out through the window to the weather; she shut her eyes in a corner and harangued the circumambient darkness. The oldest sister was as silent as a deep ditch and as ugly. She slid here and there with her head on one side like an inquisitive hen watching one curiously, and was always doing nothing with an air of futile employment. The youngest sister was a semi-lunatic who prattled and prattled without ceasing; and was always catching one's sleeve,

and laughing at one's face. And everywhere those flopping, wriggling petitioners were appearing and disappearing. One saw black hair whisking by the corner of one's eye. Mysteriously, urgently, they were coming and going and coming again, and never, never being silent.

More and more he went running to the public-house. But it was no longer to be among men, it was to get drunk. One might imagine him sitting there thinking those slow thoughts without words. One might predict that the day would come when he would realize very suddenly, very clearly, all that he had been thinking about, and, when his urgent, terrible thought had been translated into its own terms of action, he would be quietly hanged by the neck until he was as dead as he had been before he was alive.

JAMES STEPHENS in the Nation.

Stead.

"MY FATHER. PERSONAL AND SPIRITUAL REMINISCENCES."
By Estelle W. Stead. (Heinemann 10s. net.)

Stead's personality deserves to be sympathetically described, for it was fine and uncommon, but the writer should be in some detachment from it. Few daughters could so deal with such a father, and Miss Estelle Stead makes no pretence to criticism. She records her own affectionate loyalty, and throws into the front of her picture that part of Stead's career which she best understood. This was his researches into spiritualism. Miss Stead thought them pregnant of truth and discovery. They were at least extremely characteristic. But they seemed to many of his friends to rob his career of its earlier measure of brilliant activity, and to be one powerful cause of its decline in authority and repute. What did he gain? Spiritual things are spiritually discerned, but Stead sought them through a material, pseudo-scientific medium, erratic in its results, as he himself admitted, and soaked with imposture. He was easily persuaded of things he wished to believe; and here was a form of intellectual search where a wise scepticism was forbidden by its votaries and yet was essential to truth, a dark path where he who went slowly went well. Stead's ardor of temperament and journalist's passion for quick returns pushed him on where impulse was only too willing to tread. He gave time, money, health, enthusiasm to the quest, and, in return, he got—himself. His Gladstone, his Manning, his Julia were all Steads. They all wrote leading articles; they all showed his peculiar mixture of *navete* and shrewdness. What need of automatic writing, of crystal gazing, of "psychics" and mediums, and a "bureau of communication" (what a Steadian phrase!) between the visible and the invisible, to produce a pathetic iteration of the *Review of Reviews*? The keeper of this strange shop for the sale of spirits, good and bad, should have taken the warning of one of his "high" visitors—

"You seek for visions which the saints have enjoyed. You can have them as they had, by living the life of the spirit, and cultivating the calm, meditative mood."

Precisely so. Instead of "writing" Julia, Stead should have read Wordsworth and a Kempis.

But, indeed, Stead was a bigger man than can be gathered from this hotch-potch of "premises" which were never fulfilled and "spooks" who talked like poor Poll. His chief service was not, as he thought, to the science of "Bordorland," or perhaps even to social purity, or to international peace. For great work he was a too hasty, too impressionable man. His moral world was made from the creaking joists and job fittings of the platform. He thought (with some truth) that the modern newspaper was very like a pulpit, but his gospel of sensationalism wore thin before the larger facts of life. His real service—and it was a great one—was the life his wonderful personality gave to the whole business of journalism, his re-discovery of its power, and the rich equipment of energy, self-confidence, and fresh interest in life, which he brought to it. His force was the more wonderful as it was so slightly trained. Stead educated himself as he went along, by his eyes, by his pen, working through the fertility and facility of his mind. He lived for the hour, and filled it, not only with a splendid helpfulness to others, but with the work of ten average men. He had a kind of agility which kept him leaping from one crest of experience to another. Second-best, in a real sense, he was. His mind was unprovided with a critical sieve; all went through it—philanthropies and prejudices, ideas and "fads," happy thoughts and credulities, short cuts to great things. He cherished fine Quixotries, but he had an easy throw-back to conventional thought, so that almost before his ears were closed to a psalm of international peace they were open to the grinding of "Two Keels to One." Thus Stead was always something of a self-defeated man. His journalism could run on a strain of a pure end—considering the consequences to himself—an exalted idealism; and then "beat out any common

sentimental tune, could rage against one "bloody Sunday" in Trafalgar Square and excuse another in Moscow, and in South Africa could water the tree and curse its fruit. What a feat to send Gordon to Khartoum, and to force Gladstone to dispatch a British army to rescue him! And what folly! How splendidly futile to trumpet Europe for peace, and waste one of the best tongues in Europe on a feeble little Tsar! For Stead, with a sound personal judgment for others, often wanted wisdom for himself, or, when he sought it, desired it at heart less than the *érêt* of his calling. He was credulous, a glorious advocate of some extremely queer clients. He was vain, and his zeal for journalism prodded him on to advances and almost to sustain some impossible claims for it. But he was no devouring egotist, and he was driven on to at least one act of vindictiveness, he was, among many public men I have known, the kindest and most helpful. Often as he must have been used and preyed on by the undeserving, he did not let these deceptions dull his warm-heartedness, or restrict his charities. In this regard he was a Christian man; and his life-long patronage of his "Senior Partner" was neither lip-service, nor a Pharisaic pretence, nor, to a man of his Puritan upbringing, a conscious irreverence. Early in life he had dubbed himself Knight of the Holy Ghost; and though, like all of us, he coarsened and weakened under the fever of his daily business, this self-dedication saved him from many of its stains. In his practice as an editor and the conductor of an office, he was a devoted friend of women; and he did more than any contemporary journalist to give them their true place in society.

Of journalism Stead was indeed a Prince. His range was limited. Of art he knew nothing; and in literature his taste for the commonplace—for the didactic writers instead of for the greater poets and thinkers—impoverished his style and reduced it to a kind of daring obviousness. His service, therefore, was personal rather than intellectual. He restored self-respect and self-belief to his craft, he opened to it the world of adventure, of reliance on individual force and will, and if he saw it fall under the stroke of the proprietor-manager, he did not fall with it. His two complacent Tains a little overbalanced him, but he was no snob, and for years after he had climbed to the council-rooms of the great, and had toppled one or two of them over, he lacked, I think, a dress-coat. His most curious, and indeed most touching, friendship was with Rhodes. The two men had points of resemblance. Both were rather slovenly dreamers, Rhodes, indeed, though he could swiftly realise his appetites, could never visualise his ideas. Miss Stead, in a chapter of great interest, records her father's complete conquest of Rhodes's loose imagination and wayward affections; and of the way in which the two men combined in a scheme of "under-pinning the Empire by a society which would be to the Empire what the Society of Jesus was to the Papacy." So entire was Rhodes's confidence in his friend's airy conception of Imperial Jesuitry, that at one time, in Stead's words, he had left "the whole of his real and personal estate to 'X' and W. Stead of the *Review of Reviews*." The plan grew by degrees more practical, and finally took an educational shape, while Stead's attacks on the South African War cost him the management of a vast fortune and the loss of a most surprising stewardship. It made some difference to him. With small personal wants, Stead was a royal spendthrift, and Rhodes's millions might have gilded his sumptuous vision of a great Shrine of Journalism. But there Stead's error was vital. Journalism, as his own experience should have taught him, is no Temple of Justice. It is rather a Cave of all the Winds; and it was Stead's fortune to make its hollows ring with a tremendous and inspiring blast.

H. W. M. in the Nation.

The Indian Civil Service.

THE Indian Civil Service is popularly regarded as a good opening, an immediate provision, an honourable profession, in which a man's early manhood may be spent, and from which he may hope to retire with a competence soon after the attainment of his maturity or, at any rate, when there is yet left the prospect of many years of that maturity and subsequent old age to be passed in his native country. This, I think, is the popular conception of the career of an Indian Civilian. There is, of course, another side to the picture. Long exile in a hot and enervating climate, family dissolution, domestic anxieties which bring with them the laceration of every domestic feeling, and at the close of an active career the waste of matured experience in an idle and objectless existence. This, I am afraid, is the point of view that often presents itself to the Indian Civilian in harness, and is only banished from his mind by the noteworthy devotion to work which is the characteristic of the Service. But it is not from either of these standpoints, or indeed from any point of view of India as a career for "our boys," that I sit down to address myself to the subject of the Indian Civil Service.

That Service has a great and unequalled record. I should be the last man to depreciate the administrative qualities of my own countrymen. In the words of the late Lord Lytton, I may say that "I speak of what I know by my own experience and have seen with my own eyes. No body of men ever conferred more splendid benefits upon any community." For a hundred years my forebears and I were members of the Indian Civil Service and have been identified in every form and phase of the Government under the Honourable East India Company and the Crown. I was privileged in my youth to know and come under the influence of civilians who lived before the days of Haileybury and won their spurs under the Marquis of Wellesley. The thirty-five years of my own service overlapped that of men who came out in the time of Bentinck. I am, as it were, a sort of link between Haileybury and Competition, and claim to be in close touch with the civilians of to-day. I have a son now in the Service. If ever anyone was saturated with the traditions of the Service, it is I. It is not likely, therefore, that I should labour under any prejudice against it. On the contrary, whatever bias I may have is in its favour. I ungrudgingly admit the great work of administration which the Service has wrought in India. That work speaks for itself; it needs no praise from me, and I only venture to say all this because I have been, and no doubt shall again be, charged with prejudice.

The Indian Civil Service was organised with consummate skill by our early administrators. An appointment therein implies a position of trust, the exercise of power and responsibility and a capacity for good or evil altogether beyond the range of ordinary mortals in modern life. The arrangement of districts with a population of from one to three million inhabitants, and of an area of from two thousand to ten thousand square miles, over which a single officer presides—in whom all authority is centralised; by whom the working of all departments is controlled and brought to a common action, to whom the civil surgeon and principal sanitary officer, the district superintendent of police, the engineer, and a large staff of assistants and deputies exercising magisterial, executive, and revenue functions are all carefully subordinated with almost martial precision; who is himself the hand and eye of Government upon whose resource, efficiency, and presence of mind may often depend the happiness of multitudes of human beings—this is, indeed, a vigorous and stimulating administrative conception, and a monument to the organising ability of those who devised it. No wonder that the members of the Service are devoted to their work, and that even hemidrum youths are found to develop under such an inspiration into active and self-reliant officers.

Here is a glowing and attractive vision. What have we in these dry-as-dusty days and in our commonplace experience to offer in comparison with a career which affords opportunities such as these?

Any yet there is a reverse to this shield of gold. After all the Civil Service, semi-sacrosanct as it may be, was made for India, and not India for the Civil Service. Is it not an obvious reflection that such a form of administration as I have described is adapted only to autocratic rule? It is admirably suited to a government by foreigners who from the nature of the case must incline to the exercise of authority on autocratic lines. It has been tested by a long period of success in India itself. It is a model which has been deservedly copied in the Sudan and other Crown Colonies and Dependencies, which approximate in their conditions to those which prevailed in India when the constitution of the Indian Civil Service was devised. But when those conditions no longer apply, what then? And who is there who will be found to come forward and affirm that those conditions are still the same? Look at India as it was in the time of Tipoo Sultan and Cornwallis, when the service was organised, and look around now at the New India which we have ourselves created by the spread of Western education and ideas. It was a saying of Sir John Strachey that the India of to-day is no more like the India of Lord Ellenborough than the England of to-day is like the England of Queen Anne. And yet when all else is changing and has changed the constitution of the Indian Civil Service remains unaltered, and the young civilian of the twentieth century is sent out to India to discharge precisely the same functions and to occupy the same offices as were filled by his predecessors more than a hundred years ago. The unchanging East is a proverb, while the unalterable privileges of the Civil Service are a curious comment on the phenomena of progress, which in all other respects are the most striking feature of British rule. If we regard the position dispassionately, we cannot but see that the constitution of the Service is inherently inapplicable to its present environment of popular representation and a growing sense of nationality, and that it is obviously inconsistent with any scheme for the realisation of self-government which the Government of Lord Hardinge has lately declared to be "the only solution for satisfying the just demands of Indians for a large share in the government of the country."

It is not surprising that the necessity of change should invariably be resisted by the members of the Service. The old constitution has long shown symptoms of decay, and I can remember desperate attempts to galvanise it into fresh life—especially by the ablest of our recent administrators, Sir George Campbell, Sir John Strachey and Sir Charles Elliot. They failed, of course, as everyone must fail who tries to withstand the advancing tide. But the lesson from this experience were never learnt, and the members of the Indian Civil Service are no wiser than those of any other exclusive and privileged body. They are disposed to resent inroads on their own prerogative just as much, for instance, as is the House of Lords. They are possessed of a glorious *esprit de corps*, and it would be strange indeed if they were animated by any desire to reform themselves. "If there are castes in India," writes Mr. Dautremere, the latest of the French commentators on our government in the East, "there are castes also among the Englishmen in India. There is no society, not even in feudal Germany, which is stricter on the principle of these divisions. Above, quite away at the top, you have the particular caste, the Heaven-born, as they are called by those who are not so born. This is entirely made up of the all-powerful personages who belong to the Indian Civil Service. This is the name of sacrosanctity." It is pleasant sometimes to see ourselves as other see us, and it still tickles my fancy to recall how often I have been addressed as Heaven-born. I do not wonder that the members of the service are disinclined to renounce privileges which it happens are guaranteed to them by an Act of Parliament, and that like many a royalty and noble lord they are proud of the peculiarity of their blood and birth.

The policy of the Home Government, it must be added, does not discourage their pretensions. A Royal Commission is now sitting "to examine and report on the following matters in connection with the Indian Civil Service and other Civil Services, Imperial and Provincial: (1) The methods of recruitment and the systems of training and probation. (2) The conditions of service, salary, leave, and pension. (3) Such limitations as still exist in the employment of non-Europeans and the working of the existing system of division of services into Imperial and Provincial; and generally to consider the requirements of the Public Service, and to recommend such changes as may seem expedient." The terms of this reference have always seemed to me to be most unsatisfactory unless, perhaps, there may be a gleam of hope in the last clause. The object of the Secretary of State appears to have been to obtain suggestions which shall exult and strengthen the existing constitution of the Service, and, if possible, rivet it for all time as the form and basis of Indian administration. But what is wanted now is no scheme for bolstering up the decaying fabric of a Service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return. Nor have the proceedings of the Commission done much to promote the expectation that any real good will result from its deliberations. The witnesses in London have given little more than a *réchauffé* of the opinions collected about thirty years ago, after which it was decided to raise the age of candidates for admission into the Service. Probably none of the Commissioners have ever seen the minute of Lord Ripon which virtually settled that question. And the evidence so far recorded in India is sorry reading. It has tended, unfortunately, to excite racial feeling, the English witnesses, mostly official, belittling Indian claims and qualifications, and the Indian witnesses wasting time in their advocacy of simultaneous examinations. This agitation for simultaneous examinations and increased facilities for the admission of Indians into the Service is worse than useless unless it is their desire to stereotype an autocratic form of administration among themselves. To pass successfully into the Civil Service is no doubt an honourable ambition and a personal triumph for the selected candidate but to a patriotic Indian an Indian Civilian can never be anything but an Indian lost. There have been exceptions, of course, but as a general statement this needs no qualification. On the other hand, the Service representations to the Commission betray the Indian Civil Service in its most unfavourable light, as they are but a scramble for higher emoluments and allowances, and improved conditions of pension. There is no trace among the witnesses of any nationality or class—unless I except the written statement of Professor A. W. Ward, of the Canning College, Lucknow, which appears to me to be worth the whole of the rest of the evidence put together—of any recognition that the time has come, not for attempting to revitalise a Service which has done its work, but for a reconstruction of the great departments of the State, so that the result of this inquiry may find expression in a form of administration more representative and less concentrated in individuals. Nor is there a sign that any member of the Commission has ever taken a wider view, or given a lead to a witness, which might have encouraged him in a deposition on broader lines.

(To be Continued in our next.)

الف خانوں کی صحت کی خوشی میں عبدالضہی تک بالکل مفت اعجاز نا چاول بالکل مفت

—*—

بہنی ایک معمولی دانہ چاول پر پوری قل ہوا اللہ شریف مہم خریداری کی نام کی نہایت خوشخط لکھی جاتی ہے۔ جس فی ایک مرتبہ منگا کر ملاحظہ فرمایا دنگ رہ گیا، حیرت چھا گئی، کلمات تحسین و آفریں زبان پر جاری ہو گئی۔ جسکی تصدیق آپ کو ”کرزن گزٹ“ کی گذشتہ پرچون سے ہو جائیگی۔ اس تعجب خیز چاول کی ہمراہ ایک خوردبین جس سے حروف موٹی نظر آتی ہیں (اور ایک چاندبکی فیضیاتی دبیہ جس میں چاول رکھا جاتا ہے) اور دو عدد تین کی منقش دبیہاں وغیرہ دیجاتی ہیں۔ ان سب چیزوں کی قیمت وہ بھی نہایت رعایتی یعنی صرف ایک روپیہ ۵ آنہ بنزیرہ وی بی دیگر اعجاز نا چاول مفت منگا لیجئے۔ ہاں اگر چاول پر پوری سورہ قل ہوا اللہ شریف مہم آپ کی نام کی خوشخط نہ لکھی ہوئی ہو تو معمولی قیمت ایک روپیہ ۵ آنہ بھی واپس منگا لیجئے *

(نوٹ) یہ رعایتی قیمت ایک روپیہ پانچ آنہ پر خورداری الف خانوں کی صحت کی خوشی میں عبدالضہی تک لیجائیگی اسکی بددھی اصلی قیمت ۱۱ روپیہ ۵ آنہ لیجائیگی۔ اطلاعاً عرض ہے *

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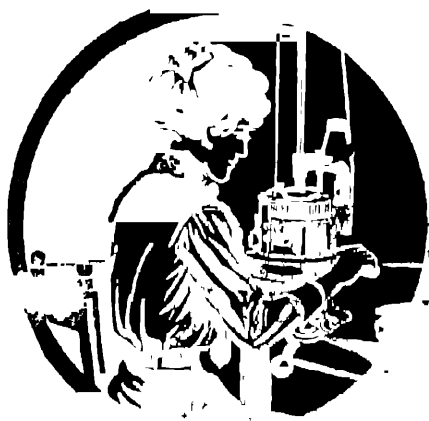
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The Week.

The Balkan Crisis.

London, Nov. 1.

A TELEGRAM from Athens, dated Oct. 30, states that the Turkish peace delegates have not received instructions from the Porte regarding the understanding reached on the subject of *wakfs*. The Mutli's delay is ascribed in Greek circles to the likelihood of fresh Turkish demands regarding *wakfs*. The conclusion of peace will thus be delayed for at least a fortnight.

Reuter wires from Constantinople, that Turkey has engaged one of the smartest of younger generals on the German General Staff to reorganise the Turkish army. He has been given full executive authority and much greater powers than General Von Der Goltz was invested with. He will also have an adequate staff of Germans.

The decision to engage a German military mission to reorganise the army is regarded as one of the most important taken by the Porte since the institution of the new *regime*. The General selected will have the immediate control of the military schools and will probably also be actually in command of the troops in Constantinople. Negotiations have been proceeding quietly with the German Embassy for some months. An *Irade* has now been issued sanctioning the details. The only remaining formality is the signature of the contracts. It is expected that one of the most important results of the appointment of German officers to such a position of command will be the elimination of politics from the army which will materially contribute to the stability of the Government.

Vienna: An Austrian syndicate has advanced Bulgaria thirty million francs and has received promises of special consideration for

The Bulgarian occupation of Thrace is complete. Government has issued a manifesto to the population of the new territories proclaiming a general amnesty and declaring that the religion and nationality of her new subjects will be rigorously respected.

Constantinople. Sir Louis Mallet, the new British Ambassador, in presenting his credentials, assured the Sultan of the King's sincere friendship and unalterable goodwill and his hope to see consolidation and development of the resources of Turkey. In reply, the Sultan said the traditional friendship between Britain and Turkey had found a new and solid basis in the results of recent negotiations between the two Governments.

The situation in Southern Albania is growing acute, Italy and Austria alike complaining of deliberate obstruction of the delimitation Commissioners by Greece. Strongly worded warnings to Greece are appearing in the Austrian and Italian press. It is declared that the localities in dispute will be summarily proclaimed Albanian unless opposition ceases forthwith.

London, Nov. 2.

Reuter wires from Athens that Italy and Austria on Friday presented a collective Note to Greece, complaining that the international commission for the delimitation of Albania was being hampered by the attitude of the population under Greek incitement, and they had instructed their representative on the commission to regard as Albanian all villages where they met opposition.

London, Nov. 3.

Constantinople. Difficulties have arisen in the negotiations between Turkey and Greece regarding the status of Turks in the ceded territories, and Turkish Greeks, who fought against Turkey, for whom Greece demands an amnesty.

The negotiations seem likely to be prolonged.

Sofia. A painful impression has been caused in Bulgaria on account of Greek refusal to furnish information regarding the fate of 800 Bulgarian prisoners. Thus, together, with allegations of Greek ill-treatment of Bulgarian civilians gives rise to the fear of Bulgarian reprisals and expulsion of the Greeks.

The isolated action by Austria and Italy regarding Albania, as a fresh instance of departure from the European Concert, has already evoked loud protests from the French press. Altogether, the situation is regarded with some misgiving.

Reuter is informed in authoritative Greek quarters that there is no truth whatever in the complaints in the Austro-Italian Note. It is declared in the same quarters that much divergence of views exists among the members of the Commission.

Great preparations are being made in Athens to give a suitable welcome to the British and French Fleets which are about to visit the Piræus.

Greece has presented a strong note to the Powers declaring that she has done everything to facilitate the work of the Albanian Commission. Italy and Austria, says the note, have now taken action because the commissioners have found the

London, Nov. 4.

Germany has notified Greece of her support of the Austro-Italian demarche at Athens.

Reuter wires from Athens that a semi-official *communiqué* says that Greek patience with Turkey's procrastination regarding the peace negotiations is almost exhausted. Greece will allow a short period, probably, four or five days, to resume negotiations after which she will adopt, towards Turkey, a different line of policy from that hitherto pursued.

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South Africa.

A TELEGRAM from London, dated Nov. 1, states that the Indian Miners generally have accepted Mr. Gandbi's advice and have started in parties for the Transvaal to court arrest. Of 1,600 men composing the parties, 200 have already been arrested.

Reuter wires on Nov. 1 that General Botha speaking at Mylaboom to-day, referring to Mr. Smuts's statement, of the 28th Oct. and Mr. Gokhale's declaration of the 29th October, said that he and Mr. Fischer were present at the interview which was held in his office. He agreed with and endorsed everything that Mr. Smuts had said thereon.

A Volksrust message, dated Nov. 3, states that Fifteen hundred Indian strikers from Newcastle concentrated and encamped at Charlestown on Sunday. There was no disturbance. Mr. Gandhi contemplates moving the 1,500 men to court arrest on the Transvaal border.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale has received the following telegram from Mr. Gandhi in South Africa:—"Five thousand on strike of whom four thousand have to be fed including three hundred women and six hundred children. Three hundred are in jail and two hundred more have been arrested. Fifteen hundred strikers are at Charlestown, and the rest are gathering at Newcastle prior to crossing the border to court arrest. There is growing enthusiasm among the strikers. The clergy in many places are moving to secure redress of our grievances. Sir Valentine Chetol has contributed £5 to the fund in aid of the struggle carried on by the Indian Community in South Africa. In forwarding the amount to Mr. Gokhale he writes as follows:—

"Dear Mr. Gokhale,—

Will you kindly transmit to the proper quarter the enclosed small contribution to the fund you are raising on behalf of the British Indians in South Africa. Few Englishmen who take a genuine interest in the welfare of India and have faith in the value of the British connection both for India and for the Empire can fail to have been moved by the statement you made in Bombay.

Yours very sincerely,
"VALENTINE CHETOL."

Reuter wires from London, dated Nov. 5, that replying to representations of the London Moslem League regarding the effect of the recent judgment in Natal on Indian marriages the Colonial Office points out that the judgment concerns the interpretation of one section of the Immigrants Regulation Act, which provides that certain persons are not to be deemed prohibited immigrants. It does not appear to restrict the power of the executive to admit Indian women.

Mr. Harcourt understands that the general South African law never recognised polygamous marriages, being identical in this respect with the law of England, and the recent decisions of the courts have not altered the law in any way.

Bagdad Railway.

Reuter wires from London, dated Nov. 4, that the Topral-Alexandretta branch of the Bagdad railway was opened to-day.

Moslem Educational Conference.

A TELEGRAM from Aligarh, dated Nov. 3, states that the Hon. Mr. Justice Shahin of Lahore has been elected President of the next annual session of the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference, which is to be held at Agra on the 26th December next.

Greece accuses the Italian and Austrian delegates of engaging Albanian Navasces and other servants who intrigue with the Mussulman inhabitants.

TETE A TETE



We reproduced in our last and the current issue two very thoughtful articles from the English monthlies which, we hope, will be studied dispassionately by the members of the Indian Civil Service. Both the writers are Englishmen who know the country well, one of them being himself a very distinguished I. C. S. man—Sir Henry Cotton. We do not agree with them in everything, but we fully realize the danger to India from this most powerful official clique. There is a general complaint that members of this Service do not realize the changed conditions in this country and oppose at every turn any scheme that aims at advancing India and the Indians. They have an inordinate desire to treat the people as mere children, who are to depend for all times on their grandmotherly support and are never to think for themselves or to stand on their own legs. When we read now any of the old Anglo-Indian writers about life in India we feel as if we were studying unfamiliar characters, that had nothing whatsoever to do with us. The life of that time too seems to be far apart from the real life people are leading now in this country. The modern Englishman, especially an official, still persists in believing that the same old conditions exist; and when confronted with new facts, he either intentionally or unintentionally shuts his mind and eyes and refuses to accept that India has gone far ahead and that the country will have to be administered on entirely different lines. The people have made a wonderful advance in education and the average Indian has grown in intelligence and knowledge of things in general. A new class of men has risen who in intelligence, earnestness and in the desire to raise their people can very well compare with the best in the Services. It is so easy to dupe oneself by calling these all kinds of ugly names, "agitators, mischief-mongers, men of no position and birth" and thus easing one's conscience, but the fact remains that these very men are gradually but surely and certainly gaining the confidence of the people for whom they work, and if the members of the Indian Civil Service do not realize this, and do not change their hostile attitude to them, they will find their work very difficult if not impossible. In the interest of the good government of the country, it is essential that the Civil Servants should change their obsolete methods of dealing with affairs especially in the Districts—otherwise they would find a dead wall to oppose them wherever they might turn. We have recently witnessed some very unfortunate incidents which have shaken their position. All this is due entirely to their own faults and obstinacy. The people have begun to see that they are not "heaven-borns" after all, and their "feet of clay" are distinctly visible. Where their own interests are concerned, they are no sticklers at trifles. Justice, fair-mindedness, even truth may have to give way to their rage against any suggestion that they have feet of clay "and that these are visible to the naked eye." The Service still contains some fine men, and we do hope good sense would prevail and open their eyes to the danger they are creating for the country, its people and for themselves.

The Indian Civil Service.

We have received a very pathetic appeal from the mother of Mr. Mohamed Hossain Khan, B. A. (Alig.), one of the most brilliant ex-students of Aligarh. His desire to help his people in Afghanistan had induced him to accept the invitation of Dr. Abdul Ghani to go to Cabul and work as a professor in the Habibia College. We all know that Dr. Abdul Ghani and some of his assistants were imprisoned having been suspected of intriguing against the throne of His Majesty the present Amir. We have no desire to discuss the case about which so little is known; but we know this much that Mr. Mohamed Hossain Khan was not a man who could take part in any conspiracy against His Majesty the Amir, of whom he was a great admirer. We

An Appeal to His Majesty the Amir.

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possess a printed letter of his written in Persian, which he had sent to his Aligarh friends when about to leave India, every word of which showed how ardently he desired to help his brothers the Afghans. We would earnestly appeal to His Majesty the Amir to graciously enquire into the case and grant pardon to these unfortunate victims of some great mistake. We do not know how the matter is to be brought to the notice of His Majesty, but we do hope the Envoy of His Majesty in India and our Cabul contemporary, the *Seraj-ul-Akhbar*, would help us in this matter. We are sure when these facts reach the Amir's ears His Majesty, taking pity on these poor, undeserving sufferers, would send them back to their homes. We pray to God that the humble prayers of the poor distracted mother would reach the ears of His Majesty Amir Habib Ullah Khan.

MR. KADENBROV, Barrister-at-Law, Bombay, late Hon. Secretary of the London Moslem League, in the course of a letter writes to us as follows:—"I know Mr. Ameer Ali more than anybody else does, as I had to work for him as

The Moslem League Crisis.

well as for the League for a couple of years. It is my firm belief that as a political leader Mr. Ameer Ali is a failure. He is unrivalled in the sphere of literature, but that characteristic alone does not fit one to be at the helm of our political affairs. I had expressed the same views to H. H. the Aga Khan who I do not know for what reasons is bound to him. Mr. Ameer Ali does not want anybody to rise in this world much less any Moslem. I am sure he would be jealous of his own son. Have you forgotten as to the attitude he had displayed at the passing of the Ilbert Bill in the time of the Marquis of Ripon? There was also a tremendous emotion in London when Mr. Ali Imam was there and a dinner was proposed in his honour by some of the members of the Committee. But we had no voice, and, if we dared do anything, we were always threatened with the resignation of Mr. Ameer Ali. He used to be a despotic autocrat as the President of the League. His attitude on the question of compulsory education is known to every one who takes interest in the Indian politics. When the London League was founded, it was founded with a view to propagate the political views of the Mussalmans of India. The founder was Dr. Abdul Majid in conjunction with Mr. Ibro Ahmad, but poor Majid was passed over in order to give place to Mr. Ameer Ali. I am glad that Mr. Ameer Ali is shorn of the powers he possessed, and I have not the least doubt that we will make progress by leaps and bounds."

OUR READERS would be glad to hear that both Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan have been working very hard and seeing a large number of people. Their work is uphill, but they are

Mr. Mohamed Ali.

confident of ultimate success. Mr. Mohamed Ali wrote on the 10th Oct. "I very much fear you will not have from me all that I have so readily and so sincerely promised you, for the way we are rushing gives us no time to do anything but the work in hand. We have been a good deal with Mr. Jinnah, who dined with us here, and had the opportunity of telling him all the facts of the Cawnpore case. I regret to say that the feeling against Indians has grown in intensity year after year since I left, and the seed of evil which the Anglo-Indians, retired and in India, have been sowing for years has now come to blossom and to bear fruit. The outlook for India is not a bright one. Of course we should not despair, for after all it is we ourselves who can make or mar our future. It is necessary for some of our best men to spend three or four months every year in England in groups of two or three, and educate public opinion here. It is slow and uphill work, but this evil influence must be combated here at all cost, as our destinies are placed in the hands of England." On Tuesday, the 17th October, he wrote: "We went to the British Congress Committee meeting at the personal invitation of Sir Henry Cotton and one of his sons. There I met Mr. Nevins, who wanted me to send him a copy of the proscribed pamphlet. We discussed the Press Act and the slight safeguards inserted in the Act which have been declared by the Calcutta High Court as no safeguards at all. The general feeling is against the Press Act." Mr. Mohamed Ali has been seeing many persons and discussing Indian and Moslem affairs with them. They include Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald, Keir Hardie, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Nevins, Mr. S. P. Sinha, Sri Krishna Gupta, Mr. Baig, Mr. Spender, Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilton, Mr. Duse Mohamed, the Editor of *African Times*, Lord Lamington, Mr. Scawen Blunt and Sir Dunlop-Smith. Mr. Mohamed Ali concluded his letter by saying: "All this reads very alright, but I am tired of writing letter after letter to make appointments and have written such a heap. The difficulty is that most people are away from London. We have to thank the Parliament for this. It is having a six months' holiday at £400 a year for each member."

The Comrade.

Cow Sacrifice at Ajudhya.

IT NEEDS hardly to be stated that the Moslem practice of killing cows for purposes of diet or religious sacrifice has been ostentatiously held by the Hindus to one of the main causes which keep the two communities apart. The Mussalman, to whom his faith is the most natural and intimate emotion, can very well realise the force and spontaneity of a religious sentiment which happens to move men of a different faith from his own. He will be false to his grain if he does not hold in tolerance all beliefs that are genuine to the core. He may not share those beliefs himself, he may even regard them as obscurantist in character and calculated to lead mankind astray from the true path of salvation. For fighting heresy and casting out ungodliness from God's earth he has his special weapons. But scorn and contempt and the bigot's ruthless hand are not among them. It may, therefore, be taken as a postulate that an aggressive desire to wound Hindu feeling does not enter as a factor in the Moslem attitude towards the cow-killing question. We have known with regret that such desire has occasionally been imputed to the Mussalmans; and even in the recent discussion which has been sprung on an unsuspecting country by men who have seen the main chance, mild implications of malice and vengeful motive are not wholly conspicuous by their absence. Those who approach the question in this spirit need to be frankly reminded that they are not promoting the cause they profess to serve.

But for a combination of fortuitous circumstances it would be hard to explain the rapidity with which the cow-killing question has been pushed to the fore. To some it may even smack of artificial hatching. The choice of the occasion has not been particularly happy. Things have been laid in train with a method that has little madness about it. It would consequently be difficult to quarrel with the sceptic who sees nothing but a calculated move and a tactical manoeuvre in the agitation that is just now upon us. Let us briefly examine the facts. We start with a frank admission that the cow-killing question has been, like the poor, always with us. As long as the Hindus believe in its sanctified motherhood, the cow can always be made a disturbing factor not only in social relations but in the wider sphere of Indian politics. It is, however, plain that, though the Hindu feelings had occasionally been led to violent outbursts and riots had broken out here and there over cow-killing incidents, the question itself had, till a few weeks ago, remained merely as a sort of passive menace. To day it is being used as the war-cry of entire Hindu India. The issue has been plainly defined and placed before the Government and the Mussalmans. Cow-killing was unquestionably regarded as an outrage on Hindu sentiment even in the past, but it was allowed to take place without protest if it caused no direct offence to the Hindus. Now all killing has been declared to be offensive whether carried out in public or in private. The Government should absolutely prohibit it in certain places like Ajudhya by executive orders. The Mussalmans should stop it altogether in other places of their own accord if they want to retain the goodwill of the Hindus. This, in brief, is the issue on which has been made to hang the whole question of future relations between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Public meetings are being held in various places, representations have been made to Government and appeals have been addressed to Mussalmans not unmixed with threats and warnings. Thoughtlessly and with indecent haste a situation of incalculable consequences has thus been forced on the country. It must be solved, and yet no satisfactory solution seems to be possible. We wish the clever politicians, who see in every trivial accident their main chance, knew the dangers of hustling and left something to the operation of time.

We have heard a good deal—after the Cawnpore settlement—about the Hindu sympathy with the rioters of Ajudhya and the Hindu feeling against the enormity of letting Ajudhya Mussalmans offer cow sacrifice on the occasion of the Bakr-Id. The manifestation of both these sentiments has not unfortunately been well timed. As the President of the last United Provinces Provincial Conference had been pleased to put it, the verdict of the highest Tribunal in the Provinces in the riot case was received by the Hindus in "an attitude of philosophic calm, a quiet submission to established authority and the courses pursued by it." This attitude was publicly paraded at Fyzabad "in striking contrast" to "the scenes which have followed the riot in Cawnpore." And on this great discovery was built the tremendous philosophic saw that "there is a difference in the mental attitude of the average Hindu and the average Mohammedan. . . ." The insinuation implied in the "striking contrast" has not wholly escaped the attention of the Mussalmans. If there is any meaning in the utterance of the President, it is

apply this that Moslem attitude to the Cawnpore affair has not been one of "philosophic calm," but of foolish turbulence, not of "a quiet submission," but of impatient revolt against "established authority and the customs pursued by it." And this attitude was declared to be not an accidental aberration, but a part of Moslem psychology. We will let such identities pass. Our only wonder is that as soon as the Cawnpore settlement was reached, the besetting dream disappeared leaving not a rack behind. The Hindu attitude towards fate of the Ajudhya rioters at this moment may have some sort of philosophy behind it, but it is not quite calm nor do the loud protests against cow sacrifice sound exactly like quiet submission to established authority and the customs pursued by it. The habit of dallying with different scales and measures has grown incurable among a certain class of politicians in India, but it invariably comes home to roost. We hope we will not be misunderstood. The Hindu appeal to the Viceroy to show clemency to those sentenced in the Ajudhya riot case is natural enough, and we have no desire to oppose it, though the analogy between this case and that of the unfortunate sufferers in Cawnpore is not apparent to us. Nor do the preservation of mosques and the prevention of cow-killing stand on an equal footing. Mosques are Moslem places of worship in Moslem custody every inch of whose ground has been dedicated to God. Cows are not everywhere the inalienable property of the Hindus, and they are neither sacred nor carry any distinctive rights beyond their animal status when they happen to be in the possession of the non-Hindus. A speaker at a recent Hindu meeting at Allahabad, the same gentleman who presided at the Provincial Conference, sought to enforce his argument by the crude retort that "if a cow is a cow a lavatory is a lavatory". The reference is, of course, to the demolished portion of the Cawnpore mosque which consisted of a *wazuthana* and a *dalan* and not a lavatory. But even if it were a lavatory, the fallacy of this uncalled-for retort ought to have been apparent to a man with considerable legal pretensions. A cow is a cow and a lavatory is a lavatory. Yet but none of them can be disposed of or made the sport of official whim or non-official zeal without reference to the question of ownership. You can not pull down the lavatory of your neighbour any more than you can prevent him from doing what he pleases with his cow because somebody else considers the animal almost divine. The Cawnpore mosque involved an issue of principle. No portion of a Mosque can be sold or given in exchange according to the Islamic law of *wakf*. A cow is purely not a *wakf* administered by the Hindus for purposes of public worship.

We need hardly say that in this matter we have every desire to be fair. We can not ignore genuine Hindu sentiment simply because some of its overzealous exponents have been crude in method and tried to belittle the value of Mussalman as a citizen of the State. But let us first grasp the root of the question. A Hindu reverences cow and is naturally anxious to ensure its preservation. A Mussalman has no such reverence for the animal which forms his staple food in many parts of this country. He is now asked to renounce his natural right and give up his staple food, even to desist from using cows for sacrificial purposes in deference to the Hindu susceptibility. This is clearly a matter for mutual understanding, implying a request on the one hand and a voluntary concession on the other. There is plainly no room for any action on the part of the Government. Neither the Legislature nor the executive authority can proscribe the slaughter of cows without being guilty of coercion and of unjust interference with inalienable right of the non-Hindu sections of the people. The question can only be settled by mutual accommodation. We may well ask, then: Are the Mussalmans prepared to lay themselves under a self-denying ordinance for the sake of their Hindu fellow-countrymen? Will the sacrifice bring the two communities together and pave the way for the evolution of common nationality? If it could be shown that the abstention of Mussalmans from killing cows for food or sacrifice would solve for ever the Hindu Moslem problem, the end is great enough to justify the sacrifice. For it must be remembered that Moslem renunciation would entail great cost and inconvenience, a fact which is conveniently ignored by those who describe the attitude of Mussalmans to stark perversity. Now it must be confessed that Hindu attitude in its recent phase has not been quite convincing. The cow question has been pushed into prominence just at a time when all such questions ought to have been held in abeyance. A little political sagacity would have told the organisers of the existing agitation that it would be ungrateful if not worse to immediately demand a price from the Mussalmans for the sympathy and goodwill shown to them by a section of the Hindu Press in their recent hostilities at home and abroad. The demand that there should henceforth be no sacrifice of cows at Ajudhya strikes a note of bitterness. The Mussalmans have been consistently confronted with the fact that either there should be no sacrifice or the Hindu-Moslem cooperation in public affairs shall be impossible. The ideal of Indian nationality has been used both

as threat and a persuasion. As we have said neither the coercion nor the choice of method and argument has been very satisfactory to the feelings and intelligence of the Mussalmans.

But apart from the manner in which this agitation against cow-killing has grown within the last few weeks, there are other considerations which clearly show that the killing of cows does not lie at the root of the Hindu-Moslem problem. We are still familiar with the arguments which set down separate electorates as the sole cause of Hindu-Moslem friction. We know, again, that the mutual antagonism and differences have been ascribed alternately to the absence of the Mussalmans from the Congress platform, to the quarrels about "the loaves and fishes," to Pan Islamism, even to the Partition of Bengal. In fact anything that has roused the ire of the Hindu politicians at any time has done duty as the cloven hoof. The cow question is not, therefore, the sole thing that divides, nor, indeed, the main thing. Yet it suits the designs of some people perhaps, that it is just now being fathered with the sins of divided India. The Mussalmans may be pardoned if the cry against cow sacrifice does not appear to them wholly devoid of political calculation. They may be the veriest tyrant at the game, but even they can have some idea of the value of a trump-card up one's sleeve.

As long as the cow question may be used as a pawn on the political chess board, Moslem attitude will remain sceptical and Mussalmans may not be prepared to bear a sacrifice for the sake even of a widespread and genuine Hindu sentiment. There is such a thing also as Moslem sentiment, and we can well imagine how it will be affected if a persistent demand is made to Mussalmans to yield all along the line. They are asked to join the Congress in the name of united India. They are urged to give up their adherence to the principle of separate representation for the sake of Indian unity. They are just now being exhorted to renounce their right to sacrifice cows if India is to be united. At this rate there is no knowing where the process would end. Perhaps Moslem individuality would be demanded as the supreme sacrifice to celebrate the union of diverse races and creeds. Things being what they are, we have found it most difficult to offer any fruitful advice to Mussalmans. Of course all attempts to cause needless offence to Hindu sentiment must be sternly rebuked and every Mussalman should set his face against such attempts. But no undertaking can be given at this stage that Mussalmans would refrain from exercising their right within proper limits. The Ajudhya Mussalmans have, we are sure, no desire to be aggressive like the Hindus of the place, and they may be trusted to behave with reason and due regard to the feelings of their Hindu neighbours. It is impossible to prescribe for them a course of conduct which they alone are in a position to devise in the light of their own circumstances, especially when we remember that the danger of another riot on the forthcoming Bagr-i'd has been aggravated by much loose talk in a section of the Hindu Press. The District Magistrate of Fyzabad has already been driven to issue the following order:—"Whereas owing to the present state of public feeling in Ajudhya there is danger of a breach of peace if cattle intended for slaughter is driven through the City of Ajudhya, it is hereby ordered that from the 2nd to the 12th November 1918 no person may drive any cattle through any street or public place in Ajudhya without my previous permission and the police are directed to prevent any breach of this order." The agitation has already done its work and the state of public feeling at Ajudhya is such that, in the opinion of the District Magistrate, there is danger of a breach of peace if cattle are even seen in the streets of the town. The order practically amounts to a prohibition against cow sacrifice in all cases in which cows are to be brought in by Mussalmans within the dates notified, if, indeed, the loophole of "previous permission" is meant simply to cheat the Mussalmans out of their sense of impotence. This is the first fruit of Hindu goodwill which the Ajudhya Moslems will taste. Their neighbours' love has already deprived them of their liberty of action. The second fruit is being prepared for them in the shape of boycott. A Fyzabad correspondent of the *Leader* describes it thus:—

The Ajudhya Hindus behind whom naturally is the World of Hindu India, having exhausted every method of persuasion to induce local Mahomedans to forego repeating cow-sacrifice at the holy city on the forthcoming Bagr-i'd, and every means in the power of Hindu leaders at Fyzabad, with whom some of the leading Mahomedan gentlemen cordially co-operated, to come to terms with the Ajudhya Mahomedans on the basis of mutual give and take, having failed, the Hindus of the place, driven by a sense of wounded self-respect, seriously contemplate cutting off all relations with their Mahomedan neighbours. If the story is carried out, the movement, unfortunately, is likely to spread; and then all the great officers of H. H. the Aga Khan, Mr. Mahomed-ul-Haque, and other far-seeing Mahomedan leaders for a speedy reduction of all causes of friction and removal of the outstanding differences between the two communities which at present give rise to grave dissension in the country, will have come to naught.

The timely communication of this prohibition as to cow-killing down to cows to the sacred city for religious purposes may set us at ease; but, there is the contingency of cow-killing secretly in some of the Mahomedan homes.

Whether a search of Moslem houses has already been decided upon by the Government we do not know. All we know is that this is not the way to enlist Moslem sympathy and evoke Moslem respect for Hindu sentiments. The Hindu leaders had taken the first false step by organising a full-blown agitation. Their compatriots at Ajudhya may take the last that might be irrevocable. None would regret such a sorry turn in inter-communal affairs more than we. It would be a grievous set-back, and the responsibility would be mainly theirs who have talked loudest of the responsibility of their neighbours.



Mr. Wazir Hasan's Letter.

It is with a great shock of surprise and pain that Mussalmans in India have read Reuter's cables giving some details of the dispute which seems to have arisen between Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Ameer Ali and which has led to the latter's resignation of the Presidency of the London League. It was to depend only on Reuter's account of what has happened we might well have suspended our judgment, for the cablegrams are fragmentary and do not help one to form a clear idea of the actual differences and the regrettable consequences to which they have led. Luckily, however, we have before us the full text of the letter sent by Mr. Wazir Hasan to Mr. Ameer Ali on the 24th October which, together with the lucid and consecutive account cabled by Mr. Mohamed Ali, furnishes enough material to form our judgment and arrive at a correct estimate of the situation. But before we discuss the whole question in detail, measure the part played by Mr. Ameer Ali and consider the whole issue involved in regard to the basis of co-operation between the Central League and its London Branch, we would like our readers to read this important letter most carefully. All subsequent developments have hinged on the interpretations put by Mr. Ameer Ali. On this communication we in India were anxious to see this letter of the 24th October in which Mr. Wazir Hasan was said to have grossly insulted Mr. Syed Ameer Ali. Reuter had sent a very garbled account to which the Anglo-Indian Press had given its own meaning, so as to find an occasion of abusing Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan. As a matter of fact it turns the tables entirely and clears the whole position, and we can not imagine that any fair-minded man would now accuse Mr. Wazir Hasan of having been unjust to Mr. Ameer Ali. It is an honest, courteous and straightforward letter and we honour Mr. Wazir Hasan for having written it.

"My dear Mr. Ameer Ali,—I returned last night from Paris, after having seen H. H. the Aga Khan, as you had suggested, and on my return, found your letter of the 22nd October waiting for me.

"H. H. the Aga Khan discussed the whole matter with me, more than once, and also referred to a letter that he had received from you, but which he could not show me, as it was marked 'Private.' His considered judgment on the matter is given in the enclosed letter, which he handed me in order to deliver to you on my return, and which he read out to me before he closed it. Needless to say, I entirely agree with him, and Mr. Mohamed Ali, who had discussed the matter with the Aga Khan on the first day of our visit to Paris, before he returned hurriedly, also agrees with me. I would add, however, that the object of the dinner which H. H. the Aga Khan proposes to give is, as we have always maintained, not to crow over the success achieved in the Cawnpore affair, but, in fact, to explain to the influential men in this country, including ex-Viceroy and some Members of the India Council, and the Under Secretary of State for India, the essentially loyal attitude of the Mussalmans. The position is this. Out in India petty officials whose actions may be criticised locally or provincially, take the first opportunity of prejudicing us in the eyes of heads of local governments and of the Government of India, and, as we have seen recently, some papers in England take the matter up, and prejudice us in the eyes of the India Office and the ministers and the public here. No communal work can be done satisfactorily if those who are working under all these difficulties in India fail even to get the ear of the officials, and the influential people here, and not only clear their own position, but, what is much more important, clear the position of the community. The dinner which H. H. the Aga Khan proposes to give in conjunction with you, is meant to provide us, who have been sent as accredited agents of the whole community, with an opportunity for explaining the real attitude of the Mussalmans towards Government, and certainly not to crow over temporary triumphs. In the dinner itself we shall have ample opportunity of showing all this, and of thanking the Viceroy for the statesmanlike manner in which he has settled the

whole affair, without prejudicing the prestige of Government. If, however, such an opportunity is denied to us, we shall have to do the same thing in another manner,—on public platforms and in the public press, and in the last resort, it will be my painful duty to tell the Members of the League on my return to India, that if things go wrong in India, it is no use trusting anybody here to do us justice, and in fact, I do not see how I can get out of a clear explanation to the members of the League that the President of their own London Branch is unwilling to assist the community, even when he has to risk nothing and sacrifice nothing. The Aga Khan's position is a very delicate one, as you know, but I must say I was agreeably surprised to find that he was prepared to take the responsibility of a dinner of this character, without the least suggestion from either of us.

"A little regard for our own dignity compels me to say that we do not in the least desire any personal appreciation of our labours, and if this dinner was to come off at the end of our stay here, there might have been some suspicion that it was meant to crown our work with generous appreciation from two such eminent Mussalmans as yourself and the Aga Khan. As it is, it is really an introduction of us to the influential men in England. But even if it were to be a mere appreciation of our work, I have no hesitation in saying that I do not think it would have been undeserved. Out in India, we have to contend every day with difficulties of a nature of which one who has been away from the country for so long, can have little conception, and if our own eminent men shrink from giving us some recognition, we have only two alternatives, the alternative of the weak man, to go under and sell our community, as so many others have done before us, or the alternative of the strong man, to work alone for the good cause, but, at the same time, to show to our people that we work alone, and without assistance from those from whom assistance had so rightly been expected.

"Before I conclude this part of my letter, I may add that I have given your arguments against your joining H. H. the Aga Khan as a host, all the consideration that they rightly deserve; but I must say, neither H. H. the Aga Khan nor I feel convinced that the very remote possibility of the dinner being interpreted as a triumphal banquet, when we can all take every precaution that it should not be so interpreted, can outweigh the certain advantages, and, in fact, the essential necessity, of our explaining the true attitude of ourselves and of the Indian Mussalmans to men in high quarters in England. I hope and trust our arguments and those of H. H. the Aga Khan will convince you, and you will be pleased to take part in the function as a host, conjointly with H. H. the Aga Khan. The time at our disposal is now very short, and I hope you will give us your final decision in the course of the day.

"With regard to your letter of the 22nd, I hope to send shortly the papers with regard to the separation of the judicial and executive functions. I note that you do not mention in your letter anything about the other two matters which I discussed with you last Saturday in common with Mr. Mohamed Ali, namely, the establishment of executive councils in provinces where they do not exist, and the repeal of the Press Act. This, I suppose, is mere inadvertence, and I hope you will call a meeting of the League as soon as convenient, wherein all these matters can be fully discussed, and our course of action decided upon.

"May I assure you very cordially that we all appreciate the work which you have been doing here in the interests of our community, and, as you say 'without beat of drums or recourse to fictitious methods of advertisement.' May I also say that you do us little justice in thinking that we are wanting in proper appreciation of your labours, and have no conception of the importance and absolute necessity of maintaining an efficient and strong League in London. I can take no responsibility for the action of the parent League before my time, but you must have noticed that since the community has placed this burden on my shoulders I have not been idle, and, in fact, a very great deal has been accomplished under enormous difficulties, and that, too, 'without beat of drums or recourse to fictitious methods of advertisement.'

"I do recognise that an efficient League can be maintained here only at considerably increased cost, and I have discussed this matter with H. H. the Aga Khan, who, I am glad to say, would be prepared to accept my considered suggestions in this behalf.

"As regards the parent League itself, you cannot be unaware of the fact that if it has starved you here, it has had to starve itself also, in India. But now that it is coming more and more into line with the wishes of the community, it is tapping new financial resources, and I hope on my return to succeed in a great measure in collecting together a large fund to serve as a Reserve Fund for our political work. Naturally the London Branch must be supported out of it, but our efforts to convince the members about your requirements here would succeed in proportion to the support which the London Branch gives to the work of the parent League and its projects.

"I would suggest that an early meeting of the League should be called, in which I shall place before the members here the views of myself and my council fully and frankly, and I cannot think of any other method of threshing the whole question out with the help of our friends here. I may add that I have not been idle here as regards the problem of increasing the members of the League in London, and I have had full and frank discussions with several well-meaning and energetic young men, whom I have found both sober and earnest. I am glad to say their views, to a large extent, tally with mine, and I am determined before I leave, to rally them round the League, and, in fact, to re-establish it on a much firmer footing.

I have expressed my views very frankly, both because it is my nature to be as candid as I can be, consistently with the needs of the situation, and because I am not likely to have an opportunity of expressing my views, and the views of my council, to you and the members of the League here in person for some length of time. But, I trust, if in anything I have said I have been too frank, you will forgive me, and accept my assurance that I mean to assist the London branch rather than kill it or leave it in its present condition.

With kindest regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
WAZIR HASAN."



The Moslem Mission in England.

We published in our last what we stated to be a letter sent by Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali to Mr. Ameer Ali on the subject of the Cawnpore mosque affair. We made a mistake. As a matter of fact, it was the text of a draft letter which was intended to be sent to Mr. Ameer Ali, but which we learn was finally substituted by the following letter:—

Dear Mr. Ameer Ali,—With reference to our conversations on the subject of the Cawnpore Mosque affair, and the consequent Moslem unrest, we may say that we entirely agree with you. In our opinion also it is most undesirable that matters should continue to follow the course they have hitherto done. Irrespective of the final decision of the law courts in the forthcoming trials and the civil and criminal action that the Mussulmans must inevitably take, one result is certain to follow from all this long-drawn litigation, namely, a continued bitterness, and even bitterness of feeling which all well-wishers of the Government and of the Mussulmans endeavour to remove and prevent. This can be done effectively in only one way so far as we can see. The sponge must be passed over the entire slate. The prosecutions against Cawnpore Mussulmans on the charges of rioting and sedition should be withdrawn, and the demolished portion of the Mosque should be rehabilitated, and, on their side, the Mussulmans of Cawnpore should pledge themselves to drop the contemplated civil and criminal action against the authorities. And as the Press is nowadays a not inconsiderable force in shaping popular opinions and acting as a medium between Government and the people, we trust Government will assist us in restoring the pleasant conditions that existed before these distressing and deplorable incidents by refunding the securities of the Moslem papers recently declared forfeited, and even returning the securities demanded from such Moslem papers as had been exempted before. This would be considered an act of grace, and is sure to have the best possible results.

We may add that, knowing the state of Moslem feeling in Cawnpore and elsewhere, we believe the restoration of harmony would be more fully assured if Messrs. Tyler and Sim do not retain their present charges. We do not suggest this in a vindictive spirit, and it may well be left to Government to devise the most appropriate means of effecting the transfer of these officers without giving to it the appearance of being venal or, on the contrary, of being a reward of meritorious conduct.

The Mussulmans of Cawnpore have already suffered a great deal on account of their ill-advised and impetuous action, and we are confident that after all these months of the virtual imprisonment of the accused, no one will regard an action of Government on the lines we have suggested as being due to a dictation of force.

We may add that so long as there is a reasonable hope of an amicable settlement of this most unfortunate affair, we have no desire to take any public action.

We need not remind you that the matter is one of considerable urgency as the sessions trial is fixed for the 18th instant. It will be most unfortunate if it is allowed to continue.

CORRESPONDENCE



Lucknow Islamia School.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—When I look into the inner condition of my community—its poverty and all the vices which flow from it, its indifference and aversion to those avocations in life which make a nation rich and prosperous, its habits of extravagance, its vanity, its showy character without substance—when I look into these and many other things which might be left unsaid here, I often wish that our eyes in the present generation were turned to nothing but Education, and to the task of lifting this backward community as a whole. Nothing can be achieved without character and that is the thing which is wanting in us. Character can not be formed without proper training in the school age. Our schools turn out every year a large number of boys who do not know their own language, can only frame a few broken sentences in a foreign language with great effort, but have no idea of a regular systematic life regulated by certain rules of conduct which a man ought to follow in this world to lead a successful life. He is generally irregular and unpunctual in habits, not very particular as to cleanliness and has no idea of the value of time. And yet these are the habits and not ability to read and write and understand a foreign language which go a long way to form character. Feeling this want, some of the Mussulmans of Lucknow have combined to establish an Islamia school in Lucknow where it will be the quality and not the quantity of the work that shall be scrupulously watched. The school is really running since March last. The idea is to make Lucknow the centre of school education in the same manner as Aligarh is that of University Education. The attempt shall be to run the school on the same lines on which the great public schools of England are done. Every minute of the boy must be regulated like a watch so that when he leaves the school, his habits and character may be found developed to such an extent in certain directions that it may be impossible for him to shake them off for the rest of his life. The Boarding House life will of course be the distinguishing feature of the school. At present the school and the Boarding House are in a rented house in Lal Bagh, but this is a temporary arrangement. The Raja of Mahmudabad, the soul and spirit of the Moslem public life in this province who, by his real sacrifices, has put the whole community under great obligations to him, has come forward with his princely donation of Rs. 500 per mensem which together with some other small subscriptions carry our monthly income to about Rs. 650 per mensem. The Raja of Pithur has promised Rs. 500 per annum and Munshi Ehtisham Ali Sahib has also been generous in rendering pecuniary help. The school has already attracted about ninety boys from the Third to the Eighth class and the Boarding House which has not got much accommodations at present, contains ten boys. The school is not yet recognised, but the members of the Board of Management intend to approach the Inspector as soon as it is brought up to a certain standard of efficiency. Mr. Abdul Rahim, M. A., is at present the Head Master. As to the demand of the Moslem school in Lucknow there can be no two opinions. I have been informed that in 1912 about 150 boys could not be admitted in the Hussainabad school for want of seats and out of this number, not less than 100 were Moslem boys. I pray the Mussalman public to bestow their thoughts on this most important institution which is full of great future results. Its success and failure be entirely in their hands. It is needless to say that those who are in charge of its managements shall not spare any pains in looking after the children entrusted to their charge.

Lucknow, 8th November 1913.

SAMUEL L. BEE,

The Moslem League Crisis.

The Agha Khan's Letter.

THE Aga Khan, writing to Syed Amir Ali from Paris, expresses his profound regret at the turn of events leading to Amir Ali's resignation. He wishes Syed Amir Ali had seen his way to withhold his resignation until the opinion of the Central Committee in India could have been definitely ascertained. The Aga Khan could not think that the Committee would endorse any suggestion which Amir Ali could regard as making his position untenable, as all men in India, young and old, have the strongest sense of indebtedness to him and his great and unique service to the community.

HIS OWN REASONS FOR RETIRING.

After paying a tribute to Syed Amir Ali's work, the Aga Khan gives some of his reasons for coming to an absolutely irrevocable decision to retire from the presidency in India. He is so circumstanced he says, that he is compelled to be out of India for considerable periods each year, therefore he cannot carry out his duties in the way he would like, but these and other personal reasons would not make him retire if he thought that his continuance would serve the welfare of the community.

WHY MEN OF POSITION WERE NECESSARY

Tracing the history of the League, he says that in the early stages of its foundation with a large number of leaders from the aristocracy, men of strong social and financial position were absolutely necessary in order to give the organisation weight and status in the eyes of the Government of India and the Hindu Community. He regarded separate representations in legislatures not as a policy, but as necessary for awakening "our people from a state of coma and neglect into which they had fallen."

PERMANENT PRESIDENT NOT REQUIRED

The League having passed through its infancy, the Aga Khan is profoundly convinced that in India, at this stage, a permanent President official spokesman and recognised leader will hamper natural evolution and development of their community. Even if he could always be on the spot and be worthy of such a position, the League must become more and more not a political party but a national organisation of a loyal and devoted Moslem community in which all parties are represented and all schools of thought given their due voice. He instances separate representation on municipal and local boards and primary education in relation to vernaculars as questions on which there must be differences and discussion, and he, for one, heartily welcomes the fact that organisation in India can now, thanks to an awakening of the community, be freed from the trammels of his presidency.

The Aga Khan is convinced that his retirement will help to develop a sense of responsibility and his experience will be of greater service on the free bench of the council than in the cramped chair of the President. Still, he thinks that after the question of relations between the Central and London Leagues have been discussed afresh in India, there may be some possibility of reconstruction in London on sound lines. But he will not be prepared to join the London League as one of its officers on any fresh basis, unless he is assured of the sympathy and help of Amir Ali and the wise and elderly friends now retiring with him. The Aga Khan cherishes hope of a reconstruction because the League if wisely guided in the future as in the past, can be made an instrument of the greatest advantage not only to their community but to the people of India generally. Therefore there must be an effort to save it from collapse.



Moslem Opinion in India.

Mr. Kaderbhoj's Statement.

HAVING worked in the London branch for about three and a half years, being at first a member of the committee, then for ten years as Joint Secretary, he knew very well the working of the League. With special reference to recent discussions between the Secretary of the Central League and Mr. Amir Ali, he said that the political dinner referred to in Mr. Wazir Hussein's letter to Amir Ali was not the real cause of the dissension, as Amir Ali has himself attended very many political dinners such as were given at the Westminster Palace Hotel in honour of Sir William Wedderburn, and Amir Ali himself responded to the toast at luncheon given in his honour by Mr. A. M. Jiwajee when big speeches affecting the East African question and many other political problems affecting the true interests of the Hindus and Moslems alike were

discussed. "My reason for this split as far as my knowledge of the whole affair is concerned," said he, "is nothing but a personal jealousy which Mr Amir Ali bears toward Mr Wazir Hussein." Being asked whether he could throw any light on what Wazir Hussein meant in his letter by saying "if the present League has starved you here it has been compelled no less to starve itself," he gave a brief history of the connection existing between the Central League and the branch in London, saying that it was evident that the London League being a branch of the Central League should conform to the instruction of the Central League, whereas, in reality, Amir Ali as president of the London branch used to have his own autocratic views in spite of much persuasion. The chief reason of this attitude on the part of Amir Ali, he pointed out, was due to the fact that the London branch was not being financed wholly by the Central branch and this inability on the part of the Central League was referred to by Mr. Wazir Hussein in his letter to Mr. Amir Ali. Practically the London League did not need any help from the Central branch, as it was greatly financed by the Aga Khan, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Khan Bahadur Syed Nawabali Chondhuri, and Mr A M Jiwajee, and considering this he did not see any reason why the London League should look forward for any help from the Central branch, and though independently financed the London League should not fail to follow in the footsteps of its head office in India.

Questioned about the general working of the League in future owing to the cropping up of this dissension he concluded by saying that though this dissension should not have occurred yet the resignation of Mr. Amir Ali would not be a bad thing for the League, for by losing its conservative Muhammadan leaders of this kind the League would be better able to progress with an attitude of healthy independence not inconsistent with perfect loyalty to and co-operation with Government. The creation of a vigorous new school of politics would conduce greatly to the advancement of a self-respecting community."

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque's Views.

Regarding the recent split in the Moslem League, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque was not prepared to give off-hand his views on the subject, but he is inclined to share the views of those Mahomedans who think that the breach, sooner or later, was inevitable, as trouble had been brewing for some time past. Mahomedans had expressed surprise at Mr. Amir Ali's continuing to be President of an important political body like the Moslem League. He could not make a political speech or join a political dinner without the consent of the Lord Chancellor. In the past, considerable dissatisfaction had been expressed at the attitude of Mr Amir Ali regarding many important matters affecting the Moslem community, and to those who have followed carefully some of the recent controversies in the Moslem Press of Upper India, the turn that events have taken will cause no surprise. As regards the attitude of His Highness the Aga Khan, it has long been known that His Highness had made up his mind to resign the permanent presidency of the Indian Central League, and that he had more than two years ago tendered his resignation and again repeated it last year, but was persuaded to remain President of the League for some time more. He however, last year made it clear that he could not remain President of the League for any great length of time and that this decision of his was irrevocable. The present crisis is only one of the symptoms of the change that has come over the general body of Mahomedans of the middle classes in recent years. At the last Council elections in these provinces, all the representatives of the Mahomedans were chosen from amongst the members of the Bar and a great crusade was waged against title-holders, who were easily defeated at the poll. The present tendency is to exclude the old type of the aristocracy and titled gentry from any active participation in Moslem politics.

Mr. Sultan Ahmad's Views.

In view of the great agitation amongst the Mahomedans of Calcutta regarding the Moslem League split, a representative of the *Englishman* on Monday saw Mr Sultan Ahmed, Barrister-at-Law, Deputy Legal Remembrancer of Bihar and Orissa, who was for four years Joint Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League and a member of the Committee of the All-India Moslem League.

When asked for his views regarding the present position of Moslem League, Mr. Sultan Ahmed said that as a Government servant, he was not inclined to express his opinion on

what was a purely political question, but as a Mahomedan and as one who had taken a prominent part in the Moslem League, he did not believe that there was really a split as it was termed among the supporters of the League. "It is only a trivial difference," he said. "This has been due to personal misunderstanding between Mr. Ameer Ali on the one side, and Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan on the other. The latter have not adopted any new propaganda or even a programme in contravention of the wishes of Mr. Ameer Ali, because Mr. Ameer Ali himself adopted the resolution relating to 'self-government suitable for India' at a meeting of the London branch of the Moslem League this year and fully supported the Central League on this point. His Highness the Aga Khan supported the resolution at Lucknow at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League previous to the resolution being adopted at the annual session of the League last March.

"I myself moved that resolution," continued Mr. Sultan Ahmed, "but I may point out the resolution as it stands, that is, 'asking for self-government suitable for India,' does not coincide with the Congress propaganda which is self-government on Colonial lines. The propaganda of the League was considered so innocuous that even cautious and experienced men like His Highness the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon. Ameer Ali approved of it. The resolution lays special stress upon the conditions of the times. If the present conditions are not suitable for such a system of Government as I believe they are not, of course the League will not have it as the League does not bind itself to have self-government at any cost. That's the reason why I stoutly opposed Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque who put forward an amendment at the meeting bringing the League policy into line with that of the Congress. The League also is distinctly of opinion that self-government was simply to be an ideal, or mainly an incentive to progress.

"Every sensible person knows," said Mr. Sultan Ahmed, "that if self-government were given to us to-day, it would be disastrous. But if things fared well, self-government would follow as a matter of course, and might come within the range of practical politics say after twenty years or so. And as far as can be seen, the self-government the League aims at, is the self-government the Government itself has set before it as the goal of administrative achievement."

"If the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali subscribed to the views of the League, why did they give up the direction of its policy?" asked our representative.

"They did not give up the presidentship of the League because they did not approve of the policy of the League. As His Highness the Aga Khan himself wrote to me only last year when he was about to resign the presidentship of the Central League he did so 'in the best interests of the League and the Moslem Community generally'."

"The reasons the Aga Khan gave for his resignation, in his own words, were:—

(1) It is most undesirable in a country like India that an individual should be long at the head of a party or public body and I have now been, one way or another, the President of the League for nearly five years.

(2) It was not without reluctance that I accepted the presidentship of the League originally, and it was only after I had been assured that as soon as the League was established, I could give the reins of authority into other hands that I took up the office of President. Now that the League has not only justified its existence by its activity, but is already a recognised body and has so to speak, "come into its own," I feel it my duty to leave its direction in other hands.

(3) The time has come when the Moslems of India should 'take stock' of their political position, and carefully consider and then settle a policy and consistently carry it out. United action and consistent and persistent action is necessary."

"It is under these circumstances," wrote His Highness the Aga Khan, "essential that the highest officers of the Central Moslem organisation should be elected to carry out the policy, decided upon by the community and should be men who can begin with a fairly 'clean slate.' When the League was first formed, it was the fresh step in political activity taken by the Moslems of India as a body since the establishment of British rule. We, the originators of the movement had an exceptionally difficult and delicate task. But the Community has now been directly taking a living and serious and growing interest in its social, political and educational life and its problems of the future. It cannot possibly be to its advantage that those who launched the movement should still remain at the helm. Besides, I hold certain political views and convictions very strongly and I feel it is impossible for me to urge them with all my strength as long as I hold the position of President of the League."

As regards the dinner incident, Mr. Sultan Ahmed said: "It seems to me there are some personal differences between Mr. Ameer Ali on the one hand and Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan on the other. The reason given by Mr. Ameer Ali that as a member of the Judicial Committee he could not attend a political dinner without the permission of the Lord Chancellor is not consistent with Mr. Ameer Ali's attendance at dinners at which political speeches figured most prominently on the programme. Then when he could not attend a dinner given to the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League where political speeches were to be delivered, one fails to understand how he could remain the President of the London Branch of the Moslem League which is a purely political organisation and how could he as President of the London League figure so prominently in the public press of England on the near Eastern question as well as of Indians in the Transvaal."

"What prospects are there of the differences between the League supporters being amicably settled and who will take the places of Mr. Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan?" next asked our representative.

"Since my appointment as Deputy Legal Remembrancer," said Mr. Sultan Ahmed, "I have severed my connection with the League, but judging from outside, I cannot find worthy successors among the Mahomedans of India to such eminent men as Mr. Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan. I agree with the *Englismen* that the Moslem community has a difficult task before it because even the Raja of Mahmudabad, who may be considered as the only one in any way worthy of stepping into the place of the Aga Khan or Mr. Ameer Ali, will not, I have reason to believe, accept the presidentship of the League."



Press Opinion.

"The Statesman"

It is now evident that the feud which has long existed between the sober element in Indian Mahomedanism and the "Young Turks" who have captured the Moslem League has culminated in open strife. As history shows, great events often turn on small causes, and in this instance the revelation of the open rupture between conservative and flamboyant Islam has been provoked by a dinner—a dinner to be given in honour of Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan, the Secretary of the Moslem League. Mr. Ameer Ali declined to attend this banquet on the ground that political speeches were to be delivered and that his presence would be incompatible with his position as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Neither in England nor in India would it be tolerated that a Judge should take part in a political demonstration. This reasonable refusal elicited from Mr. Wazir Hasan an extraordinary letter in which he set forth the view that to do honour to himself and Mr. Mohamed Ali was a public duty, and that by declining to perform this duty Mr. Ameer Ali was about to "sell the community as so many others have done before." It is clear from this tragic declaration that the young lions of the Moslem League take themselves very seriously, but it is not equally clear why they should do so. They can point to no achievement of any practical value. The Mahomedan University scheme has apparently come to grief through unwise handling so that, if the League can claim credit for having brought the movement to the verge of success, they must also accept responsibility for what seems to be the ultimate failure. At present, at any rate, the practical outcome of the effort is precisely nothing. The only other achievement is that Mr. Wazir Hasan calls "the Calcutta victory." Apparently this is the most gorgeous feather in the cap of the League, and Mr. Ameer Ali's chilly attitude towards the proposed banquet was, it is to be inferred, largely due to a suspicion that the after-dinner oratory would be devoted to celebrating this notable triumph of Mahomedan agitation. Mr. Ameer Ali may well have doubted the wisdom of rejoicing over a success of this character. Who won the "victory," and over whom? The facts, reduced to their simplest form, are that the mosque authorities were not unwilling to consent to the removal of an outer building in order that a public improvement might be carried out, and that they were induced by extraneous influence to abandon this wise and tolerant attitude. The affair was thus the triumph of artfully stimulated prejudices over public spirit, and the Europe-returned Mahomedan, who, with tongue in cheek, engineered this reactionary movement, have done incalculable harm to the best interests of their community. The wiser heads among the Mahomedans must already be aware of the unreal nature of the "victory," as they have long mistrusted the policy of which it forms a part. It may be anticipated that the effect of the rupture between the Moslem

League and its London branch will be to induce the Mahomedan moderates to assert themselves more vigorously than they have hitherto done. It is well known that many of them dislike extremely the aim which the younger men of the League have set before them of seeking co-operation with the Hindus for the establishment of Indian self-government. Interpreted as the Aga Khan understands it, this ideal is admirable, for it contemplates "decades of effort towards self-improvement, 'social reform, educational diffusion, and complete unity between various communities.'" But the Aga Khan and the young lions of the Moslem League do not mean the same thing, and the moderate Mahomedan leaders may well set themselves against the substitution of new political methods for those by which the rights of Moslems have hitherto been maintained with no small degree of success. With the policy of co-operation has been unequally yoked the propaganda of Pan-Islamism. Co-operation with the Hindus necessarily implies that Mahomedans must subordinate other ideas to a realization of their Indian nationality. Pan-Islamism, on the other hand, means that their Mahomedanism must dominate their national and local ties. How the two doctrines are to be reconciled is a problem of whose existence the active spirits of the Moslem League are not yet aware. It is obvious, however, that the leaders of the London League condemn both these tendencies, and, though they have hitherto kept silence, "in order to maintain an 'appearance of solidarity,'" Mr. Ameer Ali has at length been driven to enter a public protest. "It is my settled conviction," he says, "repeatedly and publicly declared, that Moslems in India, while claiming full recognition for their legitimate interests and due consideration for their feelings and susceptibilities, should cultivate a sense of proportion and work 'in harmony and in a true spirit of accord with each other and with the Government.'" It would be difficult to frame a more just and lofty-minded rebuke of the heroes of the Cawnpore "victory" or of the unfair criticism of British policy in Eastern Europe which has found expression in the Mahomedan press. The Moslem League is now placed in an embarrassing position. It has alienated Mr. Ameer Ali and it has brought about the resignation of its President, the Aga Khan. The withdrawal of His Highness, which he justifies on the ground that the League now requires a democratic President, is probably to be accounted for by the difficulty of keeping the peace between the irreconcilable sections. In any case the loss is irreparable.

The "Englishman."

Laudious and trivial as is the immediate cause of the withdrawal of the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali from a position of authority in the Moslem League, it marks an event of stupendous significance in the political history of the Moslems of India. It ushered in a new era of stormy agitation and blatant demagoguery. It cannot but be regarded as a great misfortune by the bulk of the Indian Mahomedans that two of their most responsible leaders who were mainly instrumental in solidifying the political opinion of their community should have been compelled, by the clamour of an insignificant, irresponsible and inexperienced clique of politicians, to sever their communication with the Moslem League, an organisation which they themselves created. For in spite of the assurances of the Aga Khan to the contrary, it is patent that both he and Mr. Ameer Ali are no longer able to assert their authority in the councils of the League and it is unreasonable to expect them to follow those who have now assumed the command. In the case of the League, the old order has changed irreversibly and its future lies in the hands of a new generation of politicians who, in some most vital particulars, stand on an entirely different platform from the one occupied by the old school of Moslems, by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his followers. There is now a distinct breach between the old school and the new, but it has not been brought about, as some may imagine, in a day by the puerile demand of Mr. Wazir Hasan for a public dinner for himself in London. For the past two or three years, the Aga Khan, more probably than even Mr. Ameer Ali, has been aware of the growth in influence of new ideas regarding the relations between the Moslems and their rulers in India, which, to say the least, were directly opposed to the political traditions of the community. His Highness, on more than one occasion, expressed a desire to give up the leadership of the League in India, ostensibly for other reasons but really because he was unable to subscribe to the views of those who had, by following the methods of the Congress school of politicians, gained an ascendancy in the League. The agitators however were not blind to the immense advantages the League derived from its connection with the Aga Khan and as they were uncertain of their hold on the goodwill of their community they brought pressure to bear upon His Highness, in fact they flattered and cajoled him by every means within their power, to remain in office.

Now however they probably believe that they have gained the heart of their community by making what they rightly regard as an irresistible appeal to the religious sentiments of their community by exploiting the Balkan war in every possible manner to prove to their co-religionists that they alone among them are the guardians of the holy places, and the protectors of Islam. They marshalled their forces with cunning and struck the blow for supremacy at the psychological moment. Even then they desired to draw in the Aga Khan within the meshes of their conspiracy as will be evidenced from the open attempt made to convince Mr. Ameer Ali that Mr. Wazir Hasan was hurling threats and innuendos at his head with the full knowledge and even approval of the Aga Khan. Their ruse however failed, and His Highness the Aga Khan has now endorsed Mr. Ameer Ali's policy by giving up the position he occupied in the League in India. The Extremists have reached the goal of their ambition and unless Moslems in India are awakened to the dangers to which the machinations of irresponsible demagogues have exposed them, there is every prospect of the League becoming a disturbing factor in the political life of India. One looks in vain among the new Moslem publicists for worthy successors to the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali as leaders of their community. The sobriety and restraint which their vast experience of men and affairs gave them made both the Aga Khan and Ameer Ali leaders such as any community in the world would be proud to possess; they exerted a wholesome and entirely beneficial influence over their co-religionists in India, and at no time did they prove their single-heartedness in the service to their community more convincingly than during the past few months. They had no easy task controlling the fanaticism of their co-religionists in India while the Balkan war was in progress and mischief-mongers were busy creating discontent among Indian Mahomedans. The Moslems in India have now a difficult and responsible task before them in selecting successors to the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali. Even now it is not too late to rescue the League from the hands of irresponsible agitators.

The "Empire."

It requires very little perspicacity to forecast that the "victory" at Cawnpore and the capture of the Moslem League by a set of agitators will turn to dust and ashes in the mouths of the Moslems of India. Already the more far-seeing members of the community will feel that the withdrawals of the Aga Khan and of Mr. Ameer Ali from high positions of leadership have created a gap in their ranks that it will be impossible to close up, while the botheads who now hold the reins will probably do a lot more damage than anything else before the League once more attains a position in which it can command respect—if it ever does succeed in recovering itself. As a matter of fact the Moslem League may now be said to be "not only dead, but damned" and if any resurrection is possible, it will only be through the action of the enlightened section of the community who will have a stiff battle to recapture this organisation. The incident—a demand for a banquet to honour the "victors" of Cawnpore—but has wrecked the League for all the useful purposes of consolidation and progress and transformed it openly into a school for unwise and unnecessary agitation is a proof of the unfortunate transformation that has taken place in the ideals of the Moslem League.

The "Bombay Gazette."

The somewhat undignified dispute which has arisen between the London branch of the Moslem League and the Central League, at a time when Moslem unity is all important, is gravely to be deplored. Mr. Wazir Hasan's letter to the Rt. Hon. Amir Ali is one that we think should never have been published, either in the interests of Mr. Wazir Hasan, Mr. Amir Ali or the Moslem League. We confess also that it seems to us to be couched in unnecessarily offensive terms. At the same time there was matter for complaint in the refusal of Mr. Amir Ali to join in giving a political dinner to the Aga Khan and Mr. Mohamed Ali. The Moslem League exists for political purposes, and, if Mr. Amir Ali thinks that, as a member of the Judicial Committee, he ought not to be connected with politics, he ought to have severed his connection with the League long ago. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Amir Ali belongs to the old school of Mahomedan political thought, while Mr. Mohamed Ali is one of the leaders of a very vigorous new school, with which the sympathies of the Aga Khan are undisguised. Mr. Amir Ali has been long out of India, and has been accustomed as an Indian Mahomedan to an atmosphere in which the official world and the Mahomedan world have trotted along together like nurse and child. The young Mahomedan party have definitely cut themselves adrift from the old policy of leading strings. They recognise that it does not make for progress either of the Mahomedans or of India as a whole and that an attitude of healthy independence, which is not inconsistent with perfect loyalty to and co-operation with the Government, is more conducive to a vigorous self-respecting community. It is not

unnatural that Conservative Mahomedans like Mr. Amir Ali should feel a little bewildered by all this and take alarm, and we are not inclined to say that Mr. Amir Ali's resignation from the Presidentship of the London branch is a bad thing. But it is a bad thing of him to have published a correspondence in which no one is exhibited in a very pleasant light, and that Mahomedan leader should not be able to settle these affairs without washing their dirt linen in public.

The "Civil & Military Gazette."

Those who are unacquainted with the inner workings of Indian Mussalman politics may be a little puzzled over the squabbles of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hussein, on the one hand, and Mr. Ameer Ali, on the other, to say nothing of the seemingly inconsistent attitude of His Highness the Aga Khan. Mr. Ameer Ali has not in the past shown so much disinclination to take part in political propaganda that one should expect him to feel qualms at being present at a banquet where political speeches were to be made. Why then should he suddenly find it necessary to consult his—Lord Chancellor? The fact is, of course, that this little banquet would not have occasioned any difficulty at all, had it not been that the dissensions in the Moslem League camp had reached a condition when a flare up had become inevitable. For some little time past an uneasy feeling has been growing among the more level-headed section of the Mahomedan community that the policy of pushfulness adopted under the auspicious of the *Comrade* and the Lucknow League was not altogether a wise one—that it was possible, in fact, to have too much of Mr. Hussein and Mr. Mohamed Ali and even of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque. Possibly it was an appreciation of this growing discontent that led to the pilgrimage to London; something had to be done to keep those redoubtable gentlemen well in the public eye. No doubt Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hussein never contemplated that Mr. Ameer Ali would refuse to dance to any tune that they might like to play, they have now discovered their mistake and are much aggrieved because things have taken a turn not altogether to their liking. Great endeavours are consequently been made to show that the Aga Khan's resignation has nothing whatever to do with that of Mr. Ameer Ali. His Highness has long been desirous of resigning for reasons set forth in his letter and, of course, he fully approves of all that Messrs. Hussein and Mohamed Ali say and do. This explanation will hardly satisfy those who look a little beneath the surface of Moslem politics. As we all know His Highness got into trouble himself not so long ago with the gentleman who knew better than he what policy the Mahomedans in this country ought to adopt. Since then the Aga Khan has preserved a discreet silence, but one can quite imagine that he has not found his position, as nominal President of a League he cannot control, altogether agreeable. No, what has happened merely amounts to this: the Moslem League has been passing through much the same phases as the so called National Congress. It started well, but soon began to forsake its original programme for a more exciting propaganda and now it has had its Surat. The only difference is that instead of shoes hurtling about through the air there has been some heated and extremely edifying correspondence in the papers. Since Surat the Congress has become a highly respectable body. What is to happen to the Moslem League we can only wait and see.

The "Indian Daily News."

A couple of years ago, the Aga Khan told the Mahomedans that the best course for them was to unite with the Hindus. This was so opposed to the doves and fishes school of Mahomedan thought that they appealed to London, where a "fitwa" was arrived at quite contrary to that of the Aga Khan. Since then, owing to certain difficulties in having entirely their own way, Moslem opinion has reverted to the Aga Khan's view, probably the right view, from the standpoint of their permanent interests. Now, an amazed world is told that Mr. Ameer Ali has resigned, and five minutes after that the Aga Khan has resigned. It is not, of course, a matter of great importance—only of curiosity—but, we see, that they both resigned in a halo of illuminating correspondence, which should have the effect of making them "Pirs" in the future if not Peers at the present. Well—there have been Pir Alis in the past. Pir Ameer Ali also, probably. Still to be Lord Ali of Talbala and Jerusalem was a fine ambition.

The "Bengalee."

Reuter has given prominence to some correspondence which has taken place between Mr. Wazir Hassan, Secretary of the Central Moslem League, now in London, and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali, President of the London Branch of the League. The trouble rose in connection with a complimentary dinner which it was proposed to be given to Mr. Wazir Hassan and Mr. Mohamed Ali of the *Comrade*. Mr. Ameer Ali was asked to join the Aga

Khan in giving this dinner. But he raised a difficulty urging that he could not take part in it, unless he had taken the permission of the Lord Chancellor, as political speeches would be made at the dinner. This avoidance of all association with practical controversy may appear seemly on the part of a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali has never shown much scruple in such a matter. He has freely mixed in political controversies of an exciting character; and the public have a sort of idea that his prominent association with them has contributed not a little to his elevation to the Judicial Bench of the Privy Council. Mr. Ameer Ali has since his retirement in England been an ardent political partisan of a very pronounced type. Why then does he feel all this hesitation now? While in the thickest of the political controversies of the past he never thought it necessary to take shelter under the protecting wings of the Lord Chancellor. The answer perhaps is to be found for Mr. Ameer Ali's whole attitude, for his refusal to participate in the dinner and his subsequent resignation as President of the London Moslem League—in the telegram which the Aga Khan sent to Mr. Mohamed Ali from Paris though in a somewhat different connection, in reply to one from him. "The chief reason is," says the Aga Khan, "that now that the League has become popular the work should be conducted on the lines of the general popular opinion, rather than on semi-dictatorial lines which have now become impossible. For this reason a permanent President was no longer possible. He should be changed annually. He also must have liberty to plead his ideas from a free platform." Accordingly, the Aga Khan takes "this opportunity of clearing out of the League and leaving the League to be reformed on the only lines possible." A new spirit is visible in the Mahomedan community in India of which the most trusted exponents are men like Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, the Raja of Mahmudabad and others—a spirit which is gall and wormwood to the *Times*, and Mr. Ameer Ali can neither sympathize with this spirit nor work with those who by their labours have contributed to create it. It is as well that he should part company with them and pass the evening of his days in the judicial calm of the Privy Council. Only we think the parting might have been attended with circumstances which might have added to the dignity of the occasion. The educated Mahomedan community in India are entering upon a new career, full of great possibility, a career of co-operation with the Hindus and with the Government and they want leaders saturated with the new spirit. Mr. Ameer Ali is not one of them.

We are glad to note that Mr. M. I. Kaderbhoy, Barrister-at-law, late Secretary of the London Branch of the Moslem League, when interviewed by the Associated Press in connection with the split has also echoed our sentiment in this matter.

The Anglo-Indian Press, as was only to be expected has gone into sack cloth and ashes over this resignation of the Presidents. In His Highness the Aga Khan this section of the Press trusted in a broken reed as His Highness had already expressed his whole-hearted endorsement of the new political ideal of young Islam and sent forth fervent appeals on more occasions than one for Hindu-Mahomedan solidarity. The reasons he has given of his resignation also show his sympathy with these aspirations. In Mr. Amir Ali alone Anglo-Indian extremists have lost the man whose sense, sobriety and experience they could exploit for their own ends.

The "Indian Social Reformer."

The breach between Mr. Ameer Ali and the representatives, now in England, of the Indian headquarters of the Moslem League, particulars of which are furnished by Reuter, will not come as a surprise to those who have been watching the trend of events since the outbreak of war in the "Near East" of Europe. Although nominally a branch of the Indian League, the London Committee under the guidance presumably of the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali assumed the right of independent action. It is necessary to remind some of our contemporaries that it was the London Branch of the League which first set the example of sending dictatorial messages to His Majesty's Government in regard to their foreign policy. If Mr. Ameer Ali could associate himself with them without the permission of the Lord Chancellor, it seems very like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel for him to fight shy of a dinner to his Indian colleagues because political speeches were not excluded from the programme. Whatever may be the merits of the controversy, we would deprecate the attempt to represent the quarrel as due to Mr. Ameer Ali's Moderation. This writer distinctly remembers a much respected Anglo-Indian journalist, who was then on a brief visit to this country, sending for him and asking him in an indignant tone what he thought of a message received a few minutes previously, which the London Branch of the Moslem League had solemnly addressed to Sir Edward Grey on the war in Tripoli. It is useless for Mr. Ameer Ali to pose as a

political purist at the expense of the Indian delegates. The true significance of the present quarrel was indicated by His Highness the Aga Khan when he expressed the hope that it might be possible to reconstitute the London Committee "on a basis of co-operation and co-ordination with the Central League". The absence of such co-operation was evident in the separate Medical Missions organised by the London and Indian Moslems for affording relief to wounded soldiers in the recent war.

The "Advocate".

We are not surprised to hear of the friction between Mr. Wazir Hassan and Syed Ameer Ali. We know that for some time past the London branch of the All-India Muslim League and the parent Association in India were not holding identical views on many a public question. The retirement of H. H. the Aga Khan from the Muslim League will be followed by many more resignations and the body will be shorn of many a landed magnate before it holds its next session at Agra in the X'mas week. It is yet too early to say what the result of the friction will be. One thing we may say that however we may dislike the unparliamentary language which Mr. Wazir Hassan is alleged to have used towards Mr. Ameer Ali, or however presumptuous it might appear that terms should be dictated to Mr. Ameer Ali, we must express our satisfaction that Mr. Ameer Ali will no longer be the guardian angel of the Moslem League. He belongs to that group of Mahomedan politicians which never loses an opportunity to set the Hindus and Mahomedans by ears and which feels that while on the one hand, it should talk of co-operation with British officials, on the other hand do its best to keep the Hindus and Mahomedans separated from each other.



The Hindu-Moslem Problem.

AN address read on the 11th October before the London Indian Association by Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, B.A., LL.B. (Hig.), the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel highly honoured by the invitation which the London Indian Association has so kindly extended to me to address you this evening on a subject which is near and dear to my heart, and I am sure must be near and dear to your hearts also. Ladies and Gentlemen, the subject on which I have to address you this evening is of very great significance and importance to the inhabitants of a country which contains about one-fifth of the whole human race, and it is of no less importance to Great Britain, of which India, in the words of Lord Morley, is practically the only Empire. Upon the right solution of this great problem depends the future of our motherland and also to a great extent the future of the great Empire to which we belong. Of course, as you all know, India is neither wholly Moslem nor wholly Hindu, nor indeed is India synonymous with a combination of Hindus and Mussulmans. But I mean no disrespect to other communities in India when I say that the Hindus and the Mussulmans form the two main communities of India, and its future depends far more on the establishment of proper relations between them and the adjustment of these relations to the position of India in the British Empire than on the relations and position of other communities inhabiting India. In our own country we are familiar with the number of people inhabiting it and with the vast area of the country, but even in the short space of time that I have been in England, I have not failed to note how colossal is the ignorance here about the country which constitutes practically England's only Empire. You will, therefore, forgive me if I repeat what is only too well-known to you that in India there are almost twice as many Muhammadans as there are Christians in Great Britain, and that the number of Hindus is about two hundred and twenty millions, and together these communities form about 92% of the total population of India. It would be obvious to any but the wholly insane that it is neither possible for the seventy millions of Mussulmans to exterminate in any manner or way the two hundred and twenty millions of Hindus, nor is it possible for the two hundred and twenty millions of Hindus to get rid of the seventy millions of Mussulmans. Moreover, their relationship is not a question of to-day only, but in one way or another the Mussulmans and the Hindus have been in more or less close contact with each other for twelve centuries. Out of this long period in their histories the two communities have been most intimately related to each other during the last seven hundred years and more. If there had been any possibility of the extermination of one by the other, I presume all those centuries were a sufficiently long period for any reasonable trial of such inhuman experiments. We should therefore begin an examination of this problem with the idea of extermination of one community by the

other left out of the catalogue of future possibilities and, in presuming this, I hope I shall not be considered guilty of taking too much for granted. Ladies and Gentlemen, we should not, I think, go back too far into the remote past and rake up old rivalries, nor are we likely to get at the truth in histories often read by the educated Indians of to-day, for it is only too often that the honest and laborious chronicler's hand is invisible therein while we see the shadow of the politician looming only too large. But you will permit me to say that about sixty years ago, when a new educational policy came to be pursued in India, the positions of the two communities were not exactly the same. The Muhammadans had practically lost their Indian Empire, but, like all proud fallen people, they disdained at the time to learn anything from their new teachers. However natural may have been this spirit of defiance and this habit of sulking, no Mussulman can look back upon it except to lament the criminal neglect of opportunities which were provided for Mussulmans as well as the Hindus in India by a generation of Englishmen whose name is now blessed in all educated and cultured Indian households and will continue to be so blessed by coming generations educated on the lines chalked out by those illustrious and benevolent Englishmen. The Hindu-Moslem problem, as it exists to-day, did not exist at the time, but I fear we have no reason to contemplate that position with any great satisfaction, for it does not argue that because it was not then, so to speak, a living issue, it would not become one at a later stage of the growth of the two communities. The absence of any manifestations of antagonism is not the same thing as the existence of unity and perfect harmony, and in tracing back from the present to that not very remote past, I am inclined to find the causes of present day antagonism to the extent that it exists, in the difference of tempers of the two communities when education on modern lines was first introduced into India. Wisely enough and quite naturally, the Hindu community began from the very first to take full advantage of the new education, and its present evolution is due to the foresight and adaptability of its leaders sixty years ago. Unfortunately for the Mussulmans, they remained for a long time in the stupor that followed upon their decline, and the disappearance of their dominion, and it seemed very unlikely that they could be roused from that condition by any individuals or forces working at the time. But fortunately for them, just at the time that the Hindus began to attend, in every day increasing numbers, the schools and colleges established by Government and missionary societies in India, there lived amongst the Muhammadans one who, although the product of the ancient Eastern education and surrounded by the environments of a period of decline, had a sufficiently clear vision, and a far-sightedness that made him realise the importance of a change in the form and the content of education. Of course, I refer to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the greatest Mussulman of the last century, and one of the greatest Indians of that period.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not unaware of the fact that some sincere well-wishers of India have occasionally criticised Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on account of his political views, but let me assure you that no one in India has worked harder or on sounder lines for the unity of India than Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, because it is due to him that Indian Mussulmans took to English education and when once the two communities share the same temper as regards Western education, and the educational disparity between them is removed, national unity would be assured.

Those rash generalisers who show in their actions even more than in their words that evolution is an abstruse expression only to be found in books on science, but never in real life, have not hesitated to accuse Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of having been opposed for all time to Moslem participation in the politics of their country; but we who knew him more intimately, if I may say so, we who sat at his feet in Aligarh, and imbibed his own ideas about the future of India and Indian Mussulmans, do not hold that these accusations are correct and just, and apart from his intimate relations with many Hindus, and his writings and speeches where the ideal of unity is clearly defined, we maintain that the result of his educational policy justifies our interpretation of his views and character. The Calcutta University was founded in 1857, and thirty years after that memorable event India witnessed the establishment of the Indian National Congress. Students of Sociology allot a period of thirty years to each generation, and it is not a mere fancy of mine that the establishment of the Indian National Congress was inevitable thirty years after the foundation of the Calcutta University. In this interval a new generation of men had come into prominence and was beginning to guide the destinies of their fellow-countrymen. The teachings of Western poets and political philosophers had now begun to bear fruit, and the first manifestation of the effect of the training which India received at the hands of its rulers now became visible in an organised form in the Indian National Congress. The Congress was, therefore, the result of the ordinary process of evolution work-

ing during the preceding thirty years, and was, as such, an embodiment of Indian political consciousness. As I have already suggested, these thirty years were unfortunately not utilised by Indian Mussulmans in the same manner as by their Hindu fellow-countrymen. It will take me too far from my theme to analyse the causes under the dead-weight of which the Mussulmans had laboured, and which effectively prevented them from adapting themselves to the new situation. It is more to the point to mention that the cogitations of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for whom the downfall of Mussulman and the cataclysm of the Mutiny of 1857 were a rude awakening resulted in the foundation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1877, and it is no mere coincidence that it took the Mussulmans also exactly the same period of thirty years after this epoch-making event to establish their first political organisation. For the Mussulmans the year 1877 and the foundation of the Aligarh College have the same significance as the year 1857 and the foundation of the Calcutta University have for their Hindu fellow-countrymen. In the space of these thirty years intervening between the foundation of the Aligarh College and the establishment of the Moslem League in 1906, a new generation of Mussulmans had come into prominence and had begun to shape the destinies of their co-religionists. The foundation of the League was, therefore, the first manifestation of the dawn of political consciousness on the Moslem horizon in India. The study of the poets and philosophers of the West, which had brought about a new political consciousness to the Hindus twenty years ago, brought about the same consciousness to the Mussulmans twenty years later, and he who would quarrel with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, for keeping the Mussulmans back from a participation in the politics of their country twenty years before it came about, seems to me to be one who would quarrel with the laws of Nature and the scientifically established process of evolution. In 1880 the Mussulmans could have taken no useful part in Indian politics, and in fact I feel certain that with their ignorance at that time and in the tempo in which they then happened to be, their participation in Indian politics would have reacted unfavourably on their Hindu fellow-countrymen also. He who plucks an unripe fruit must expect to find it sour.

It may be asked that if the Muhammadans became conscious of their political entity twenty years later than the Hindus, why did they not join an already existing political organisation instead of forming, as they have done, a separate organisation of their own. My reply to this question, which I admit to be pertinent and natural, is twofold. In the first place, as I have already shown, the growth and evolution of the two communities, although similar in character, was not the same in point of time, and much as we may desire as Mussulmans to remove the distance of twenty years that separated the educational advancement of the two communities we must confess we are powerless to do so. Those who commence their journey late in the day cannot hope to catch those who commence theirs with the dawn. But it is possible for Mussulmans to learn a great deal from the lessons which experience has taught to the Hindus, and either by discovering short-cuts or making forced marches to catch up their fellow wayfarers on the road of progress. And here let me make an appeal to my Hindu fellow-countrymen. I appeal to them to lend every assistance they can to the Moslem lagards, for if they are to work together with the Hindus the two must march shoulder to shoulder. Even in politics magnanimity is not often the best policy, and in appealing to my Hindu fellow-countrymen to be magnanimous I am not appealing only to their magnanimity, but also to their political sagacity. The continuance of educational disparity between Hindus and Mussulmans will retard the growth of a common nationality as the existence of such a disparity retarded common action in the past. Political unity can only be established between those who are equally well educated, and if Moslem co-operation appears at all necessary, it is the duty of my fellow-countrymen to assist in removing the existing disparity, and any help offered to the Mussulmans in education is one more stone put on top of the others in the construction of the National edifice.

In the second place I would request you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to bear with me awhile, because I should like to develop before you an idea which, although far from original, is one with which perhaps you are not very familiar. Considering that so many things and institutions which are common to-day in India are the results of a study of English people and their institutions, and of a conscious or unconscious imitation of them, it is not to be wondered at if in gazing into the future of our country we are liable to think a little too often that it would be similar to that of the country which brought to us our newly found political consciousness. But, trite as it may seem, it is only too true that India is in a hundred and one things unlike England, and we shall once more be quarrelling with the laws of Nature if we anticipate a political future for India exactly the same as the present conditions of England. Any student of Sociology would tell you that no two countries or people can find their salvation in exactly the same manner, but it is salvation that

we need, and we can leave the manner of securing it to itself. The history of our country for many many centuries and the temperament of our people in the East have to be taken into account, and it appears to me that we shall be failing in our duty as nation-builders if, in deciding upon the method of attaining salvation, we attach the same value and significance to difference of religion in India as we do in England. In the East our religion is something more than a matter of ritual, something more than a set of spiritual conceptions. It often provides for us a social polity and gives a distinct colour and shape to our culture. I do not intend to discuss here the merits or demerits of Islam and Hinduism, nor is it necessary for me to establish the superiority of one faith over the other. But you will permit me to say that I am not prepared to believe that there is no difference between the two, or that that difference does not matter in politics. By politics I do not mean merely political tactics adopted for gaining particular political ends. Politics to my mind comprises all the public activities of civilised beings, and as I understand religion to teach the devotee how to live and how to die, I cannot dissociate religion from politics, nor can I regard them as two garments which can be put on and put off in turn. Holding these views as I do, I find when I scan the skies, the vision of the future to be one of a united India, but the union appears to be one not of individual but of communities—a political entity on federal lines as unique in constitution as our circumstances—a federation of faiths no less strong than a federation of states in America or of kingdoms in Germany—a union of people "not like to like but like in difference, self-reverent each and reverencing each." Ladies and Gentlemen, whether you consider the question of separate political organisations or of communal representation, the main thing to consider is not whether two people enter the same house from two different doors or from one door, but whether they enter the same house or not, and whether they come to it animated with the same desire and cherishing the same ideals. If I may be permitted to say so, we have spent too much time in discussing the question of different doors, and in the heat of discussions have forgotten that we have to live in the same house, and if we wish to live together, it is better to live in concord and harmony than in conflict and hostility. I will not attempt to apportion praise or blame between the two communities, but you will permit me to say that often and often enough the political organisation of the two communities have worked on the same lines in recent years, and the representatives of the two communities in the various legislative bodies of India have fought shoulder to shoulder against despotic measures and policies. The most recent manifestation of the desire to work together has been the series of meetings which have been held in Allahabad, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the last of which took place at Cawnpore. An account of this has come to hand by to-day's mail, and we find that Mr Mazhar-ul-Haque, that distinguished champion of Indian unity made a remarkable speech. In this meeting, I may add, more than two thousand Mussulmans participated. Please do not mistake these signs for an ebullition of Moslem temper which would subside as quickly as it has arisen. These are symptoms of the effect that education on similar lines has produced on two communities living side by side and recognising a common destiny above the existence of separate entities and the din of communal claims. The new ideals which are being cherished by the present generation of the Mussulmans could not but open new vistas before their vision. They see—and see with a steady gaze—that the progress of our common motherland must depend on a hearty co-operation among all her sons. Side by side with the recognition of their peculiar conditions the Mussulmans, too, have begun to form conceptions of broader obligations and wider responsibilities to their country as a whole, and it appears to me that while not quarrelling with the existence of separate communities as separate political entities, we can yet progress towards the formation of a nation in India evolved out of a gradual process of elimination and minimising the points of difference and developing and increasing the points of concord between the two great communities.

I must not be too exacting in my demands upon you this evening, and I will not quarrel with you if you are not convinced that the lines of evolution of nationhood which I have roughly sketched to-day are the right ones. But may I not appeal to you and to a larger audience in India for the exercise of a little charity in believing that even if I differ from some of my fellow-countrymen in my solution of the problem of nationhood, I am not any the less sincere and ardent in my desire to achieve the goal which they have in view. The glaring monotony of Indian public life is the result of forcing the awakening mind of the people into a cast-iron mould that may break, but would not bend. It is a shallow philosophy that seeks to find unity of effort through a uniformity of opinion. A fully developed national life is a rich texture of many hues into which is woven an infinite variety of aim, motive, and desire. It would therefore be idle to expect public men to respond to fresh inspiration and to initiate fresh forms of public endeavour, so long as freedom of thought is suppressed by those who control the only efficient

instruments that democracy has evolved for the organisation of public will and intelligence.

You will pardon me, I hope, if in this discussion I place before you certain recent developments in the organisation, of which I am chief executive officer. I refer to the new creed of the All-India Moslem League.

We felt that there must be a political ideal for a political organisation. In April, 1912, there issued a circular letter from the office of the All-India Moslem League to all its members and other leading Mussulmans inviting their opinions on the subject. The correspondence which passed between the office and the members of the Moslem community in this behalf is a voluminous record. It was a matter of extreme satisfaction to me personally that the views of a large majority pointed to one and only one end, and it was that we must place on our programme as our ideal a 'system of self-government suitable to India under the *egis* of the British Crown'. To appraise the true value of these opinions I made a tour in October, 1912, almost throughout the country, and my conviction as regards the political consciousness of my community was more than confirmed. This ideal was, therefore, placed before a meeting of the council of the All-India Moslem League held on the 31st December, 1912, under the presidency of His Highness the Aga Khan. The council adopted the ideal placed before it, which was again laid for confirmation before the annual meeting of the All-India Moslem League held on the 22nd and 23rd March, 1913, in the city of Lucknow. The League gave its confirmation to that ideal. It runs as follows:—

"The objects of the League shall be *inter alia* attainment under the *egis* of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means by bringing about amongst others a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting national unity, by fostering a public spirit among the people of India, and by co-operation with other communities for the said purposes."

This clause, taken from the constitution of the All-India Moslem League, deserves, Ladies and Gentlemen, your best consideration. You will observe that it indicates not only the ideal towards which we should be steadily marching, but it also attempts, to a limited extent of course, to point out the steps by which we may approach nearer to the goal in view. Let me now analyse the clause—

"By a steady reform of the existing system of administration."

This indicates that although no revolutionary reforms are contemplated, nevertheless the Mussalman mind is not unconscious of the defects in the administration of the country at present. It is obvious that the machinery, with the help of which India is governed, is more or less a century old. It is preposterous to contend that the India of to-day may well be governed with the help of the same machinery.

The second portion of the clause stands thus:—

"By promoting national unity"

However we may wish for a speedy formation of an Indian nationality, it seems clear that it must evolve out of the circumstances which arise under our political activities in different directions. It cannot be "let there be a nation, and there is a nation". The Indian nationality must, I presume, be founded upon the bed-rock of a unity of ideals. The methods of working for the attainments of those ideals may differ. I maintain, therefore, that the ideal of self-government which the All-India Moslem League has placed on its programme is an important step towards the formation of that great nationality for the building of which we are all aspiring.

The last portion of the clause runs as follows:—

"By co-operating with other communities for the said purposes."

In pursuance of the policy laid thereby, I had the honour to address a circular letter to my Hindu brethren inviting them to meet the Mussulmans in a conference in which we could discuss the preliminaries to our concerted action. My absence from India at this juncture has necessarily delayed the desired conference being convened, but if Providence spares me the strength and determination with which I have taken up this pleasant task the conference shall be convened.

I now crave your indulgence for quoting a short passage from a message which my friend Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself left behind us for our fellow-countrymen when leaving the shores of India:—

"But the object of our journey is by no means sectarian or exclusively communal. We firmly believe that the progress and well-being of the Mussalman are bound up with the progress and well-being of the country in which they live. The present carries in its womb the hopes and fears common to every community in India, and we shall be failing in our duties, not only as Indians but as Mussulmans also, if we do not strive during our sojourn in England to convert our fears

into hopes, and to materialise the hopes which we share with all our fellow-countrymen."

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I trust you will accept this as a true index of the Moslem heart. I appeal to my fellow-countrymen for patience, toleration, and good-will. We assure them that we are fully conscious of the great responsibility that lies on the shoulders of the Indian Moslems in shaping the future destiny of our common motherland. We fully know that united we are sure to rise to the height aimed at, and divided we fall into abysmal depths.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the discussion of the Hindu-Moslem problem in India is necessarily a sketch of the gradual development of the Moslem mind. I have tried to place before you the Moslem point of view of the present day, and I have no doubt you share with me the hopes of a brighter future.

I cannot, however, conclude this address without a passing reference to chimerical dangers pointed out, and needless warnings indulged in by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian press, which have found an echo in the correspondence columns of an important English journal, but it is not only to these people that I address myself when I say that the unity of Hindus and Mussulmans is not to be a unity in opposition to the British Government. I must warn you that often and often in the history of political organisations a unity in opposition has subsequently proved to be very ephemeral and weak. It is true that we wish to unite in attacking from two different sides the citadel of bureaucratic, and in fact, despotic rule, and all the abuses which it inevitably brings in its train, but I am astonished to find the unity between Hindus and Muhammadans, which every British administrator in India has so long preached, is giving rise in the official mind to considerable embarrassment and uneasiness when it is at last going to be practised. I will not insult these illustrious administrators by accusing them of hypocrisy, but I am sure they would realise that the education which we Indians have received makes us somewhat critical, and unless they dissociate themselves from all ideas of being hostile to Hindu and Mussulman unity, everyone in our country will not be equally disposed to give them credit for perfect sincerity. We are not so foolish as to believe that self-government can be achieved in a day. It will only follow the growth and development of a common nationality, and I would be deceiving you if I did not make it clear before I sit down to-night, that I believe the evolution of a nation to be the work of many years and decades of patient labour and sincere and sustained effort. If we are to believe these journals to which I have referred, the Muhammadans seem to be very much like the child in the nursery rhyme, "When he is good he is very very good, but when he is bad he is horrid." Is it sane to imagine for a moment that Indian Mussulmans mean to exterminate the British and oust the British Government from India simply because, following slowly in the wake of the Government of India, they have now come to cherish the ideal of self-government, to which such a clear reference was made in the now memorable dispatch of that Government on the 25th August, 1911. I will not dwell long on this subject because, no matter with how much ignorance of India I may credit the people of England, I cannot believe that they would readily swallow all that it is written about the ambitions of the true Moslem leaders of to-day. I will only ask them—is it natural to expect that in spite of years of Western education which has guided other communities of India on the path of progress, Indian Mussulmans would be content to live, like the women of ancient Rome, in a state of perpetual tutelage. I would ask them—is it wise, is it even in the interests of the continuance of the British connection with India to distort for the ultimate rulers of India the legitimate hopes and aspirations of educated Mussulmans into a movement of anarchical character? If we believe that a wise Providence could not neglect the growth and progress of a fifth of the whole human race, we must believe that British rule in India to-day is providential. The sheet-anchor of the Oriental mind is a faith in Providence. Let us all hold fast to that faith, but let us not forget those beautiful lines which may be addressed to unity:

"Thou wilt come, join men, knit nation unto nation.
But not for us who watch to-day and burn.
Thou wilt come, but after what long years of trial,
Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial."



Mahomedan Agitation in India.

Effect of the Balkan War.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT IN INDIA).

It is probable that the Balkan War would not have greatly influenced the bulk of Indian Mahomedans had it not been for the efforts of the Pan-Islamic agitators and their organs in the Press. It is true that many authorities maintain that the great frontier rising of 1897, at a time when Pan-Islamic feeling was almost non-

existent and the Indian Mahomedan Press was loyally conducted, was largely the result of the Turco-Greek War which preceded it by a few months. But later investigations have more than confirmed the suspicions of the time, that the mainspring of that great rising was the policy of the late Amir Abdur Rahman. In his situation, to use his own picturesque phrase, as the grain of corn between the upper and lower millstones, it could hardly be his object to provoke needlessly the Power to which he owed his Throne, and which alone stood between him and the fate of the khanates of Central Asia. But that he was the active instigator of that rebellion now admits of little doubt, and it would seem that his object was to impress on the Government of India a sense of importance.

At the present time there is no reason to suppose that Kabul looms very large behind current Mahomedan unrest. In the first place, there is no Abdur Rahman on the Afghan throne, but a much more timid Sovereign, with internal troubles of his own to occupy the very scanty allowance of time he allots to State business. That Kabul is interested, very much interested, in present-day happenings in India is undoubtedly the case, but it can be said at once that Afghan intrigue is not now, as in 1897, the main cause of trouble. Internal India 16 years ago was hardly moved by the Turco-Greek War. The cry of *jihad* raised across the border found no echo in the plains of the Panjab and the United Provinces, no backing in the mosques of Delhi or Lucknow. The Indian Mahomedan Press raised no jeremiads on the iniquity of fighting against co-religionists; the Indian Mahomedan troops marched with eagerness against the wanton disturbers of the peace.

A NEW GENERATION.

But to-day all is different. A new generation has arisen, a generation largely of our own making. The sage advice of the veteran Mahomedan leader, the late Sir Syed Ahmad, that his co-religionists should keep aloof from politics, has gone by the board. The leaders of the Mahomedan community at the present moment, the men who inflame religious passions, who promote racial antagonism, who lose no opportunity of abusing British rule and vilifying the Christian religion, are men of much the same stamp as are the extremists of the Hindu school. They are, for the most part, the new generation of pleaders, *rakhs*, schoolmasters, and journalists, trained and educated by us, and now annually turned out from our institutions by the thousand. Few, if any, of these men are of any social standing or even of what passes in India as respectable family, that is, of the yeoman class. They are mostly the product of the big towns, they are looked down on socially by all the more solid and respectable portions of the Mahomedan community. But they are partially educated, they can make a great clamour in the Press and on the platform, they sway the mob and, in a word, they have captured the party machine.

That this is so was most conclusively demonstrated at a big meeting held a couple of months ago at Alghath in connexion with the proposed Mahomedan university. The respectable and law-abiding members of the Mahomedan community, the men who have hitherto been the natural leaders of their co-religionists, on that occasion found themselves in a miserable minority. They were howled down and hooted, and the platform remained in the possession of the extremists.

The former and respectable Mahomedan leaders will now regret fully admit that they have been thrown aside by the new and rowdy elements, that they no longer possess any influence in the councils of the community, that they are held up to obloquy in the Mahomedan Press, and threatened with boycott in their homes and something very like excommunication in their places of worship. In short, the choice before them at the present time is either to swim with the tide or retire altogether from any further participation in the affairs of their community. Most of them seem to be adopting the latter course.

NATIONALIST PROPAGANDA.

Meanwhile the new party, which has Nationalist aims, which, like the Hindu extremists, already begins to dream of expelling the British from India, has found in the Balkan War and its associated a veritable gold mine. The unfortunate use of the word "crusade" by King Ferdinand at the beginning of the war, and the various sayings of Mr. Asquith and other Ministers since, have been exploited for all and more than they are worth. It has been proved, to the satisfaction of the writers and speakers who now manage the Indian Mahomedan Party, that an unholy alliance exists amongst the Christian Powers of the world not only to expel the Turks from Europe, but to put an end to their existence as an independent Mahomedan nation; and, worse still, to capture, destroy, or defile the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. All this is openly preached and written about, and constant iteration has caused many previously well-disposed though ignorant Mahomedans to think that, after all, there must be something in it.

A new society has recently been started with the object of preserving the Holy Places from the hands of the infidel, and membership of this is rapidly increasing. Subscriptions for this and for various other funds in connexion with the Balkan War have resulted in the collection of very large sums of money. The more prominent leaders of the new school seem to spend much of their time travelling about India addressing Mahomedan meetings, or saying a few words after Friday prayers in the mosques of Peshawar, Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow. In fact, some very new wine has been put into some very old bottles, and the methods of the up-to-date Socialist agitator of Europe have been adopted by the Pan-Islamic leaders of India.

Latterly, since the Cawnpore riots of August 3 the methods of these agitators have become more and more violent. As the Cawnpore case is *sub judice* no comment can now be made, but there is no doubt that it has provided the Mahomedan extremists with an opportunity than which nothing could suit them better. The tone of their Press has grown extremely violent, it is rabidly anti-British, except that there is always a sentence at the end of the article professing allegiance to the King-Emperor, which is presumably inserted with a view to avoiding proceedings under the Press Act. The worst of these outpourings are reprinted and distributed wholesale throughout the country. Meanwhile it is not uncommon for the preachers in the mosque to state that those killed at Cawnpore have been grossly underestimated by the Government, that they really numbered 250 or more, that their bodies were secretly put into sacks and thrown into the Ganges. These victims of the riots have already been elevated into martyrs whose blood cries aloud for vengeance, there is much loose talk, too, of risings, mutiny, *jihad*, and tampering with Mahomedan troops. Emissaries and letters have also been despatched to neighbouring Mahomedan countries. Enough has been said to show that, although actual trouble may yet be a long way off, we are confronted by a new situation in India, which is much to our disadvantage.



Indian Public Services.

LORD ISLINGTON leaves London to-day, and his colleagues of the Royal Commission on the Public Services on Thursday morning to embark at Marseilles in the P. and O. mail steamer *Arabia* on Friday for their second and final Indian tour. The first visit, extending from the beginning of the year to the middle of April, was occupied with evidence respecting the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial Civil Service, the latter being the source of recruitment in India for a proportion of the higher executive and judicial appointments. During the ensuing tour inquiry will be made into the superior grades of other services and departments, no fewer than 28 in number, comprising all important non-judicial civil departments, and the civil side of certain military services, such as the "Indian Medical" and the Military Finance Department.

At first sight it may seem surprising that, while a cold-weather tour was occupied with only two services—though from many aspects the most important—a similar period should suffice for as many as 28 services. But there is a great difference that, in the present instance, much preliminary work has been done. Some time before leaving India last spring, the Commission issued a schedule of most of the services now to be investigated, and invited representations thereon both from individuals qualified to speak and from associations or public bodies. The invitation was afterwards extended to members of the respective services, in either their corporate or individual capacities. During the London session, the voluminous material consequently received, together with official statements and memoranda, has been classified, co-ordinated, and, in large degree, digested. Moreover, much of the evidence already on record—as for example that upon the relation of the great rise in the cost of living in India in the last few years to the wide-spread demand for revision of salaries—is of general application and need not be repeated. The Commission knows the ground to be covered, and is not likely to allow important technical details to be obscured by irrelevant generalities.

ITINERARY AND METHODS OF WORK.

But when all allowances have been made the Commission has a heavy programme to get through before returning to this country early in April, and it can only be accomplished by careful husbanding of time and strength and well-thought-out organization. Both time and expense will be saved by the decision not to visit every province, as on the last occasion, but to confine the sittings to four centres. They will begin at Delhi on November 3, and the Commission will be occupied there until about December 10 with the evidence of officers employed under the Government of India, and also in relation to the United Provinces, the Panjab, and the Frontier Province. Thereafter the Commission will proceed to Calcutta and be engaged until about the end of January with witnesses from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma, and Assam. It will next visit Madras to hear the Southern India evidence and will conclude the tour in Bombay.

where the evidence will relate to the Western Presidency and the Central Provinces.

In order that adequate time may be given for dealing with the numberless technical points arising in respect to the various departments, it has been decided to economise the strength of the Commission by sitting in two sections, each specializing as regards those points on its own list of services. But the programme has been so arranged that time will be left for ample consideration of all important matters by the full Commission, while in respect of four of the principle departments—medical, educational, public works, and railway—the bifurcation will not apply. Another element making for concentration is that, instead of sending out a long series of interrogatories before the tour, as on the previous occasion, the Commission has simply asked for information and opinion under nine brief main heads of inquiry. In order to supplement and test the memoranda of the several services, and to encourage frank expressions of opinion from the rank and file of the superior grades, the members have been invited, service by service, to make their own selection of representative witnesses, and in many instances have held meetings for the purpose.

THE LAST STAGE.

On returning to this country in the spring, the Commission may find it desirable to take some further evidence, at any rate respecting methods of recruitment and system of probation here. But the great task of next summer and autumn will be to formulate conclusions and to draft what must be, from the wide range of the inquiry, a voluminous report. In this connexion it may be well to point out that forecasts of the conclusions at which the Commission may arrive in respect to the evidence thus far taken are necessarily premature. The heads of many of the departments now to be investigated are usually, and in some cases invariably, members of the Indian Civil Service, and in other respects the relation between that Service and other branches of official organization are so close that they are expressly made one of the main heads of the impending inquiry. With the data for forming conclusion so incomplete, the Commission is not in a position to arrive at even an informal understanding as to the recommendations to be made. At best only negative deduction can be drawn, with any certainty, from the evidence available in newspaper summaries. One such deduction is that the suggestion put forward in certain quarters to "scrap" the Indian Civil Service is impracticable and foolish to the last degree. It finds no echo in the evidence of Indians, the dominant note of which is the strong desire to be assured in some way or other of a larger share in the Service than has been obtained in the past through the door of open competition in London. It is equally clear that the Commission cannot propose to meet this desire by a system of simultaneous examination here and in India, for though much lip service was paid to this familiar plea, the evidence as a whole has shown that the overwhelming disadvantages of such a system enumerated by the previous Commission in 1888 are still valid.

PROBLEMS OF RECRUITMENT.

While the Commission is committed to no definite policy, it is obvious from the evidence taken in London that certain possible solutions of the problem of recruitment have been made the bases of inquiry. The representatives of the Universities, when invited to give evidence, were informed that the Commission would welcome an expression of opinion with regard to a view which was given in evidence in India, to the effect that civilians now go out too old (23½ to 25½ years), and with an insufficient knowledge of law and other specialized subjects required for the performance of their duties, and that, in consequence, the competitive examination should be held at an age between 18 and 20, and that this should be followed by a period of probation of three years, to be spent at one or more Universities, or at a special institution established for that purpose. They were also asked whether, in the event of any such changes being adopted, it was probable that their respective Universities would be willing to devise an honours course of Indian studies suitable for the probationers and carrying with it the University degree. The headmasters invited to appear were asked to suggest regulations to ensure that the candidates secured at the school-leaving age had followed a school course and had not been prepared by a crammer; also to what extent a rigorous test of character and a scrutiny of the school record could be combined with a competitive examination. With the bearing of any such scheme upon the Indian claim to a larger share of Service appointments the educationists examined had no direct concern, and this limitation of their evidence must be borne in mind. But, even so, advocates of the change have to meet a strongly predominating weight of hostile scholastic opinion. Apart from general objections, of which much was heard, there was the testimony of principals, professors, and headmasters from Scotland that owing to differences of educational systems the contemplated change would be likely to have the unfortunate effect of cutting off the secondary schools and Universities north of the Tweed as sources of supply for the Service.

But if there are perplexing difficulties in the way of this, as of other particular changes in the existing methods of recruitment, change of some kind would seem to be inevitable. There is a remarkable weight of testimony that the present system of a purely intellectual test does not adequately meet the requirements of a Service calling for the best brains and hearts young England and young India can provide. As one well-known civilian told the Commission, it results in admitting "a proportion of candidates who are deficient in character, physical vigour, and the power of command." Statistics laid before the Commission show that, under the present system of a consolidated competition for the Home, Indian, and Colonial Services, the men with the highest marks are usually much less inclined to elect for India than was the case a few years ago, with the result that in large degree she has to be content with the "leavings" of the Home Service.—*The Times*



The Indian Civil Service.

(Concluded from our last.)

In justice to Professor Ward, I quote a few of the remarks in his written statement. He says:—

- "Our system of education in India has taught the young men of the country to look to the British Constitution as the highest level of good government. They have been taught to believe in the liberty of the subject and to detect all forms of autocratic government. Does the system of government in this country, satisfy the people of India? Is it in conformity with the principles of government as accepted in England?—those principles which we have instilled into the mind of the educated Indian?"
- "The Indian Civil Service is a compact body of men all appointed under exceptional terms of tenure of appointment, free of any period of probation in this country, and highly disciplined and organised. Is it not likely that such a body will put its privileges, its emoluments, its prestige and its power of domination before its duties and its sense of public service to this country? As a compact body it is strong, and disunion would be fatal to the continuance of this strength. Hence arises the belief I have so often heard expressed that no civilian will 'give away' another civilian. However unjustly A has acted, B will not interfere."
- "The judicial service in India with the exception of a few High Courts is entirely under the control of the executive power, the civilians. All appointments, promotions, and transfers are made by the executive body, the Government. The position of a Sessions Judge is not one of complete independence. His promotion depends upon the executive power, which is constantly the prosecuting party in his Court. The reports of the Inspector-General of Police more than once have contained complaints against judges for not convicting accused persons on the evidence tendered by the Police."
- "The complete separation of the executive and judicial services will go a long way towards removing the present disbelief in the good faith of government, and will render possible the removal of the district official, and the apotheosis and final disappearance of the Indian Civil Service."

These extracts are long, but I make no apology for reproducing them. They go to the root of the matter. Each paragraph is a text on which it would be a privilege to dilate before the Royal Commissioners, but I propose to confine my remaining remarks to a consideration of the suggestion made for the reconstruction of the judicial service. This is a reform which is urged by a large volume of public opinion from every quarter of India, and, as it undoubtedly involves wider issues than appear to be raised on the face of it, uncompromising opposition to it is aroused among civilians. For it really is the keynote on which the whole question of the reorganisation of the Indian Civil Service depends.

It is legitimately claimed as one of the triumphs of British rule in India that under its operation the old Oriental conception of personal government has been displaced by the realisation of an impersonal law. In no other direction has India been so completely disorientalised as in this. The idea of a reign of law is now firmly rooted in India (except among backward communities), and is the foundation of the agitation on the part of the Indian community to which I have referred.

First and foremost there comes a torrent of popular protest against the union of judicial and executive functions in the same person. Under existing arrangements a District Magistrate is at one and the same time the head of the police and the head of the magistracy in his district; it is his duty to watch the police investigation of the more important cases, to read reports as they come in, to instruct investigating officers, and finally to decide whether a case should or should not be sent up for trial before himself or one of his subordinates. It is a matter of common knowledge that subordinate magistrates whose position and promotion are dependent on the district magistrate cannot, in such circumstances, discharge their duties with that degree of independence which ought to characterise a court of justice. Abundant evidence has been published to show that mischief has resulted.

It may perhaps be allowed that the conditions of a former generation were such as to leave a balance of advantage under this system, whatever abuses may be inherent in it. However that may be, in the present day it is more folly to put forward such an argument; nevertheless, it will be found that the whole body of the Civil Service is inflexibly opposed to any modification of the existing

system. When once the sacred name of prestige has been sounded as a civilian war-cry by such a bureaucracy as we have in India, with vested interests clamouring for protection, it is no simple matter to solve any problem of reconstruction. No Viceroy has hitherto been strong enough to deal with the question. Even Lord Curzon failed, and his successors have made no serious attempt. Notwithstanding every possible pressure during the past twenty years, both from England and in India, nothing has been done to introduce reform, and nothing, I fear, will be done until the hands of the Government are absolutely forced by public opinion, or unless the Royal Commission takes its courage in both hands and cuts the Gordian knot.

The appointment of magistrates who have no concern whatever with executive work is the only remedy for another peculiar hardship to litigants. It is a practical grievance among persons whose misfortune takes them into Court that the magistrate who tries their case may, for all they know, fix the hearing of it in camp. Magistrates who are executive officers, and especially magistrates who are in executive charge of subdivisions, are required to spend a considerable portion of the year on tour. It may readily be imagined how parties are harassed by such an arrangement. Apart from personal inconvenience to themselves and their witnesses, they are put to the greatest difficulty in obtaining legal advice and assistance away from headquarters.

There are many other points of view which I venture to hope that the Commissioners will be able to consider, though I do not think that they have anywhere been put in evidence before them. Take, for instance, the age at which members of the Civil Service are vested with magisterial powers beyond comparison greater than those exercised by corresponding functionaries under any civilised government. Who can wonder that, being uncontrolled by public opinion and with little judicial experience, they are often led into errors and abuse of power? Their faults are, for the most part, the faults of youth. It is the system that is to blame. But it is a marked defect under our present Administration that Indian officers are also vested with magisterial powers at too early an age. Considerations of climate render it imperative that Englishmen should go to India while they are young, but there can be no excuse for the appointment of Indians to be magistrates at an unripe age. Yet this is almost invariably done, and there is a rule that no Indian who is not already in Government service shall be eligible for the office of deputy magistrate if he is above the age of twenty-five years. In this respect it seems that we are blinded by the false analogy of the Civil Service, which is a body of foreigners, the defects of whose organisation should be corrected and not copied when officers who are not foreigners are concerned. There is no reason why over the greater part of India important judicial functions should continue to be discharged by persons of immature years, and it is a crying need in regard to the administration of justice (in all but backward tracts where a patriarchal system must still prevail) that only those persons should be vested with judicial powers whose age, training, and experience afford a guarantee for the proper exercise of authority.

No such guarantee can be found in the Civil Service. The whole training of a civilian in India unfits him for judicial work. Patience and discrimination, respect for the forms of the law, rigid imperviousness to rumour and to outside report—these are some of the qualifications which are the essential attributes of the judicial office. There is no stage in the career of a civilian which affords him the opportunity for their acquisition. His whole training has been along executive lines.

The Government of India is not blind to these considerations, which have been forced upon them from the time of Sumner Maine, but it has never dared to face them properly. The civilian element in its constitution is far too strong. It is content with mere tinkering measures, such as that which has been lately announced, offering money rewards to young civilians who are prepared to spend their furlough in eating dinners and reading in chambers. As though palliatives of this kind will produce any real effect! The Bar in India is daily becoming stronger than the Bench, and the ignorance of law and practice exhibited by junior civilians who are called on to preside over the judicial administration of a district—not to speak of the executive tendencies which are the inevitable accompaniment of their earlier training—has become a source of danger which will not be remedied by a year's study in a London barrister's chambers, or by passing the final examination at an Inn of Court.

A prominent feature in a Parliamentary Return, which the Secretary of State has lately furnished, of "death sentences passed in India in 1911," is the very large number of such sentences which higher authority deemed it necessary to modify or commute. No fewer than 319 persons who had been sentenced to death were saved from the gallows. There is no statutory obligation in India to sentence a murderer to death; but there were 779 convictions in the year in which a death sentence was passed, and in 40 per cent. of these cases it was held either by the High Court or by Government that capital punishment was not an appropriate penalty. Only one inference can be drawn from such figures, and that is that the

tendency to inflict a death sentence is far too common among the Civilian Judges in India who are empowered to award it. There is always a tendency in India to inflict excessive punishment on offenders. At all times dangerous, this grows rapidly into a public scandal in the case of judges who are addicted to passing death sentences. It affords a cogent argument for substituting in their place persons who are better qualified to act as judges by reason of their active association with professional work as an essential preliminary to the discharge of judicial functions.

The true solution of the problem is clear. It is not only in the complete separation of judicial and executive functions, but in the exclusive recruitment of judicial officers from among trained lawyers. In this way only can the separation be really complete, and by no other process of selection is it possible to secure the proper discharge of judicial functions. But as there can be no independence on the part of the judicial service so long as magistrates and judges are dependent for promotion and transfer on the will of the executive government, so it is another essential feature of the scheme that subordinate judicial officers of whatever grade should be placed under the control and orders of the High Court. The judicial administration of a district should be under the district and sessions judge, subject only to the authority of the High Court. To preside over the local courts there would be, as now, the Judge, Subordinate Judges, magistrates and munsiffs, as they are called, for the disposal of civil cases. But appointments to all these offices would be made by the High Court, and the selection would be made from among advocates and pleaders, and other members of the legal profession. It is needless to add that very highly qualified material is available for the purpose. There are many experienced lawyers in India who would discharge the duties both of magistrate and judge far better than a civilian. And incidentally, of course, the number of Indian judicial officers would increase, a result which should be welcome in the interests of economy as well as efficiency.

It is obvious that these changes could only be introduced gradually, and that their adoption must depend on the varying conditions of the country. There are parts of India which are still fully administered on primitive lines. But the great provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, not to speak of other provinces, do not mark time, and if we wish to rule over a contented people the sooner a beginning is made in them the better. The practical difficulties to be overcome are quite inconsiderable to a class of officials which may justly boast of administrative ability. If the will is there, the thing would soon be done.

There is only one of these difficulties on which I need note. The proposed changes contemplate reduction in the rate of recruitment for the Indian Civil Service, and it is to be regretted that the practice has been adhered to of recruiting for this service exclusively on actuarial principles without regard to changes of constitution which sooner or later are inevitable. Under this system a large phalanx of junior civilians remains, and must for some time remain, who have to be provided for in the higher judicial, as well as in executive posts, and they have statutory claims and rights which it is not possible to disregard. But in calculating future recruitments, we should be prepared to exclude judicial appointments in rapidly increasing numbers from the cadre of the service.

It is nearly thirty years since I first ventured to say that "the Indian Civil Service as at present constituted is doomed." But threatened institutions (like the House of Lords) live long, and my words were lightly regarded. A few years later I was, I think, the only witness before the Indian Public Service Commission of 1888 who dared to formulate a scheme of reconstructive policy, and I was then brushed aside as a visionary. But much has happened since those days, and, if I was solitary and premature in my views then, I am now the mouthpiece of an agitation which daily swells in force and expression. Whatever the Royal Commission may do and whatever a Civilian Government may say, sooner or later my words will be fulfilled. The Indian Civil Service is moribund and must pass away, after a prolonged period of magnificent work, to be replaced by a more popular system which will perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects.

When once the judicial branch of the service has been dealt with, the rest is comparatively easy. In its executive aspect it is inevitable that the Government should assume a form of administration less concentrated in individuals. The principles of administration for which we are indebted to Lord Ripon have already paved the way for this reform, and centralisation is giving place to local self-government. In the natural course of things, administrative officers will be chosen more and more from the permanent residents of the locality, and this, it may be observed, will obviate that habit of constant transfer and change which is the bane of the present system. The interest of the public service and of the community concerned will alike be served by the appointment of an indigenous agency on the spot to accomplish work for which we now import foreigners from Europe and Indians brought from every other part of India than that in which they are employed.

Sir HARVEY CURZON in the *Contemporary Review*.

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The Week.

The Balkan Crisis.

The chief differences between Greece and Turkey are that Turkey insists on her right to punish those who fled from Turkish military service before the war and that Turks in ceded territories who exercise the option to retain Turkish citizenship shall not be expelled. The minor difficulties relate to walls and Crown lands.

Greece in reply to the representations of Austria and Italy on the subject of Albanian repudiation the charge that Greeks have intimidated the population of Epirus and criticises the methods of the International Commission.

After numerous delays, the Turkish peace delegates have received the long awaited instructions from Constantinople, but these have for the moment disappointed the hopes for a speedy settlement as the Porte not only makes no concession but formulates fresh demands. The Foreign Minister has declined to discuss the matter pending their consideration by the Cabinet.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*, discussing the situation regarding Turkey and Greece, says that the aspirations of individual Balkan States are not serious so long as the Powers do not allow themselves to be enticed into partitioning, and this will not occur. The paper endorses the utterance of Sir Edward Grey at Newcastle and of the Russian Premier in Paris.

Athens, Nov. 11.

The Greek and Turkish peace delegates have initiated the compromise settlement, the chief feature of which is a reference of various differences to arbitration.

Italy in Fezzan.

L'Italia states that the Minister for the Colonies, in a speech at Triviso, said:—"We have now the duty of occupying Fezzan, which is inhabited by some tribes of nomads living in a state of complete anarchy. The occupation of Fezzan is imposed on us by consideration for the security of our Colony and the requests of France, which sees in tribes lacking Government a permanent

danger to her own possessions in Africa. Our military action in Fezzan will be conducted with native troops, staffed by a thousand Italians."

Turkish Railways.

In an interview with Router's representative in Berlin, Djavid Pasha, who has arrived there from Constantinople, stated that the negotiations regarding railway development in Asia Minor were progressing, although there were a number of difficulties, technical and otherwise, which would absorb much time. The negotiations would probably not be completed till the end of November. He was at present discussing with the Deutsch Bank as the representatives of the Anatolian and the Bagdad Railway companies plans for the section between Bagdad and Basra, and for a branch to Khanekin connecting with the future Russian railways in Persia, also for the German lines between Dulgerlu and Sivas, and Angora and Sivas, joining up the French line between Samsun and Ergene.

Other branches were also contemplated.

Djavid Pasha believed that the French will be in a more favourable position regarding freights for Eastern Asia Minor, because cargo destined for Sivas will choose a cheap sea route to Samsun in preference to the Angora-Sivas line.

Hedjaz Railway.

Lecturing before the Royal Asiatic Society on the Hedjaz railroad, Dr. Montz, Professor of Oriental Languages at Berlin University, said nothing was being done to continue the line from Medina, the present terminus, to Mecca with a branch line to Jeddah.

It was to be feared that the construction would not be carried out in the near future. Thus it remained a Torso and had failed in its objects from more than one standpoint.

The new Turkish regime had been sensible enough to entrust the direction of the railroad to European experts. There, though they had been frequently changed, had succeeded to date in securing a fairly regular service, though it left much to be desired from a European standpoint.

The rolling-stock was mostly in awful condition, and the waste of material had been enormous, but with all defects, there remained a proof that railways were the quickest and most irrefutable bearers of modern European civilization in barren countries.

Struggle in South Africa.

Since the strike started 200 Indians have been sentenced to imprisonment, while 300 others have been arrested.

Five hundred deserters from the collieries, who were among the 4,000 Indians assembled here have been arrested. The remainder crossed the border this morning.

A vigilance committee has been appointed in order forcibly to prevent further entry of Asiatics.

Two thousand Indians, tried and footsore, have been arrested at Balfour, where three special trains were in readiness to take them back to Natal.

Indians employed in Durban are in a most unsettled condition. They allege that they are being daily intimidated. The coal trade is much inconvenienced, several mines being practically stopped.

Sir Tarakanth Felt has contributed Rs. 1,000 and Kumar Arun Chandra Singh Rs. 500 to the Bungal South African League in aid of the passive resistance struggle in South Africa.

Native labour in Johannesburg is still declining, there being \$,352 employed in October than September. The general decline in the gold industry due to the troubles in the summer is strongly reflected in the report of the Consolidated Goldfields Company, including a reduction of dividend and heavy depreciation of the Company's property.

Mr. Gandhi has been arrested at Greylingstad and sent to Durban for trial under the Natal law.

Johannesburg, Nov. 11.

The two thousand Indians, who were arrested at Balfour after marching over the border from Natal have been sent back to Natal in special trains.

The two thousand Indians who were arrested have been taken back to the mines.

London, Nov. 11.

Mr. Gandhi has been sentenced at Dundee to nine months' imprisonment under the Natal Indenture Law.

The charge against Mr. Gandhi was that of inciting indentured Indians to leave their provinces. Mr. Gandhi's advocate asked for the maximum sentence and Mr. Gandhi was fined sixty pounds with the alternative of nine months' imprisonment. He chose to go to prison.

Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach, who have been acting as Mr. Gandhi's lieutenants, have been charged with aiding and abetting prohibited Indians from entering the Transvaal and have been remanded in custody to Volksrust, bail being refused accused declining to undertake not to take part in the Asiatic movement.

Delhi, Nov. 13.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following telegram from Durban:—

"Gandhi sentenced at Dundee to nine months' imprisonment. Volksrust, Greylingstead charges are standing. Kallenbach, Polak also arrested."

The following later message was received from Miss Schlesin at Volksrust:—

"Polak, Kallenbach arrested, remanded on Thursday unbail, refusing to give undertaking not to take further part in passive resistance. Polak communicating with Government his arrest. If charges are withdrawn leaves Friday for India. Both are charged in aiding and abetting entry in Transvaal of prohibited immigrants. Gandhi arrested third time on Sunday on charge for contravening Natal Indenture Law. Removed custody Dundee and sentenced to nine months hard labour. All strikers arrested yesterday Transvaal deported to Natal where rearrested and sent Daanhuysen."

Interviewed by the Associated Press representative, Mr. Gokhale said that though the latest news from South Africa was serious, it did not come upon him altogether as a surprise, because Mr. Gandhi himself had prepared him for it. The arrest of the Europeans associated with the struggle was however a new and an unexpected move on the part of the Union Government, as no such arrest was made during the whole course of the last struggle.

There were several European ladies and gentlemen actively assisting the movement attracted to it partly by their admiration for Mr. Gandhi's personality and partly by their love for the cause of human freedom.

In addition to the European workers, there were several Mohammedan leaders, four or five Hindu leaders and one Parsi gentleman sharing with Mr. Gandhi the work and responsibility of organizing the movement.

Among the Mohammedan leaders Mr. Dawood Mohamed, one of the most respected men in South Africa, was foremost. There were also Mr. Cachalia, President of the British Indian Association, the Imam Sahib and others.

Asked whether the arrest of Mr. Gandhi would affect the passive resistance struggle.

Mr. Gokhale said these leaders would carry on the struggle with all the greater energy for Mr. Gandhi's incarceration. In his opinion, Mr. Gandhi was not only a great patriot, but also a great statesman and organiser. Mr. Gandhi must have undoubtedly foreseen all the developments and prepared for them in advance. Their duty in India was to proceed resolutely with the work of collecting funds for the struggle, so that the bulk of those who have joined the movement should not be forced to abandon the struggle by sheer starvation.

Mr. Gokhale further said that a satisfactory beginning had been made in Delhi in the matter of collection. The work was started yesterday and Rs. 5,000 had been received, among the principal donors being Lala Sultan Singh Rs. 1,500, the Rev. Mr. Andrews, Rs. 1,000, Mr. Percy Lill, Barrister, Rs. 1,000 and others several European officials in India were also sending contributions.

Mr. Gokhale left for Lahore last night on collection work and is expected to return on Sunday morning.

TETE À TETE



ONLY a heart a flint can watch unmoved the tragic drama that is in progress in South Africa. The roots of the tragedy are not new, they are the primeval symbols of the eternal conflict between Right and Wrong—the theme of the classic battles of humanity. From the story of the children of Israel, whose sufferings in the bondage of the Pharaoh have left imperishable impression on history, down to the voiceless woe of millions who have perished at different times in an unequal struggle against organised tyranny, unmonitored, unhonoured and unsung, there has been but one supreme instinct that has wrought the life-drama of man. It has been made incarnate as Freedom, and dwells in temples consecrated by the blood of the martyrs, the sufferings of the helpless and the tears of the innocent. The struggle in South Africa, with all its intense suffering and pain on the one side and cruelty and oppression on the other, is a sublime chapter in the history of the Indian people. A thing for which we have vainly prayed for years—a united Indian nation—has already been hammered into life by the blows of fate in a land of murderous hate and tyranny. The heart of India throbs with new pulses as she watches her sons and daughters in Africa offering themselves up as willing sacrifices to prove that the people of India are not a palsied limb of humanity but are a living whole and possess soul, honour, freedom. How the struggle will end to-day becomes a thing of a little moment when we remember that the struggle between Right and Wrong has only one end. And even, if every Indian man, woman and child now bearing the brunt of the fight is doomed to perish, the cause will not die. But should they be allowed to perish when we in India can afford them enough help to live and to strive? It is unthinkable. The appeals for funds to sustain the starving men, women and children in their heavy trial will, we trust, evoke an immediate and adequate response. No moment is to be lost. The situation is critical, the machinery of repression is working ruthlessly and every measure, however oppressive, will be applied with relentless vigour to wear down the heroic resistance of the oppressed.

SHEIKH ABDUL QADIR; B.A., Barrister-at-Law writes to me from Lyallpur: "I have read your editorial remarks about Dr. S. Salim Varisi, in the Comrade of the 25th October 1918. It is said he is at present engaged in editing the

Makhan and is touring in that capacity. I thank you for the appreciative terms in which you refer to the work of the *Makhan* in connection with popularising Urdu literature and also to my connection with the *Makhan* in the past. As you may be aware, it was more than two years ago that the Proprietorship of the *Makhan* changed hands as I took up the post of a Government Pleader at Lyallpur and found it impossible to look after the affairs of my literary magazine. I consented, however, that the magazine may continue to bear my name as an Honorary Editor. Maulvi Ghulam Rasul, the present Manager and Proprietor of the *Makhan* has since been conducting the journal. I think he deserves credit for his persistence in keeping the journal alive in spite of many disadvantages. His chief difficulty has been that he is not himself a literary man and has always to depend on others for the work of editing. The editorship has, therefore, constantly been changing hands during the last two years and it appears that Syed Salim Varisi is the Maulvi's latest acquisition. I am personally not acquainted with Syed Salim Varisi and am never consulted in the appointment of Editors. If all that you have been told about the hollowness of Dr. Salim's boasts is true, then it is clear that Maulvi Ghulam Rasul has unconsciously made a bad bargain and will be well-advised to get rid of it. Moreover empty boasting of the kind described by you cannot help anybody for any considerable period and I think people will soon find out S. Salim Varisi." We are

glad to learn that Sheikh Abdul Qadir sahab had no hand in the appointment of the latest editor of his once famous magazine, though we cannot help regretting with many that his professional duties should have deprived Urdu literature and journalism of the devotion of his versatile and brilliant talents.

THANKS to the cleverly-directed Hindu agitation and the nervelessness of the Fyzabad authorities, much of what we feared has happened. The Mussalmans were prevented by the order of the District Magistrate from offering any sort of sacrifice at Ajudhya on the occasion of the Baqr-i'd, with the result that no qurbanis were offered and no I'd prayer took place at the I'dgah. Our correspondent has wired to us as follows:—

"Magistrate first prohibited taking cows to Ajudhya without permission. On application passed no orders for some days. On 9th he prohibited applicants altogether from sacrificing cattle of any description anywhere. No proceedings were taken before stopping the exercise of ancient religious rights, recognised and enforced by Government, even within the four walls of houses quite far from Hindu population and temples. Mussalmans were extremely shocked and postponed prayers and qurbanis. I'dgah looked desolate. Telegraphic appeals to Government proved unsuccessful. On 11th a Mussalman sacrificed a cow inside his house. There was no provocation, no disturbance. On information the authorities arrested him under section 188, bailable offence. The landlord whose house he had rented was also arrested. The sacrificed animal was under orders buried. Police demands cash security of Rs. 10,000 each. It is altogether prohibitive and unprecedented." This is the aftermath of the agitation which was declared to have the inoffensive object of protecting Hindu sentiment without wounding Moslem susceptibilities. Even Moslem co-operation was invoked in the name of united India. The net result has been that the District authorities at Fyzabad have been betrayed into an arbitrary exercise of power to prevent Mussalmans from exercising their rights. The Hindu Press has expressed extreme gratification that there has been no cow sacrifice at Ajudhya. We do not know with what feelings it has heard the news that there was no Moslem prayer at I'dgah. The District Magistrate seems to be very much concerned with preserving order. Does he realise that order can be preserved without suppressing the rights of a section of the people? We are very chary of writing in this strain and frankly the whole subject is not to our liking. We have no desire to start a controversy and make the cow question like others a perpetual text for edifying sermons. But it is impossible to ignore what has happened at Ajudhya. Even at places which had no pretensions to sanctity like Ajudhya Hindu sentiment has been much more demonstrative than ever before and local authorities have been unusually busy in preserving peace by prohibitive orders. If this is the way in which the cow question is likely to be solved in the near future, we may be pretty sure the Mussalmans will have little reason to thank their neighbours for their love and good will or the Government for its eagerness to preserve peace and order. We will not say more just now, as we propose to deal at length with the question in its new aspects, and see if there is any possible solution of it in the light of the new circumstances. In the meantime we will wait with anxiety to know the fate of the poor men who are in police custody.

A short time ago Reuter telegraphed to India the substance of a lecture given in London by a German professor on the Hedjaz Railway. In the Ottoman circles here surprise has been expressed that prominence should have been given to a lecture, which does not deal with any of the burning questions of the day, and it should have been telegraphed to the East at considerable length. Tactics of this sort have rather become antiquated, and the Indian Mussalmans must now know how to read such statements between the lines. The German lecturer, who enlightened his London audience on the question of the Hedjaz Railway, seems to be a politician rather than a disinterested scholar for Oriental languages, and it is unlikely, that his statements could prejudice any Mussalman against the Ottoman Government. If the Hedjaz Railway had not been extended to Mecca, the desire of its extension has always been cherished by the Ottomans and plans and preparations have been made for this purpose. Only lack of purely Moslem capital and the grave political events, which had been occurring in Turkey, are the real causes of delay. Take first as an instance the reactionary deeds supported by the Opposition politicians of the Non-Moslem communities of Turkey, as well as by outsiders; and then the invasion of Tripoli and the Italian war. Time, money, energy had to be devoted to cope with the disastrous effects of these events. The lecturer is outraging the truth when he asserts, that no improvements have been made under the new regime on the existing sections of the line. As a matter of fact great quantities of railway material have been bought during the recent years for the improvement purposes, and the Teutonic lecturer a country had a large share in securing orders for the construction.

The Hedjaz Railway.

The first impression that one gets from a perusal of the correspondence relating to the crisis, with the exception of Mr. Wazir Hasan's letter of the 24th October which was published in our last. The whole case is so lucidly set forth in these documents that we are almost tempted to leave them to speak for themselves without any comments of our own. No dispassionate man can now fail to see the true inwardness of the crisis and the manner in which it was brought about. It is no doubt true that interested persons moved by jealousy or personal spite have already been endeavouring to rouse partisan spirit amongst the Mussalmans before the real facts have been placed before the public. But facts are facts, and it is only fair that the community should grasp them in every detail and in all their bearings before it feels itself justified to award praise and censure. Attempts have been made here and there to mislead the Mussalmans and send them off the track of real issues. Irrelevant considerations and even falsehoods have been imported into a discussion that ought to be free from all personal bias or the glamour of big names. As we have often said the affairs of the Moslem community to-day are, as it were, in the melting-pot. The forces of reaction, even of obscurantism are struggling to get the upperhand once more. The London dispute and the part played by Mr. Ameer Ali has given to every reactionary or obscurantist in the Moslem camp his much needed chance to sound his trumpet in full blast. He would like to get astride the situation now if he can by proclaiming his faith in, and swearing by the name of, the Right Honourable gentleman. We are, however, perfectly sure that the Moslem community has enough sense to perceive the wiles of men who are now masquerading in sackcloth and ashes, men who have ever been ready to sell its birthrights for a mess of pottage. It was but yesterday that they were weighed in the balance and found wanting. They cannot be allowed to darken counsel and obscure communal judgment to-day. The facts are now before the community, and we need not pause to consider what its considered verdict will be.

The Comrade.

Mr. Ameer Ali's Escapade.

I

It is about a fortnight since the news about "the Moslem split" in London was cabled to India. Naturally enough, it created immense sensation, and caused considerable pain to Mussalmans throughout the country. Opinions of various hues and judgments of emphatic character have since been finding expressions in every section of the Press. The Anglo-Indian papers have hailed the occasion as a perfect God-send and have been adorning their columns with tremendous headlines. They have been lecturing the Mussalmans on the folly and danger of their recent courses and threatening them with the fate of the "Young Turks" who caused the death of Nazim Pasha and drove Kiamul Pasha from power. Even a few of the Moslem papers, whose own fatuity had long ago condemned them to an inconspicuous rôle in the councils of the community, have found it profitable to sprout wrath in sympathy with their old friends the *Pioneer* and the *Times*. The Hindu Press criticisms have been mostly a matter of predilections. The majority of the Hindu organs have denounced Mr. Ameer Ali for his "past sins," while a few of them have freely vented their spleen on "the hotheads" of the Moslem community. The only thing clear in this wilderness of judgments, hasty approvals and violent denunciations is that little effort has been made to define and state the real issues in the light of the facts. Reuter's cablegrams were not only fragmentary and meagre, but also, as we now know, altogether misleading in regard to a vital point which was regarded as the ostensible cause of Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation. They were in any case too inconclusive for any one to form his judgment. Yet the Press in India must make its pronouncements. Mere facts and details may afford to wait, but the paragraph writer must drive his remorseless pen to inexorable conclusions. And then there is always a chance of coming right by instinct, as is perfectly well known to a few gentlemen amongst the Mussalmans who have recently acquired a grateful sense of the value of personal bulletins. Protestings aloud that they had no full knowledge of the situation, they could not nevertheless resist the temptation of talking to the gallery. The opportunity was almost provoking: they must make a plunge in the full public gaze, if they wanted in the end to swim with the tide. Men of this description amongst the Mussalmans and the Press comments generally have helped to distort an issue which is simple enough and yet has a vital bearing on the scope, purpose and organisation of the political activities of the Indian Mussalmans.

We are happily in a position to publish in this issue the entire correspondence relating to the crisis, with the exception of Mr. Wazir Hasan's letter of the 24th October which was published in our last. The whole case is so lucidly set forth in these documents that we are almost tempted to leave them to speak for themselves without any comments of our own. No dispassionate man can now fail to see the true inwardness of the crisis and the manner in which it was brought about. It is no doubt true that interested persons moved by jealousy or personal spite have already been endeavouring to rouse partisan spirit amongst the Mussalmans before the real facts have been placed before the public. But facts are facts, and it is only fair that the community should grasp them in every detail and in all their bearings before it feels itself justified to award praise and censure. Attempts have been made here and there to mislead the Mussalmans and send them off the track of real issues. Irrelevant considerations and even falsehoods have been imported into a discussion that ought to be free from all personal bias or the glamour of big names. As we have often said the affairs of the Moslem community to-day are, as it were, in the melting-pot. The forces of reaction, even of obscurantism are struggling to get the upperhand once more. The London dispute and the part played by Mr. Ameer Ali has given to every reactionary or obscurantist in the Moslem camp his much needed chance to sound his trumpet in full blast. He would like to get astride the situation now if he can by proclaiming his faith in, and swearing by the name of, the Right Honourable gentleman. We are, however, perfectly sure that the Moslem community has enough sense to perceive the wiles of men who are now masquerading in sackcloth and ashes, men who have ever been ready to sell its birthrights for a mess of pottage. It was but yesterday that they were weighed in the balance and found wanting. They cannot be allowed to darken counsel and obscure communal judgment to-day. The facts are now before the community, and we need not pause to consider what its considered verdict will be.

The first impression that one gets from a perusal of the correspondence is that Mr. Ameer Ali deliberately manufactured and

unscrupulously forget the crisis on Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan. We will not for the present examine the motives that influenced his conduct. There is, however, little room for doubt that he alone was responsible for the scandal and its widespread publication in the British Press. Let us briefly recapitulate the facts disclosed by the correspondence. Our readers are aware that a peculiarly vile attack had been made by an Indian correspondent of the *Times* on the new generation of Muslim leaders in India, implying that all recent Muslim activities were touched with the taint of sedition. Gross and foul libels like this require prompt public repudiation, and for this purpose H. H. the Aga Khan proposed that a public dinner should be given to which prominent Englishmen could be invited, and he suggested himself, Mr. Ameer Ali, Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan as hosts. The proposal was accepted by all including Mr. Ameer Ali. Soon after, however, the Aga Khan thought it more advisable to invite Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali as guests, Mr. Ameer Ali and himself to remain as hosts. The proposal in its altered shape was somehow not to the liking of Mr. Ameer Ali, who began to raise objections. First of all he said that the dinner with Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali as guests would be interpreted as a triumphal banquet "to crow over the Cawnpore settlement." The objection was on the face of it absurd, and Mr. Wazir Hasan after consulting H. H. the Aga Khan in Paris wrote his letter of the 24th October to Mr. Ameer Ali and forwarded along with it the Aga Khan's letter urging Mr. Ameer Ali to join the dinner as host. Mr. Wazir Hasan explained the objects of the dinner at great length and clearly showed that Mr. Ameer Ali's apprehensions were groundless. He also replied to the points raised by Mr. Ameer Ali in his letter of the 22nd October regarding the requirements of the London League and "the guarantee" of its receiving an annual subvention of £1,800 from the Central League in India. Mr. Ameer Ali had in the meantime suddenly discovered that he would have to ask for the sanction of "the Head of the Judiciary of the British Empire" if he was at all to join a dinner at which political speeches were likely to be made. Mr. Wazir Hasan must have been quite taken aback by this startling "objection." He briefly wrote to Mr. Ameer Ali impressing upon him the necessity of giving his decision as soon as possible for the matter was urgent and the time at their disposal to issue invitations and make arrangements for the dinner was very short. He at the same time expressed his surprise that the President of an important political organisation should have stood in need of the Lord Chancellor's sanction to attend a public dinner. The Lord Chancellor did not consider Mr. Ameer Ali's joining the dinner wise, and the fact was communicated to Mr. Wazir Hasan on the 27th October. On the same day Mr. Ameer Ali wrote his remarkable and wholly inexplicable letter every word of which breathes the spirit of outraged dignity. He reads into a frank and trustful request for support a threat levelled at him. He finds in the "alternatives", clearly stated to be open to *Muslim workers in India*, slightly veiled insinuations against "one who has devoted his lifetime to promote the wellbeing of his people." And then he goes on to say that he cannot accept financial help from India if it is to fetter his discretion and judgment. He would submit to no outside dictation nor allow the London League to adopt any programme which it (or he?) does not approve. The *amour propre* of the great man has risen in protest at the presumptions of a mere "Lucknow League." And he forthwith sends the copies of the correspondence to his Committee, and referring pompously to his wounded self-respect and "outlet dictation" he resigns his office. Thus was the whole tangle created by the freak of a gentleman who professes to have "devoted his lifetime to promote the wellbeing of his people." To the gentle charges about "threat and innuendoes" Mr. Wazir Hasan has made a courteous but crushing rejoinder. In fact it is impossible to take these charges seriously unless we are to believe that public men of the age and position of Mr. Ameer Ali have a right to be hyper-sensitive.

Now we will briefly refer to the points worth noting in the correspondence. The dinner affair appears to have out of all proportion to its importance, and in certain quarters it has been grossly misrepresented. Unworthy implications have in fact been made to show Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan as hankering after personal recognition and public dinners. It is, however, plain that the idea of the dinner emanated from the Aga Khan without the least suggestion from Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan. It is also apparent that Mr. Ameer Ali was quite willing to be one of the four hosts, but immediately turned round when the Aga Khan suggested a dinner by him and Mr. Ameer Ali to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali and others. Then, there was not the least idea of the dinner being either complimentary to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali or a triumphal banquet to crow over the Cawnpore settlement. Again it may be gathered from the correspondence that the Aga Khan was throughout ready to send an ultimatum through Mr. Wazir Hasan to Mr. Ameer Ali

insisting on his doing something to help the Mussalmans of India. And, in fact, the letter of Mr. Wazir Hasan, dated the 24th October, was sent immediately after his return from Paris where he had fully consulted the Aga Khan and had received clear instructions about the matter. In his explanation before the London Committee in which H. H. the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali were present, Mr. Wazir Hasan clearly showed that the reference in his letter to "selling the community" was not meant to reflect on Mr. Ameer Ali and insisted that on the question of principle, *viz.*, the relationship between the All-India Muslim League and the London League, they could not agree to the policy of the League being laid down in London by the London branch, much less by a single individual, when the League in India represented a far larger number of people who were independent and of mature age and many of whom were more conversant with the situation in India than even Mr. Ameer Ali could be. The explanation was deemed satisfactory by the London Committee and efforts were made at readjustment, but Mr. Ameer Ali remained obdurate.

What is it, then, that has caused the crisis in London and led to the sudden resignation of the Right Honourable gentleman? According to Mr. Ameer Ali himself it is "an insult and dictation" to which he thought he had been exposed by asking for a "subvention from Lucknow." We have already noted that Mr. Wazir Hasan's letters are neither red and insulting in tone nor assume a dictatorial attitude towards "the president of the London League." These communications are now before the public and it would be difficult even for the most fastidious and exacting critic in minutes to find fault with their tone and style. They are genuine, earnest and frank expressions of a desire to promote the interests and wellbeing of his community. Let us, however, suppose for a moment that Mr. Ameer Ali was actually offended by the manner in which Mr. Wazir Hasan explained his position. Was not the latter's explanation deemed sufficient when Mr. Ameer Ali's own Committee was satisfied with it? Was it becoming to a man, who "has devoted his lifetime to promote the wellbeing of his people," to nurse a small personal pique and throw overboard the wider interests of the people he professes to serve, when he knew very well that his defection from the communal cause would furnish every enemy of the Mussalmans with abundant excuse to revile and discredit all that is earnest, active and sincere in the recent movements of Muslim India? If Mr. Ameer Ali himself had desired to bring all communal effort into disrepute he could not have done so in a more melodramatic fashion. By his resignation he has made it clear that he places communal interests far below his personal vanity. If it was the alleged insult that drove him to such a course then he is obviously unfit to guide democratic movements and play useful part in public affairs. If he dreaded outside dictation, he should have waited at any rate till the Central League had come to a definite conclusion and settled the lines on which its relationship with the London branch was to be based in the future. As Mr. Wazir Hasan rightly observes, it is a matter of principle of far-reaching importance which is wholly independent of their respective personalities. The personal opinion of Mr. Wazir Hasan is that the Muslim League policy should be laid down in India. Mr. Ameer Ali's personal characteristic seems to be that he would submit to no outside dictation. In differences like these the community is the sole judge. It alone can decide whether it would be best served by exercising its own will to formulate its aims and measures or by handing over a blank cheque to Mr. Ameer Ali. This is the simple issue now before the Mussalmans of India. Mr. Ameer Ali is an eminent man and his services to his people are varied and great. But the worthy folk who are just now recalling his eminence and recounting his services are merely confusing the issue. He has forced the crisis with a view to get a mandate for his dictatorship. He knows the Mussalmans feel great respect for him and till lately had placed full confidence in his leadership. For reasons which we will have to analyse closely, he did not like the idea of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan going to England to speak in the name of Muslim India. He has succeeded in creating a scene and a situation. His is now the tragic figure standing before the community in the pose of injured innocence. By drawing upon the fund of respect and goodwill in the community he wants to get his way and wreak personal spite. Thanks, however, to some lessons learnt by it in its recent troubles, the community is not so easily gullible as some of its old despots may be led to hope. The significant silence of the London League in the Cawnpore Mosque affair has not been wholly lost on the Mussalmans. The plea about the Lord Chancellor's sanction will tell its own tale. And though a few committees dominated by political humbugs or imbeciles at some places may express profound regrets and appeal for the withdrawal of Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation, the community has a clearer perception of the whole issue now before it, and it will certainly weigh the cost before it votes for its own political death to assuage the *amour propre* of Mr. Ameer Ali.

The Official Boycott.

As we go to press the following cablegram has been received in India which may surprise some but will surely amuse all —

"Mr. Mohamed Ali having explained to Sir James La Tonche that his and Mr. Wazir Hasan's mission was in no way confined to the Cawnpore questions but included many other matters of interest to Moslems in India, asked Sir James to request Lord Crewe for an interview on their behalf. Sir William Hollerness wrote to Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali on November 11th stating that Lord Crewe after most careful consideration was unable to accede to the request. 'Lord Crewe cannot see that any public advantage would arise from an interview, while it is certain that his action would be misunderstood by those of your co-religionists with whom you are not in accord, who claim equally with you to represent the political attitude and temper of the Mussalman community in India. The sentiments and aspirations of Indian Moslems deserve to receive the fullest attention and sympathy of His Majesty's Government. Lord Crewe spares no pains to inform himself of these matters through the many authoritative sources of intelligence open to him'.

"Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan replied on the 11th November at some length and urged reconsideration of the refusal, which they said would be misunderstood by the bulk of the Moslem community. They were not aware of any publicly expressed antagonism to their views from any section of the community, including Mr. Ameer Ali. They asked Lord Crewe to take steps to ascertain the extent to which they represented their co-religionists in India and not confine his sources of information regarding Indian Mussalmans to official channels.

"Sir William Hollerness replied on the 13th November that after carefully weighing the considerations set forth in the letter, Lord Crewe regretted he was unable to grant an interview.

"Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali on the 13th November wrote to Mr. Asquith begging for an interview with him to enable them to explain the views of Indian Mussalmans on various matters agitating the latter's minds and on recent pronouncements by Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey with regard to Turkey and other Mohamedan States. Mr. Asquith's secretary to-day briefly replied that Mr. Asquith regrets he cannot accede to the request for an interview."

As we have said this message will be read with considerable amusement in the country. The one feeling amongst the Indian Mussalmans will be that their accredited representatives are being deliberately subjected to official boycott. As a matter of fact all that had hitherto happened in regard to the efforts of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan to place the views of the Moslem community before the responsible and official English circles gave one a decided impression that the hand of the wire-puller was busy behind the scenes. To-day's cablegram makes it abundantly clear that the "most liberal" Ministry of Great Britain has been made the dupe of so no petty intrigue which seems to have been set on foot against Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali. The refusal of the Secretary of State for India and the Premier to give them a hearing will carry its own meaning. If those, however, who have succeeded in thwarting the efforts of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan to reach the ears of the British Ministers, imagine that they have thereby brought discredit on the Moslem representatives or their mission, they are entirely mistaken. They have simply discredited themselves and the stand-offish and overbearing temper that seems to have gained ascendancy at Whitehall. Lord Crewe thinks that by granting an interview he would be laying himself open to misunderstanding by "those of your co-religionists with whom you are not in accord, who claim equally with you to represent the political attitude and temper of the Mussalman community in India." We do not know who these co-religionists of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan are with whom they are said to be not in accord, and we are equally at a loss to imagine the grounds of the alleged difference. Is all this meant to belittle the representative character of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali? Perhaps the Secretary of State for India is not wholly ignorant of their credentials. One of them is the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, which is the most representative political organisation of the Indian Mussalmans. The other is a prominent member of the League's Council and has won widespread esteem and confidence by his untiring and devoted services in the cause of the community. If a plotter were taken to-day we can hardly doubt that these two will be among the well-tried Mussalmans on whom the community's choice will fall; the trusted and genuine workers worthy to speak in the name of Moslem India. Since their departure to England the community has publicly expressed its complete confidence in them and we have reason to think that the resolutions of public meetings held in this connection were in some instances sent to Lord Crewe himself. Yet it is these men whom Lord Crewe has thought fit to ignore. We

wish he had given some clue to those mysterious "co-religionists" of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali who are supposed to differ from them in their views. As far as we know no difference has been known to exist amongst Moslem public men in regard to the essential aims and objects of Moslem policy. Lord Crewe had probably Mr. Ameer Ali in his mind when he urged this curious plea. It is, however, obvious that Mr. Ameer Ali chose to quarrel with Mr. Wazir Hasan because he felt his *amour propre* was hurt and because he wanted to submit to no outside dictation. There was no question of difference of policy in the unfortunate dispute which is already being exploited to sow discord in the Moslem ranks. But even if the Indian Moslems were divided into two groups with different sets of aims and policies, it would be the duty of the Secretary of State for India to hear the representatives of each group. His action may have avoided a misunderstanding that would have never arisen, but it has certainly struck at the root of the Indian people's faith that the highest authorities of the Crown are accessible to their appeals and that their grievances can be freely laid before responsible ministers by means of deputations. Political differences amongst Englishmen themselves are numerous and great and the number of political seats in England is legion. But has this ever prevented any representatives of the rival groups from laying their views freely before Government? Perhaps the novel discrimination is sought to be enforced against India and particularly the Mussalmans. Lord Crewe's dictum virtually amounts to a public declaration that no representative of India or of Mussalmans would henceforth be allowed access to his Lordship's audience chamber, for as long as differences of opinion, however trivial, exist amongst Indians and Mussalmans, Lord Crewe cannot see any one without running the risk of being misunderstood. He has his own sources of intelligence and these he deems adequate for his purposes as a Minister responsible for the good government of India. The fact of the matter is that Moslem Mission to England was distasteful to official classes and efforts have been made to prejudice its aims and character in the eyes of the British Ministers. These efforts have been wonderfully successful, and His Majesty's Government has been pleased to shut itself up in official reserve lest it should be forced to hear the truth about the Mussalmans of India from men who are most competent to speak it. It is for the votaries of the latter-day English Liberalism to measure the significance of the rigid iron wall that has thus been raised between the Mussalmans and those who in the last resort control their political destinies. For us it is enough to remember that such petty exhibitions of intolerance in high quarters will not deter genuine Moslem workers from striving to make themselves heard. They cannot be suppressed by threats and frowns. They may be turned away from the door to-day, but they will go back and knock at it again and again, and some day it shall be opened.

It was not the impulse of some fiery creed or a new political heresy that had taken Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan to England. They had simply gone to try to dissipate the misunderstanding which a section of the English Press had strenuously laboured to create about the Moslem attitude in India. Their object was to clear the Moslem position and place the Moslem standpoint in regard to certain matters before His Majesty's Ministers and men of weight in British politics. They had no idea to start a furious agitation or scold the British Isles with a harrowing tale of woe on their tongues. They had scrupulously refrained from ventilating their views in the Press or on the platform, lest it should in any way cause embarrassment to the authorities. They had taken all these precautions in the hope that they would be afforded ample opportunity to acquaint the responsible British statesmen with the views of the Mussalmans of India. And it was only when they learnt with painful surprise that the official door was being shut against them, that they made the other day a full public statement of their case. The brief summaries of their speeches cabled to India have been described by some Anglo-Indian papers as "stale" and "tame." We are relieved to know that the views of Moslem "agitors" have not been declared to be tainted with sedition. And yet it is these "tame" views which Lord Crewe has avoided to hear lest he should be exposed to misunderstanding. We wish his superior wisdom had given him some idea of the misunderstanding which his refusal is bound to create in India. Two representative Mussalmans, whose views are shared by the whole community and whose loyalty to the Government and the Empire is free from the least breath of suspicion have been refused a hearing by responsible British Ministers and in a manner that implies little consideration for the feelings of the Indian Mussalmans. The whole episode carries its own lesson. Lord Crewe and his advisers are under a serious delusion if they think that they have wrought the failure of the Moslem Mission to England. The Mission has not failed. It has for the first time laid bare the forces against which the Mussalmans will have to contend if they do not wish to sink to the level of impotent minorities dependent on official pleasure for bare existence.

The Moslem League Crisis.

We publish below the full set of the correspondence that passed between Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Ameer Ali with the exception of Mr. Wazir Hasan's letter of the 24th October, which has already been published:

DEAR MR. WAZIR HASAN.

If you will send me the papers together with your memorandum on the question of "the separation of the judicial and executive functions," I shall be glad to discuss the matter with Mr. Latif, our Vice-President, and decide upon the best course to be taken on the subject.

I desire to take this opportunity of mentioning to you one or two matters in connection with the London League regarding which I think there ought to be a clear conception in India. This League was organised with the object of watching the general interests of the Mussalman subjects of His Majesty in the centre of the British Empire and to serve as an exponent of Mussalman public opinion directly to His Majesty's Government, the fountain-head of all authority. This object has been consistently and conscientiously kept in view and this League has, in a constitutional way, done more to enhance the influence and credit of the Mussalman community than our friends in India are disposed to admit or appear to appreciate. It has without beat of drums or recourse to factitious methods of advertisement obtained substantial concessions for the Mussalman people, and done more than any other body in drawing public and official attention to Mussalman requirements. It must not be forgotten that London is the nerve-centre of the Empire and a well-equipped and wisely conducted Mussalman organisation is of vital importance.

If the League here is not properly supported from India it will have to be closed. I am perfectly certain that such a contingency would be disastrous to our people. It would bring discredit on the community as a whole; it would prove that they have no communal feeling or cohesiveness or a sense of the supreme importance of being represented in the centre of the Empire. Once closed you may rest assured it would never be revived again. If this League is to continue it must have adequate support and adequate guarantees that the support will be regularly and punctually forthcoming.

I hope that before you leave England you will be good enough to inform us of the views of your Council, whether they wish to contribute properly to the maintenance of this League which is doing the imperial part of their work.

41, Sloane Street, S.W.,
22nd October, 1913.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) AMEER ALI

DEAR MR. WAZIR HASAN.

I am in receipt of your letter enclosing one from H. H. the Aga Khan and I repeat that I am always glad to show hospitality and courtesy to friends who come over from India.

I am, as I said before, quite willing to join the Aga Khan in a non-political dinner. His Highness, however, writes that a chance is desired for "counteracting the false charges of the Times correspondent," which makes the gathering a political function. In that case I should have to ask the sanction of the Lord Chancellor to participate.

As you wished for an immediate answer regarding the dinner, I must write to you later on the question of the London League (as I have a busy morning) and will ask the Secretary to convene a meeting of the Committee for an early date when His Highness is here, as I think his presence necessary on the occasion. Will you kindly let me know on which day he is to be here.

2, Cadogan Place, S.W.,
25th October, 1913.

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) AMEER ALI.

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI.

Many thanks for your letter of the 28th instant. For my own part I should hardly have thought that the proposed dinner was other than non-political. It certainly is no more political than the work of the London Branch of the Moslem League. However, it is not for us to judge this matter, and if you feel that you must ask the sanction of the Lord Chancellor to participate, I hope in view of the fact that time is an essential consideration, you have already done so.

His Highness the Aga Khan comes here on the 28th instant, and does not remain here beyond the 31st instant. During this short interval all the arrangements for the dinner have to be made, and you yourself know what it means to give such a short notice to the guests. But the dinner is very necessary and if it is to be held at all

it is no use delaying things. Please let me know when you expect the Lord Chancellor's reply. May I suggest requesting him to send you a wire? In any case I hope I shall have your definite answer early to-morrow.

I have told you the dates on which His Highness the Aga Khan will be here, and I trust you will have notices for a General Meeting of the League issued at your earliest convenience, so that His Highness may also be present on the occasion.

We ourselves are very anxious to come to a definite result before the end of the month, but it will be preferable to call a General Meeting, even if it has to be an Emergency Meeting, if your rules permit. But in any case a Committee Meeting should be called as soon as convenient to you and the whole programme of work laid before it for final decision.

BELGRAVE MANSIONS HOTEL,
Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.,
26th October, 1913.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) WAZIR HASAN.

YOUR HIGHNESS,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter I wrote to Mr. Ameer Ali on my return from Paris. I have received a reply from him and enclose a copy of it also for your perusal.

I have now asked Mr. Ameer Ali to obtain the requested sanction of the Lord Chancellor to which he makes reference in his letter. In my opinion the proposed dinner is not political in any sense of the term. That, however, is a point on which I do not think I am called upon to disagree with Mr. Ameer Ali. I have asked him to give me his final decision some time to-morrow.

BELGRAVE MANSIONS HOTEL,
Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.,
26th October, 1913.

I am, Sir,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) WAZIR HASAN.

DEAR MR. WAZIR HASAN,

Your letter of to-day's date. The Lord Chancellor does not transact business on Saturdays or Sundays nor by wire. I will send a letter by to-night's post.

I note that H. H. the Aga Khan will be here on the 29th. The Secretary of the League will be asked to convene a meeting of the Committee for that day.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) AMEER ALI.

2, Cadogan Place, S.W.,
26th October, 1913.

S. WAZIR HASAN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

I am desired by Mr. Ameer Ali to send you the enclosed letter which has just come to hand and beg the favour of your returning it to me.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) C. A. TRACTON.

14, Sloane Street, S.W.,
27th October, 1913.

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I put your letter of the 26th instant before the Lord Chancellor, and he desires me to say that he thinks that it would be wise not to attend the public dinner to which you refer.

I am,
Yours truly,
(Sd.)
Private Secretary.

House of Lords, S.W.,
27th October, 1913

DEAR MR. WAZIR HASAN,

I have now had time to consider your letter of the 28th instant. Its tone indicates the extraordinary attention you have adopted towards me, with what authority from your League I am unable to tell. You say that unless I joined the Aga Khan in giving you and Mr. Mohamed Ali a public dinner you would hold me up "to the members of the League as being unwilling to assist the community even when I have to risk nothing and sacrifice nothing."

I note also your slightly-veiled insinuations as to "selling our community." I consider both your threat and innuendoes as unworthy of serious notice.

As the dinner question forms the key-note of your letter I deem it necessary, however, to recapitulate the circumstances connected with it. When you and your friend mentioned to me that H. H. the Aga Khan proposed to give you a public dinner, I told you that I considered it inadvisable and I wrote to him to the same effect. He, however, differed from me and pressed me to join in the function as a host. I thereupon expressed to you my readiness to participate in a non-political complimentary dinner, but as the Aga Khan had made it clear that there would be political speeches, I wrote to you at the same time to say that I should have to obtain the sanction of the Head of the Judiciary of the British Empire. Because of my inability to join headlong in this affair you have chosen to send me an insulting letter containing contemptible insinuations—insinuations which the secretary to an association of respectable and responsible Mussalmans in India should have refrained from levelling at one who has devoted his lifetime to promote the well being of his people.

You also indicate that the subvention from the Central League to the London League would be in proportion to the support the latter gives to the "work and projects" of the Central League. So far the London League has cordially supported all projects which, in its considered judgment, it deemed to be for the benefit of our people and has refrained, with the object of maintaining an appearance of solidarity, from giving expression to its disapproval of resolutions which it considered inexpedient in the best interests of the community. From this course it will not deviate under my presidentship.

The condition which you now wish to impose on the discretion and judgment of the London League I regret I cannot accept. It is my settled conviction, repeatedly declared in public, that the Mussalmans of India, whilst claiming a full recognition of their legitimate interests and due consideration of their feelings and susceptibilities, should cultivate a sense of proportion and work in harmony and a true spirit of accord with each other and the Government.

So long as I am connected with this League I will submit to no outside dictation nor allow it to adopt any programme without the fullest consideration of its consequences to our community.

I reserve the right to publish our correspondence.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) AMER ALI

41, Sloane Street, S.W.,
27th October, 1913

DEAR MR. AMER ALI,

I received your letter of the 27th October yesterday morning, and the very fact that I am writing to you more than 24 hours after its receipt would, I hope, be a sufficient indication that I have carefully read it over and over again, and also re-read the previous correspondence that has passed between ourselves, before replying to you to-day. I may add that I trust this fact will also indicate that I am not writing this reply in any mood other than one which befits so serious an occasion.

Before I deal with any other part of your letter, let me express my extreme astonishment and distress at your remark that you note in my letter "slightly veiled insinuations as to 'selling our community.'" I hope you will do me the favour of reading my letter over again, for I am sure you will find therein that my observations with regard to this matter refer entirely to people "out in India," who, like me and my friend Mr. Mohamed Ali, "have to contend every day with difficulties of a nature of which one who has been away from the country for so long can have little conception." Is it not clear from the antithesis drawn between people out in India and people who have been away from the country for so long as yourself that, in saying "we have only two alternatives, the alternative of the weak man to go under and sell our community as so many others have done before us," etc., I refer only to our own position and to the position of those of us who have to work in India and could have had no thought of you in my mind at the time of making this observation?

This is the only "innuendo" to which you refer in your letter, and as I maintain it is due entirely to a misconception on your part that you regard it as such, I do not see wherein I have insulted you or offended you. May I say how remote from my mind has always been the idea of insulting or offending you, and I trust you will accept this as a sufficient explanation, and withdraw your resignation which I have just learned you have tendered on account of the correspondence that has passed between ourselves. I shall certainly consider so serious a step on your part as a great misfortune, and my distress will be all the greater if such an action was due in any measure to what I had said or written to you.

With reference to the first paragraph of your letter I should like to request you to point out to me where in my letter I say that unless you join with the Aga Khan in giving me and Mr. Mohamed Ali a public dinner I would hold you up "to the members of the League as being unwilling to assist the community even when you have to

risk nothing and sacrifice nothing." In a matter of this character I expected that you would have given the full context to explain the meaning of the words quoted by you from my letter. Had you done so it would have been clear that this observation of mine referred in very general terms to "an opportunity for explaining the real attitude of the Mussalmans towards Government," and I maintain that if such an opportunity is denied to us, the accredited agents of the whole community, it will be my painful duty in the last resort "to tell the members of the League on my return to India that if things go wrong in India it is no use trusting anybody here to do us justice, and, in fact, I do not see how I can get out of a clear explanation to the members of the League that the President of their own London branch is unwilling to assist the community even when he has to risk nothing and sacrifice nothing." This is what I wrote to you and it is on this that I insist on being judged. The way in which you put the matter shows clearly—and I presume you meant to convey that idea—that because you would not give me a complimentary dinner I had threatened you with an intrigue against you in India. I have no desire to express my own views about such a suggestion; but I do not think I was wrong in hoping that one like yourself who resents as innuendoes things which have no reference whatever to you would have been a little more considerate of the feelings of others also.

I fear this dinner is likely to loom very large in this connection, and I owe it to myself and to Mr. Mohamed Ali to recapitulate the facts of the case. As you are aware, our original idea was to give a dinner to His Highness the Aga Khan, and we suggested it to him. His Highness, however, did not agree with this proposal, and at first suggested a dinner to be given by yourself, His Highness, Mr. Mohamed Ali, and myself, to persons of influence here, and a request we communicated his suggestion to you. To this you cordially agreed, though you impressed upon us the desirability of taking every precaution against giving to this dinner the least idea of a triumphant banquet given to celebrate the "victory" in the Cawnpore affair. As such an idea had never occurred to us ourselves, we entirely agreed with you, and your views were communicated to H. H. the Aga Khan.

His Highness, however, thought over the matter again and he informed us that, in the first place, four hosts for a single dinner would be too many, and, in the next place, that in his original proposal some excuse for a dinner was lacking. His Highness, therefore, altered his original proposal, to one according to which the dinner was to be given by yourself, and His Highness, and the people whom we all wished to interest in the cause of Mussalmans in India and abroad were to be invited to meet us. There is nothing in this proposal to suggest that it was to be "a complimentary dinner" given to us, any more than its being a triumphal banquet to celebrate the Cawnpore "victory," and any suggestion that, because you would not honour us in this manner I would intrigue against you, is on the face of it highly unjust to me and naturally resented very greatly.

As regards the subsequent history of this affair I should like to point out to you that, in the first place, you were not unwilling to join a public dinner at which, as you knew, political speeches were to be made so long as the dinner was to be given by all the four of us, namely, yourself, H. H. the Aga Khan, Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself; that, in the next place, your only objection to a dinner to be given by yourself and H. H. the Aga Khan according to His Highness's second proposal was that it would have the appearance of crowing over the Cawnpore "victory;" that, finally, you agreed to even this proposal, and actually asked the Lord Chancellor for his sanction. Now that you cannot join His Highness in such a dinner as a host, it is just as well to remember that this is solely because the Lord Chancellor thinks it would be wiser if you did not join a public dinner. In your last letter you made it quite clear that you were ready "to participate in a non-political complimentary dinner," and I cannot see how in the light of the facts in connection with the several proposals about the dinner, and your readiness to participate in a complimentary dinner to myself and Mr. Mohamed Ali, I could be accused of threatening you with the All-India Moslem League's displeasure because you would not join the Aga Khan in giving us a public dinner. Either you did wish to compliment us in this manner or you did not; and I must confess I fail to see how we could at all threaten you for not honouring us when in fact you were ready, as you say, all the time to do so.

I would request you to note that no objections were ever raised by you to a public political dinner at which all the four of us were to be hosts, nor does your position as a Privy Councillor and a member of its Judicial Committee appear to you to be incompatible with being the President of an admittedly political public body, although it seems to be incompatible with your being a host at a political public dinner.

To my mind the dinner has now become a comparatively insignificant matter, and it is one on which for obvious reasons I do not wish to dilate. You have, however, introduced in your letter a matter of principle which is of the most far reaching importance, namely, the relationship of the All-India Moslem League—which I find you refer to on one occasion as the Lucknow League—and the London Moslem League. This is a subject which is happily wholly independent of

our respective personalities, and I hope you will forgive me if I address you on the subject with some emphasis. I also hope you will not regard anything that I say as a reflection on yourself; nor I hope, will you consider anything that I may say about the work of the League in India as having any reference to myself, for I have no desire of self-laudation.

Now, I maintain that the policy of the Moslem League must be laid down in India and nowhere else, although naturally, and rightly, it must be laid down in consultation with the London branch whenever it is possible for us to avail ourselves in time of its assistance and advice. It is only in this manner that any work can possibly be done, and I cannot see how else a practicable programme and procedure of work can be arranged. This is very different from my dictating a policy to you and I need hardly assure you that such an idea never crossed my mind.

As regards the subvention from the All-India Moslem League to the London branch, I do not see what objection you have, or can have, to my pointing out the very obvious fact that it would be, as you say, "in proportion to the support the latter gives to the work and projects of the Central League." This is a matter of principle, and as such, I believe, absolutely incontestable. What is more, it is a matter of fact and has to be accepted. Whether the London League has, as you say, "cordially supported all projects which, in its considered judgment it deemed to be for the benefit of our people," is a matter on which it would be idle for me to express an opinion. But it may be that the "considered judgment" of the London League may differ from the "considered judgment" of the All-India Moslem League, and I presume that no matters in which your League has not yet supported the All-India League its "considered judgment" did differ from that of the All-India League. Here is, therefore, an opportunity which you should welcome of a discussion between two responsible representatives of the All-India League and the London League, and I have every hope that such a discussion would result in mutual satisfaction, and that the interests of our community will thereby be promoted. However, as I have said before, everything is subject to the guiding principle that in the last resort the opinion of the All-India Moslem League must prevail, and its policy must be laid down in conformity with the wishes of the entire community, and in India and not according to the wishes of any individual, not even of the most eminent among us in this country.

Before I conclude this letter, let me appeal to you once more to consider your decision about resigning the high office which you hold and which needs your services and your great talents. I have already expressed my opinion about this matter, and if I repeat it here it is because I wish that whatever is done by you is done deliberately and on a correct understanding of what I wished to convey in my letters, and not prompted by momentary resentment based on a total misunderstanding of my meaning.

I note that you "reserve the right to publish our correspondence." I also find that some portion of it has already been circulated by you among members of the Central Committee of your League. I have no fear of this for myself nor object to it, but I should have thought that you would not decide upon such a step so hurriedly when the correspondence does not concern only ourselves but relates to the proposals of H. H. the Aga Khan also which were conveyed to you through us, and in some cases at your own request. I may suggest your consulting H. H. in this matter, though perhaps you will say I have no right to offer you any suggestion, and may even resent it in your present frame of mind.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) S. WAZIR HASAN.

BELGRAVE MANSIONS HOTEL,
GROSVENOR GARDENS, S.W.,
29th October, 1913.

H. H. AGA KHAN,
Ritz Hotel,
Paris.

"Times" publishes to-day article with vile insinuations against us which demand disavowal of everything. It states Your Highness has authorised it to announce you will retire from headship of League in India on return to India and to describe retirement as irrevocable. This you never disclosed to us yesterday, in fact it contradicts what you told us. Please authorise us to contradict this immediately.

We feel in bare justice to ourselves fullest details of your recent conversations with us in London and Paris should immediately be published. We shall only wait till to-night.

(Sd.) WAZIR HASAN,
(Sd.) MOHAMED ALI.

BELGRAVE MANSIONS HOTEL,
GROSVENOR GARDENS, London, S.W.,
31st October, 1913.

Paris 31, handed in at 12-40 p.m., received here at 2-7 p.m.
To—Mohamed Ali, Esq.,
Belgrave Mansions,
Grosvenor Gardens,
London.

My decision resigning presidentship League irrevocable two years ago I wished it. Again last year, Taj Mahal distinctly told you and Raja Sahib. My reasons numerous, but first and chief reason which when League formed one leader, one president was useful, now that the League has become popular, one president impossible. Besides unfair to shut me up in box of president, which as you all know I always interpreted like a judge rather than advocate. I told you a hundred times that it was necessary that under actual conditions national work could be carried out on lines of general popular opinion rather (than?) early and semi-dictatorial lines already impossible. Yesterday and also (at?) meeting distinctly told you to realize essential change now necessary. I also must have liberty to plead my ideas from free platform not from chair, which should be changed every year. I remain active member League, will give my subscriptions, but cannot accept chair's responsibility. Permanent president impossible. You are free to publish any conversation of mine if it pleases you. My advice is not to mind me, for as you know my conscience is clear to God and to man. I take this opportunity of clearing out and leaving League to be reformed on only lines possible under actual conditions. But I still will be as active a member as ever God made you all.

(Sd.) AGA KHAN.



Moslem Opinion in India. The Moslem League.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—It would not be out of place, I believe, to ventilate my views on the subject of the present dispute between the leaders of the Mohammedan League in view of the fact that I was for some years connected with the London All-India Moslem League as its Honorary Secretary. I therefore trust you will be so good as to extend to me the hospitality of your columns.

In my opinion the dispute which has arisen between the London Branch of the Moslem League and the Central League is undoubtedly very undignified and prejudicial to the best interests of the Mohammedan community both in England and in India.

There is no gain saying the fact that Mr. Ameer Ali is at the bottom of the mischief. Possessed of no qualities essential for the leadership of large and influential community and carried away by ideas of self-importance, his ambition to dominate the league and to be the Dictator General to the Moslem World, is simply preposterous. There are men in the community far abler than Mr. Ameer Ali to be the political leaders who would guide the destinies of the community in the proper channel, and though it is impossible not to concede to Mr. Ameer Ali the tribute of admiration for his literary culture, as a political Guru of the Mohammedans he is, what I may call a square man in the round hole. I have known Mr. Ameer Ali personally for many years and I have come into the closest contact with him, having been not only the Secretary of the London All-India League but even Mr. Ameer Ali's private and personal secretary. I am therefore in a position to gauge his merits as a man and as a leader much more accurately than most men could do, and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that Mr. Ameer Ali is fit for anything but the leadership of the Mohammedan community.

Can I bid me say that it would be nothing less than a misfortune for the Indian Mohammedans if Mr. Ameer Ali is allowed to preside over the political destinies of the Mohammedans at any time in future. His narrow conservative views are altogether out of date and not at all consonant with the new spirit that has animated the Mohammedans of India.

The recent dissensions between the Secretary of the Central League and Mr. Ameer Ali were due entirely to the latter's failure to grasp the importance of the present political situation in India so far as it affects the Mohammedan community. The political dinner referred to in Mr. Wazir Hasan's letter to Mr. Ameer Ali was not the real cause of the dissensions because it is an incontrovertible fact that Mr. Ameer Ali himself had attended many political dinners. To quote only a few cases I beg to remind your readers of the dinner that was given in honour of Sir William Wedderburn at the West Minister Palace Hotel at which Mr. Ameer Ali was present. Then again in a Luncheon given in honour of Mr. Ameer Ali by Mr. A. M. Jiwaji the former had responded to the toast. Both these functions were of a political character and important political speeches were made thereat touching the East African and other political problems affecting the interests of Hindus and Mohammedans alike.

The main reason of the present split in the Mohammedan League as far as my knowledge of the whole affair goes is nothing but personal jealousy on the part of Mr. Ameer Ali towards Mr. Wazir

Hasan. As regards the connection between the Central League in India and its Branch in London, any man of common sense would admit that the London League being only a Branch of the Central League should confirm to all the instructions from India. But as a matter of fact, Mr. Ameer Ali always acted in the most high handed and autocratic manner, imposing his own will upon all around him and trying to be Sir Oracle of the Moslem India in matters social as well as political. The chief reason of this attitude on the part of Mr. Ameer Ali was due to the fact that the London Branch was not financed wholly by the Central League, and this inability on the part of the latter is what is referred to by Mr. Wazir Hasan when he says in his letter that "if the Central League has starved you it has been compelled no less to starve itself." Practically the London League did not require any help from the Head Office in India as the former was liberally financed by H. H. the Aga Khan, the Honourable Nawab Bahadur Khwaja Sir Salim-Ullah, Nawab of Dacca, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhri, Mr. A. N. Jiwaji and others. In spite of the liberal help received from the gentlemen the London Branch made no scruple to obtain from the Central League in India an annual contribution of £ 50 which it really did not need. Considering these facts, I do not see any reason why the London League should look forward to any pecuniary help from the Central League, and it seems to me a preposterous claim of Mr. Ameer Ali that the London League should obtain from the Central League a sum of £ 1,800 a year. My own experience of the work of the London Branch tells me that the amount required by Mr. Ameer Ali is absurdly exorbitant, unless it is intended by the gentleman to hold balls and such other social entertainments in London for the benefit of the Mohammedan community resident in London.

In conclusion, I would like to observe that Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation of the London Branch of the League is not by any means a misfortune for the Indian Mohammedans. He was undoubtedly a bar to the progress of the Moslems in India in the field of politics. His extreme conservative views coupled with strong desire for self advancement at the sacrifice of the interests of his community, block the way to the realization of those new political ambitions that have been stirring the hearts of the Mohammedans of India for the unification of the Indian Empire by the Mohammedans and the Hindus being brought closer together by the ties of common interests and common hopes, and aspirations for a place in the comity of nations.

Yours etc.,

Bombay, 8th November, 1918.

M T KAREEMOY

The Moslem League.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—In the I D T of the 12th November, there appears a letter from that prolific writer of extensively published letters—Mr. Samiullah Beg of Lucknow—inviting "every Provincial League to pass a vote of confidence in him (Mr. Ameer Ali)" and asking us to "request him to withdraw his resignation." His appeal, interspersed with all sorts of oblatitudes, healthy and vigorous, moribund and defunct, which he could summon to his aid, will I am sure not evoke the response from the Provincial Leagues which he expects unless the latter choose to deliberately blink the situation created by Mr. Ameer Ali's absolutely unprovoked and wholly unjustifiable resignation.

After the publication of Mr. Wazir Hasan's extremely courteous, polite, but frank communication to Mr. Ameer Ali—nobody, unless he happens to be the editor of some Anglo-Indian daily, can pretend that for Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation anything but his autocratic arrogance or overweening conceit is responsible. Mr. Ameer Ali's resentment at this innocuous and inoffensive letter betrays a hypersensitive temper which utterly unfits him for the presidency of the London Branch of the Moslem League. The garbled accounts of the split wired by Router, which have provoked an indignified but volcanic outburst of invectives and obprobriations against Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan in the Anglo-Indian Press, did not deserve the easy credence which they seem to have obtained in certain Indian circles. Our Indian Daniels should have suspended their judgment until the whole text of Mr. Wazir Hasan's letter was out.

Mr. Samiullah's appeal also betrays an indecent haste—an impatient desire to snatch the reward of sovereignty, recognized and trumpeted, from the reluctant hands of the Anglo-Indian Press. On the question of the relationship between the Indian and London Leagues Mirza Samiullah Beg is delightfully vague and has apparently successfully imitated the London League which, we are told, by the writer, "never committed itself to anything." We are told of the synchronous formation of the two Leagues, but the inference which the writer draws from that circumstance is disingenuously withheld from us. If the mere fact of the simultaneous establishment of the two Leagues is a conclusive proof of their mutual independence, we only pity the logic of the writer, unless he means that the two Leagues came into being at exactly the same hour and on the same day. Without claiming that profound acquaintance with the birth and origin of the two institutions which Mr. Samiullah possesses, but is so nig-

gardly to impart to others, I may point out that the fact that Mr. Ameer Ali expected help from the Indian League and was angry because he did not get it, is a conclusive admission by the President of the claims of the Indian League. Mr. Samiullah says: "Our All-India Moslem League did declare its policy, but the London League never committed itself to anything in that direction. But is that the reason why Mr. Ameer Ali should not be left in absolute control of the League in London? Is it necessary that he should see eye to eye with us in every matter?" Assuming that the relationship between the two institutions is what it is asserted to be by Mr. Wazir Hasan—and we have absolutely no reason to think otherwise for Mr. Samiullah himself has not, in spite of the implied promise contained in the opening passages of his letter, contributed much towards the solution of the problem—we have no hesitation in answering the two queries framed by the writer in the affirmative, even at the risk of offending this solitary champion of the forlorn cause of political sobriety and moderation in Moslem Omdh.

We are all aware of the services rendered to the community by Mr. Ameer Ali and Mr. Samiullah need not remind us of them. We are equally sensible of the advantages of maintaining a branch of the League in London. But we can no longer tolerate despots. A virile and self-respecting community like the Indian Moslems can no longer brook dictators whatever their position or rank; still less a perpetual tutelage. It would rather risk the loss of an institution—with a proud record of good and useful things accomplished in the past, and the promise of enhanced usefulness in the future—than maintain a president in the irresponsible enjoyment of unlimited and despotic powers.

Mr. Ameer Ali can't perhaps reconcile himself to the emergence of Indian Moslems from the political lethargy, taciturnity and acquiescence of the former days to their present healthy, virile and robust participation in politics. It is a pity that he did not resign his office earlier. It would have been infinitely more dignified. He takes advantage of a wholly inoffensive letter to spring resignation on an unsuspecting India with all the appearance of injured virtue and outraged pride.

Does it occur, I wonder, to the devout believers in Mr. Ameer Ali's perfections that a gentleman who can't attend a semi-political dinner without the permission of the Lord Chancellor has no business or right to be the head of a wholly political organization? Those who insist on the retention of Mr. Ameer Ali and would have us go into mourning over his resignation which they regard as a veritable national catastrophe—amply deserved by the accumulated sins of a perverse community—don't realize that to maintain a president who can't make a speech without prejudicing his position is absurd. Where the key to unlock the political lips of a President lies in the hands of a Lord Chancellor, its procurement in times of communal need would sometimes be an impossible task and always a most painful and annoying business to the Moslems. We would rather go astray than have the temptingly gilded doors of political inspiration and wisdom so securely bolted and locked.

BAMROOQUM.

Press Opinion.

The "Mussalman."

WE can credence no difficulty in passing any opinion on the unfortunate quarrel between Mr. Ameer Ali on the one hand and Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali on the other, without knowing the full details of all that happened. The proposed dinner to the latter, which the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali showed his disinclination to join, might be the immediate cause, but it is obvious that there were other things behind it. We do not, however, quite understand why and how Mr. Ameer Ali showed his reluctance to attend the dinner on the ground that political speeches would be made there, though he had attended such dinners before, had written letters to newspapers, expressing his views or criticising Government on many burning political questions, and had himself been the President of an out and out political organisation like the London Branch of the All-India Moslem League. The position now taken by him seems to us quite inconsistent. But at the same time it is more or less apparent that Mr. Wazir Hasan, who is now closely associated with Mr. Mohamed Ali, used, in his letter to Mr. Ameer Ali, words which ought not to have been used. Mr. Ameer Ali has rendered services to the community which, we hope we can assert without any fear of contradiction, no other Mussalman of the present day has been able to do, his out-spokenness and independence have extorted the admiration even of his enemies. He holds a unique position in the Mohammedan community and it will, we hope, be universally admitted that the importance which is attached to the London League is due to the personality of Mr. Ameer Ali, its President. His representations to the British Government, not only concerning questions affecting the Indian Mohammedans but also in regard to Persia, Tripoli, Turkey, etc., have not altogether gone in vain; in short he is an asset of the Moslem community, which we

council afford to lose. Such a man is entitled to polite and courteous treatment even at the hands of those Mohammedans who happen to differ from him, but we are led to think he has not received such treatment from Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, and it is not words that have brought about the unfortunate catastrophe. We do not, however, characterise this as a split in the League camp, though it may be a difference between certain individuals. The only thing in which there seems to be any difference of opinion among the members of the League is the introduction in its creed of the aim of "attainment of self government, under the aegis of the British Crown, suitable to India," but it is to be remembered that with the exception of Mr. Rafiuddin of Ben lay, and one or two others, all the members of the League, present at the last annual sessions at Lucknow, voted for it with zeal and enthusiasm. It is further to be borne in mind that the London Moslem League, of which Mr. Ameer Ali was the president, and His Highness the Aga Khan, the president of the Central League, had already approved of the new creed which was to be adopted at the annual sessions of the All-India Moslem League at Lucknow in March last. So as there is no difference of opinion on this question between Mr. Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan on the one hand and Mr. Wazir Hasan on the other, there is absolutely no difference about any principle, between the old and the new schools, as supposed in some quarters. The resignation of Mr. Ameer Ali is under such circumstances very unfortunate. There is no other man who can take his place and we, in common with the bulk of the Indian Mussalmans, hope that Mr. Ameer Ali will reconsider the matter and withdraw his resignation at an early date.

The "Tribune."

Like the Surat split of the Indian National Congress the Moslem League is now face to face with a crisis. But unlike the Congress the League has only to contend against a few individuals of position and influence. We cannot say what following Mr. Amir Ali has in this country, but we feel pretty certain that it cannot be as large as that of Mr. Wazir Hassan. Indeed, not a few of the progressive party have felt that Mr. Amir Ali is actually hampering the advancement of the community by his antiquated and over-cautious methods. This view of the internal working of the Moslem League was visible even in the negotiation of January 1911 with the Congress; and it was then an open secret that His Highness the Aga Khan would have given a workable basis satisfactory to all had it not been for certain adverse influences at work. However, Mr. Ali's resignation is to be deplored to the extent that he does not see his way to remain with the popular party to exercise a restraining influence in them. We admit that democracy is liable to err, but that is no reason why the progress of 70 million Mohammedans should be retarded by a rigid adherence to inflexible oligarchic principles. If Mr. Amir Ali has reason to think that Messrs. Mahomed Ali, Wazir Hassan and others who think with them are moving too fast, it is his duty to mix with them and exercise a restraining influence upon them. He does not certainly improve the situation by resignation and by leaving every thing in the hands of men whose methods he disapproves. To call it by no harsher name his action amounts to a virtual shirking of responsibilities, and on his own showing his resignation deserves the strongest condemnation. Sir Pheroz-shah M. Mehta did not retire from Surat and sink into oblivion, leaving all future political activity in the hands of a party from whom he differed on most essential points. His Highness the Aga Khan gracefully concedes that the League has now become popular and that it should be conducted on popular lines rather than on semi-dictatorial lines. We are glad to find that His Highness who has excellent opportunities of feeling the pulse of the community has come to the conclusion that if the League can be reformed, it can only be done on popular lines. This is the central point of the controversy and much of the rest is in the nature of a personal squabble with which the public are not concerned. It is to be hoped that on reconsideration Mr. Amir Ali will see his way to withdraw his resignation and continue to help his community to take their rightful place in the country.

The "Indian Spectator."

The first fruits of the Moslem mission to England, consisting of Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, have not been very pleasant to the community itself. One need not regret that the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali has resigned the presidency of the London Moslem League; he would have been wiser if he had done so earlier, for the feeling was widely prevalent that the active part taken by him in Moslem politics did not comport with the dignity of a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In England somewhat different traditions may attach to the office of Lord Chancellor, and the law lords belong to different political parties, but, as Lord Haldane said the other day in Canada, they forget their politics even when they decide some great question of constitutional importance. Yet, with their more liberal traditions, the European members of the Judicial Committee do not take

as conspicuous a part in politics as did Mr. Ameer Ali. It seems that the Lord Chancellor told him that he would be wise not to join the dinner to be given in honour of the Moslem deputation from India, where political speeches would certainly be made. We are not told whether the Lord Chancellor's sanction was asked in accordance with existing practice, or because a hint had been conveyed to Mr. Ameer Ali from responsible quarters that his participation in Moslem politics had evoked undesirable comment. In any case when we remember the Indian practice, the self-restraint expected from judges in India we cannot but congratulate Mr. Ameer Ali on his resignation itself. But one wishes he had tendered it in different circumstances. It is highly regrettable that a person in his position should have had occasion to complain of rudeness and threats and to cast upon the Lord Chancellor the responsibility for his refusal to join the dinner and the consequences that would follow therefrom. The episode rather detracts from the dignity of a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and we congratulate him on the circumstance that now that he has resigned his presidency, there will be no occasion for its repetition. H. H. the Aga Khan is more fortunate in his freedom from official trammals. He too seems to feel that the young Moslem party is a little too impetuous to be restrained by him and the older leaders, and he resigns his presidency of the Central League in India on principle. According to his ideas the president must be elected and must frequently change as in the republic of the United States of America.

The "Indian World."

MR. WILFRID SCRAWEN BLUNT offers some very interesting peeps into the real nature of Mr. Ameer Ali in his very little-known book entitled "India under Ripon." Mr. Blunt says that, in the eighties, Mr. Ameer Ali was looked down by his co-religionists as a renegade, who was, to all intents and purposes, more like an Englishman than a Moslem. When Mr. Blunt took Mr. Ameer Ali to task for a letter the latter had written to the *Times* saying that all the Indian Mohammedans supported the action of the English Government in the matter of its treatment of Arabi Pasha, Mr. Ameer Ali said that "he was sorry for the letter." In the matter of the Ilbert Bill controversy, Mr. Ameer Ali told Mr. Blunt (on Decr. 22nd 1883), that the final concordat arrived at by Lord Ripon was "ten times worse than withdrawing the bill." Two days after this (on Decr. 24th), Mr. Ameer Ali seems to have changed his opinion in the matter and he was "now completely with the government." On another occasion, when Messrs. Blunt and Ameer Ali were speaking at the government house, Lord Ripon came by, and Mr. Ameer Ali jumped up and pretended not to have anything to do with Mr. Blunt; but when he saw that Lord Ripon "stopped to talk to me," says Mr. Blunt, "he became more cordial." At that time Mr. Ameer Ali had not developed his special enthusiasm for his community and had very often expressed himself against special religious education and special communal representation. It is now nearly thirty years from that time and much water has flowed down the Hooghly between then and now. With all the changes of time and ideas, however, Mr. Ameer Ali has been consistent in one matter at least and that is he has always stuck to the Government. It is really a great pity that the Moslem community of India should have taken such a long time in finding out the skin of this so-called champion of their interests.

The "Punjabee."

No tragedy is without its comic aspect, and the amusing feature of the recent split in the camp of the Moslem League is the plea which Mr. Ameer Ali put forward for keeping away from the public dinner that was proposed to be given to Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hassan. He had expressed his readiness, said Mr. Ameer Ali, to participate in a non-political dinner, but as the Aga Khan had made it clear that there would be political speeches, he had written to Mr. Wazir Hassan saying that he would have to obtain the sanction of the Lord Chancellor. The number of occasions when Mr. Ameer Ali has made political speeches or otherwise taken part in political movements since his accession to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council it would not be easy to count on the fingers of one hand. The very fact that he has been prominently connected with the London branch of the Moslem League, which is an out-and-out political body and which, it must be said, has concerned itself not only with national, but international politics, shows that Mr. Ameer Ali has always regarded himself as a privileged person to this respect. The present, in fact, is the only occasion when the public has been told that Mr. Ameer Ali needs the Lord Chancellor's permission for anything that he may want to do. And the funniest part of the thing is that the plea is put forward in a case where he was not called upon to make a political speech himself, but only to participate in a dinner where political speeches might be made!

CORRESPONDENCE



The Garden Party at Cawnpore.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The garden party at Cawnpore given by the hide merchants in honour of the Rajah of Mahmudabad and Mr. Mazharul Haque, was a grand affair. The hospitality of the hide merchants was superb and lavish, but the selection of guests betrayed in certain cases a hopeless lack of discrimination. Some of those who figured with an offensive conspicuousness in the Party had no right or business to be there. Mr Wafanullah with his ample person and explosive wit was a most painful surprise. The hero of the memorable interview—an interview in which he enlightened a benighted universe with his views on the affairs of the 3rd of August and explained the vast but latent potentialities for mischief which his naked eyes discovered in the funeral mob whose attempts to rebuild the mosque were providentially frustrated by Messrs. Tyler and Dodd,—strolled about showering smiles and jokes around him with an amiable profusion. His friend Isat Hussain, who had through a press representative generously conceded to expectant humanity a slice out of his superfluity of information with regard to the affairs of the 3rd of August, was present with a wealth of sepulchral solemnity worthy of the head of a funeral procession.

The great Merchant of Cawnpore, who had upheld the best traditions of a moribund loyalism by heroically abetting himself from Cawnpore after the tragic events in the Maculi Bazar Mosque and leaving his fellow-citizens and co-religionists to the consolations of a sensational trial and the distributives of the Anglo Indian Press, seemed to take a very keen interest in the *tamasha*. These gentlemen who had resolutely kept themselves aloof from the Cawnpore Mohammedans in their hour of trial, now came forward with a commendable alacrity to claim their share in the joys of a sympathetic settlement of the Cawnpore affair by a great victory. They apparently argued that their heroic self-sacrifice and self-denial, which had ungrudgingly conceded to their co-religionists of Cawnpore a monopoly of the troubles, worries and expense of the pre-settlement period, entitled them to a lion's share in the joys of the settlement. And who can challenge the logic of this argument? The presence of Messrs. Tyler, Dodd and Sinn in the Party was the inexplicable of all the phenomena and I sincerely hope some worthy organizer of the party would take the trouble to explain it. One should like to know who was responsible for invitations to Messrs. Tyler and Dodd. We have certainly accepted the Viceregal decision with feelings of joy and gratitude, though it does not redress all our grievances, but we have not forgiven the official authors of the Cawnpore tragedy, and still demand their transfer from Cawnpore as a further and infinitely necessary concession to the outraged sentiments of Moslem India.

If the scruples of Mr. Tyler were overcome with a misrepresentation of the nature and origin of the Party, those responsible for it owe an explanation to the community which has a right to feel hurt and insulted. We are sincerely sorry that the hide merchants should have suffered the perfections of their Party to be marred by some undesirable invitations and allowed the deserters of the communal camp to shamelessly participate in the rejoicings of the settlement.

BAMBOOQUR.

The last Departmental Examination of E. A. C's.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I shall be obliged if you will please extend the courtesy of your columns to the following few lines:—

The last departmental examination of Assistant Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners was held at Lahore during the first week of the current month. The first paper of Revenue was too long to be finished within the time allowed for it, i.e., 3 hours, and the second paper, which is answered from memory and on which the examinees usually count for making good any deficiency of the first paper, was altogether too stiff. Here it may be mentioned that a candidate is required to secure 80 marks out of a total of 120 in each paper, in order to pass by the higher standard and even under favourable circumstances most of the candidates pass by a narrow margin of marks. But when 2 or 3 questions are unusually tough an examinee's chances of success totally disappear, in spite of his thorough preparation. It is only to be hoped that the learned examiners will show leniency in awarding marks for, unless this is done, very few, if any, can pass by the higher standard.

2. It is further suggested for the favourable consideration of the authorities concerned, what as it will not be better to always set a larger number of questions than a candidate is actually required to answer and to give him the option to answer any ten or twelve of them, instead of pinning him down to any particular questions, for after all the object of the examination is to test in a general way if a candidate has learnt up his text books pretty well.

Lahore, 10th November 1913.

EQUITY.

Moslem Education.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—In the issue of the 16th September of the *Comrade* Mr. Syed Hukhtar Hyder Zaidi had offered some criticisms on Sahibzada Afzal Ahmad Khan's letter concerning the subject of Moslem Education. The points which the writer had raised indeed demanded a careful enquiry, and to my mind they were quite sane and reasonable.

I am much surprised to see that Mr. Mohammed Sharif Khan has attempted to invalidate the correctness of his remarks and I believe that everyone 'who possesses knowledge of Aligarh life by experience' would say that they were 'not based on precision.' 'A little less than half of the students are in receipt of debts of honour,' says Mr. Sharif. 'It is a pity' indeed that a man like him who pretends to possess knowledge of Aligarh life, has not been able to correctly estimate the number of the recipients of the debt of honour. On good authority it can be stated that the number of such students does not exceed 125. The total number of the students reading in the Aligarh College and school is at present 1,300. It now becomes quite apparent that Mr. Sharif has not made himself sure of his facts.

It is still more striking that he 'has the boldness' to compare Aligarh college with his 'Lahore, Delhi and other colleges.' In the heat of criticism he cleverly and lightly passes over the special characteristic of the Aligarh college being a purely Moslem institution. In all fairness he ought to have rather mentioned the names of the Benares Hindu College, Fergusson College, Poona and D. A. V. College, Lahore. Mr. Sharif further says that 'the seeming proof of the popularity of the Aligarh College is the increase in the number of students every year.' This hypothetical statement can be made the basis of a variety of discussion; but it has no connection whatever with the point in dispute. Mr. Sharif has very kindly fixed the sum of Rs. 30 per mensem as being 'the minimum expenses incurred by each student.' The parents of the present students of Aligarh College will be highly grateful to Mr. Sharif for the valuable information he has supplied them and will in future observe more economy in sending money to their unthrifty sons at Aligarh. And Mr. Sharif will kindly look to the pecuniary difficulties of Aligarh students which his well-calculated and sound verdict is likely to entail. Mr. Sharif might have perhaps learnt by this time about the increment of Rs. 2-13-0 which has recently been made to the monthly dues of the present Aligarh students.

The writer did not intend to offer any advice to Sahibzada Sahab, as Mr. Sharif has interpreted; but it was simply a request to him to kindly take practical measures towards the achievement of the worthy ideal he suggested.

Aligarh, 6th November 1913.

S. MAJIDULLAH.

Islam and its Prospects.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Address.

A well-attended meeting of the Positivist Society was held on Sunday evening at Essex Hall, at which Mr. Swinny presided.

Among others an important letter of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt was read in which he introduced Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, two Indian speakers at the meeting.

The subject of discussion was the recent events in the Near East and the future of the Moslem world. Mr. Swinny opened the discussion with a reference to the injustice of European diplomacy in its dealing with the Turks, particularly with regard to the reconquest of Adrianople, which, however, he was pleased to see in the hands of the Turks once more through their own efforts.

Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the "Comrade", followed with an address, in the course of which he explained some of the objects of the mission on which he had come to England with Mr. Wazir Hasan. He said they had not neglected to seek opportunities for explaining the Moslem point of view in the first place to the authorities in England, and if their expectations in getting the ears of the ministers were not fully realised before they left England, the fault would not be theirs. They had purposely avoided publication of their views in the Press in order to give no chance to any one to accuse them of coming here to embarrass the authorities, but the subject of that evening's discussion was a very general one, and there was no likelihood of embarrassing anybody at all if they explained the point of view of people whose outlook on life and affairs was to some extent different from that of the people in this country. He referred to the nature of the Society which had convened this meeting, and to the common ground of humanity which no differences of ritual or spiritual conceptions could destroy. This led him to express the resentment of Indian Mussalmans on the subject of the atrocities committed in Tripoli and in the Balkans, and to the inaction of the British Foreign Office and, to a great extent, also of the British nation. Referring to arguments about the exigencies of war and the difficulties of diplomacy, he said the Mussalmans were not impressed by them beyond acquiring a greater distaste for war and an increasing distrust of diplomacy. He criticised Sir Edward Grey's disapproval of intervention in Parliament of men like Lord Lunnington and the Hon. Walter Guinness, and invited Sir Edward Grey to undertake a journey to India and overland in the streets and lanes of Indian cities what Indian Mussalmans thought of his silence, and of the questions of others. Mr. Mohamed Ali stated that whatever discontent there was among the Indian Mohomelans was the result of Sir Edward Grey's own inaction, and not of the parliamentary intervention of men like Lord Lunnington and Mr. Guinness. Referring to the Islamic States, he said the Positivists at least would not desire their continued existence or disappearance merely because it would benefit a particular nation or State, but on the larger ground whether it was beneficial for humanity or otherwise, but he pointed out that all were not Positivists, and prejudices of race, nationality and creed every day warped people's judgment. Islam and Moslem States had suffered considerably in recent years on account of such prejudices, and although he had no inclination to preach Islam to the audience, Mr. Mohamed Ali emphatically repudiated the conceptions which were attributed to the Mussalmans by many non-Moslems, such as the conception that Islam is an enemy of progress, is rigid and unprogressive, denies a soul to women, enjoys or even encourages polygamy or slavery or gives to non-Mussalmans the alternative of the Koran or the sword. He asked if it was reasonable, not only to condemn several hundred million people for their religious views, but also to accept the views of people of another religion about them as their own religious views. Not many centuries ago even in England the stake and the rack were used to punish people for holding religious opinions different to those of the majority. All this was supposed to have passed away long ago, but the speaker still believed that even to-day something worse than the stake and the rack were being used to punish, not individuals but whole kingdoms, for holding religious opinions different to those of Western Europe. He referred to the well-organised campaign which was started in Europe against Islam as a creed, a little before the Italian raid on Tripoli, and continued even to this day in order to prejudice the minds of the nations against such Islamic countries as it was proposed to despoil and finally destroy. Whatever military experts may say, the Turk had not yet forgotten how to fight, and the Mussalmans of the world still knew how to die; but the lesson of the recent losses of Turkey must have been entirely lost on the Moslems would if it had not yet recognised that Albania and Macedonia had been lost and Thrace, all but lost to Turkey,

not on the Balkan battlefields, but in the offices of newspapers and in committee rooms and on public platforms in Western Europe. It was this which compelled the speaker to explain what relation Islam bore to the politics of Islamic nations. Referring to the lack of understanding of people in Europe about this matter, he said that although among Mussalmans of different countries there were obvious differences of country, race, languages and often of historical associations, it was only in things that were unessential that the Mussalmans of one country were different from the Mussalmans of another, but that everything that was essential was common to them all. Physical contiguity and a common breed had nothing in them peculiar to human beings, for animals acquired a sympathy with each other on these accounts. As regards language, Islam had done this at least that it had given a common script practically to all Moslems of the world, and the language of the Koran was studied by the educated Mohomelans in every country. But the essential unity of Mussalmans and Moslem countries lay in the very fact which had been distorted by the enemies of Islam into its rigidity and unprogressiveness. It lay in the identity of all those institutions which go to the making of civilised society, such as the laws relating to matrimony and succession and conceptions about sex and relationship by blood, and otherwise. The main principles of Islam were unchanged and unchanging, but they had not prevented Islamic progress in the past and would not prevent Islamic progress in the future. All that they did was to provide for Mussalmans a social polity which gave to Islam its essential unity and its solidarity of sentiment, and on that account a Mussalman in Delhi felt united with a Mussalman in Damascus no less than a Muslim in Durham felt united, let us say, with a Briton in Dublin. In a sense, therefore, Islam was not only a creed, but also a nationality, and the speaker contended that a nationality based on a unity of social conceptions and institutions was more national and human than a nationality based on ethnological or geographical grounds. Referring to the charge that religion had wrought misery in the world by its wars, Mr. Mohamed Ali said that religion had no fewer interpretations than love, and if they did not cease to love because some loves had wrought misery, was it reasonable to ask them to cease to be religious, because some religious people fought for religion? As for the wars of religion, those of nationality were no fewer nor less devastating, and a Positivist could not find much consolation in nationhood when he got disgusted with religion. He defended Islam and reminded the audience that, in the first place, if his views were those of a partisan, they were all partisans of their own sets of views and opinions, whether religious or political, and that in the next place, progress demanded variety so that the best may be evolved out of the many.

With regard to Europe's self-satisfaction, he asked them to consider whether they were not mistaking comfort for civilisation. It may be a matter of supreme satisfaction to people in Europe that it is so rich and so powerful, but that was no reason to consider that the rest of the world was a mistake and an impertinence, and they must not accuse Providence of a primeval error of judgment in enjoying coloured humanity to multiply and fill so large a portion of the earth. This attitude was not a new characteristic, nor confined to Western Europe alone. Self-sufficiency and arrogance of temper had marked every dominant type of civilisation in history. The ancient Egyptian considered his achievement so perfect that he daily propitiated his gods lest they should grow jealous of him. The Chinaman in his heyday of glory felt that he had realised his heaven on earth. The ancient Greek imposed constitutional checks even on divine prerogative and vainly imagined that he had reduced such an incommensurable thing as life to a system for all eternity. Rome similarly thought itself to be the last word on civilisation. And yet where were they to-day? If the descendants of the Goths and the Huns and the Vandals follow the example of the ancient civilisations and indulge in a carnival of tall talk and vainglory, it was nothing very strange. The cynic may laugh and the wise may shake their heads, but the vainglorious would have their day and only cease to be when the bubble bursts and the life purpose gathers fresh impulse at a new centre for another cycle of change.

The strange happenings of to-day in the Moslem world must be a great temptation to the pessimist to draw the gloomiest picture of the future of a once world-conquering creed, and to give way to that dismal contemplation of what may be, which paralyses the power to determine what should be and shall be. The Mussalmans had begun to cast the horns of Islam, but the speaker said he could not understand why they should be accused of needlessly distrusting Europe and Christendom, when Europeans and Christians themselves had more than once declared that Europe was at last definitely retreating on Asia for the alarming note which the Mohametan arms had thrown the West from the 7th to the end of the 17th century. They had been assured by European writers themselves, that after clearing the Moslems from the South-West at the beginning of the 17th century, Europe was now finally rooting out the power of Islam from Northern Africa, and

having checked the impulse of the Turks at the end of the 17th century and steadily weakened the Mohamedan grip on South East Europe ever since, she was now battering one branch of Mohammedanism in Persia and another branch in Turkey, thereby threatening the Moslem Empire in Asia itself with isolation and finally with annihilation. The West, having beaten back the ancient attack of the East, was now carrying on a counter attack into the enemy's quarters. At all points the independent dominion of the Mussalmans was hemmed in and threatened, and the future seemed dark for its continuance in any part of the world. Most assuredly the world-import of these events deserved more than a passing attention; but, said Mr. Mohamed Ali, he was not a pessimist and would not despair. In the middle of the 17th century a well known Turkish Grand Vizier, Mohamed Koprili, had intercepted a letter of the Greek Patriarch to the Valvode of Wallachia, in which the Patriarch had said—

"The power of Islam is drawing to an end. The Christian faith will soon be supreme and the Lords of the Cross and the Church-bell will be the lords of the empire."

Between this ancient prophecy of the Greek Patriarch, said the speaker, and the more recent attempt of the Prime Minister of what is the largest Moslem Power, what a strange analogy and a still more strange contrast! Well, both these prophecies had only partially been fulfilled, but even to day they had not lost faith in the power of Islam to regenerate its strength, notwithstanding all that had been written against it, and all that had been wrought against it in Africa, Asia and Europe. He based his belief on the nature of Islam's mission in the world, which was to be a mission of rationalism, humanity, and the unity of God. The destiny of Mussalmans was not merely temporal power, and all was not lost because temporal power had slipped from the grip of the Mussalman. However, Islam had never encouraged a separating distinction between things temporal and things spiritual. According to the Moslem view a strict adherence to the spiritual precepts of Islam would not only ensure to the pious salvation hereafter, but temporal power in this world also, and viewed in this light the loss of temporal power to-day only betrayed the want of religious piety in the Moslems of the world. Conversely the extension of Islam's spiritual influence, in which he was glad to see signs everywhere, and nowhere more than in India was certain to bring to the Mussalmans political dominance also. He added that he hoped he would be forgiven if the Mussalman sometimes distrusted those non-Mussalmans who would like to dispense to him merely a soothing syrup of spirituality, particularly as those dispensers called themselves the disciples of one who said that his was not the Kingdom of this world, and that blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the Kingdom of the earth. For their part Mussalmans were confident of the future because they saw a return of their early spirituality, and given the peace that they needed, and that seventy millions of them enjoyed in India, as Mussalmans in Persia and Turkey and in Africa had no chance of enjoying, the speaker hoped that they would evolve for themselves a future even greater than their past. Far from being disloyal to the British Government, as some autocratic Anglo-Indian officials pretended to believe them to be, they regarded the British connection with India as a dispensation of Providence, for it gave them peace, and introduced new factors in their development and growth which were not shared by their co-religionists abroad. They had a chance of combining the best in the East with the best in the West, and while disbelieving not a word of the Koran and abating not a jot of their Islamic extra-territorial fervour, the Indian Mussalmans were determined to take advantage of the facilities which British rule in India provided for their self-improvement. But they were not content with their present share in the internal policy of the Government in India, nor with being considered a negligible quantity in the direction of the foreign policy of an Empire which was not an empire of 45,000,000 Britons or 11,000,000 Colonials only, but an Empire of 315,000,000 Indians also, among whom His Majesty had no less than 70,000,000 Mussalmans.

Mr. Narinara, who was introduced by the Chairman as a member of the Indian Committee, expressed his opinion about the difficulties of people whose religion was based on a book, but he explained the change that his impressions had undergone about Islam and the Turks in the course of the present war, as he had seen with his own eyes the ravages that Christians had wrought in the Balkans and particularly in Albania, and compared the Moslem conception of the position of women with the English and Christian conception much to the advantage of the Moslems.

Mr. Wasir Hasan, Secretary of the All-India Moslem League also spoke, and referred to the recent development of the Moslem point of view as regards an Indian nationality.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan Editor of the "Zamindar" of Lahore, explained how the Moslem Press was being persecuted for its expressing sympathy with the Moslems abroad, and criticising the actions of some autocratic local officials in India.

South African Question.

Statement by Mr. Gokhale.

MR. GOKHALE'S STATEMENT.

The following is the text of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's statement made in Bombay:—

"The broad issues involved in this struggle are now fairly well understood in this country, but as I have had special opportunities to acquaint myself not only with the history of the whole question of the actual condition of our people in South Africa but also with the latest negotiations on the subject that took place in London and at Pretoria, perhaps it will be useful if I make a brief statement of the Indian case on this occasion.

IN NATAL.

FACTS RECAPITULATED.

"Ind an emigration to South Africa began in 1859 when the Imperial Government, acting in the interest of the European planters in Natal, persuaded the Government of India to allow Indian labour to be recruited for that colony under a system of indenture not far removed from slavery. As nearly four-fifths of the present Indian population in South Africa consists of indentured labourers, ex-indentured labourers and their descendants, and as the small proportion of free Indians, mostly petty traders, only followed in the wake of indentured Indians, in the first instance to supply their wants, it is clear that the Imperial authorities are directly responsible for the existence of an Indian problem in South Africa to-day. Not only this. A reference to the despatches that passed between the Imperial Government and of the Government of India when the bargain to supply indentured labour from India for the benefit of white planters was struck—a bargain in which the people of this country had no voice—will show that to overcome the hesitation of the Government of India in the matter, the Imperial Government held out alluring prospects of how Indians so recruited would fare after their period of indenture was over. They would then, it was stated, have an opportunity to acquire land in the colony and settle on it as free men and grow into a contented and prosperous agricultural community living on a far higher plane than the corresponding agricultural class in this country.

A DREADFUL CONTRAST.

"The contrast between the glowing hopes thus held out at that time by the Imperial Government and the miserable hunted existence which ex-indentured Indians are leading to day in Natal under the operation of the £3 license tax, is too dreadful for words and I think we are entitled to remind the Imperial Government of all this when we now see a disposition on its part to leave our countrymen in South Africa to the tender mercies of the European community there and to shelter itself behind the plea that the Union of South Africa is a self-governing dominion in the internal affairs of which it is unable to interfere. In earlier years the one concern of the colonies was to induce Indians to remain in the colony after the completion of indenture, and though shocking cases of personal ill-treatment during the period of indenture were by no means infrequent and came to light from time to time, the attitude of the colony towards Indians as a class was for a long time not unfriendly. With the growth of Indian numbers, however, and with increasing competition between Indian traders and the poorer white traders, this attitude of the colony underwent a complete change and for the last quarter of a century, speaking roughly, the Indian community of Natal had been subjected to.

RELENTLESS PERSECUTION

"In course of which right after right had been taken away from the free population, the fixed purpose of the colony being to get rid of all Indians except those actually under indenture by making their life altogether intolerable. Thus the political franchise, to mention only a few things which Indians at one time enjoyed, has been taken away. Indian traders have been continuously subjected to all manner of harassment and oppression in regard to the issues, renewal and transfer of licenses, and some years ago even legislation was attempted in the Legislative Assembly proposing to extinguish in the course of ten years all trading licenses held by Indians so that there should be no Indian trader in the whole of Natal after that period. The attempt had failed only because the Imperial Government could not allow such an outrageous proposal to become law. The £3 license tax is a weapon directed against ex-indentured Indians and their descendants, being

A DIABOLICAL DEVICE

to compel them either to quit the colony after completion of their indentures or else to go back into re-indenture. Under

this law, which came into force in 1901, every ex-indentured Indian or descendant of such Indian, if a male above 16 years or a female above 13 years of age, must pay £3 yearly for mere permission to live in the colony or else suffer imprisonment. The result of the impost being admitted by the highest Natal authorities to be to break up homes and to drive men into paths of crime and women into lives of shame. The colony makes no secret of the fact that it wants Indians but not as free men but only as beasts of burden, as indentured labourers living in a state of semi-slavery for the benefit of the white planters. Thus, only last month, the South African Agricultural Union, a body of Natal planters, adopted the following resolution:—"That this Conference is of opinion that the abolition of the £3 license on time expired Indians in Natal would be detrimental to the labour supply of the colony and contrary to the best interests of South Africa."

And Sir Thomas Hyslop, in moving the resolution, said with brutal frankness:—"The effect of the license is to prevent Indians from settling in the country. It is extended to colonial-born Indians now, and if the license were abolished Indians would have the choice of remaining in the country as free men. We want Indians as indentured labourers but not as free men." I am referring at some length to the position in Natal because the present struggle is not confined to the Transvaal only, as the last one was, but is general throughout South Africa, and out of a total population of about 150,000 more than three-fourths are in Natal; the Cape and the Transvaal having only about 25,000 and 10,000 Indians, and the Orange only about a 100.

INDIANS' SERVICES IN THE WAR.

When the Boer war broke out the Indian community in Natal, in spite of the acute persecution which it was then suffering, came forward out of a sense of duty to the empire to offer its services to the British Government. Owing to the disabilities under which Indians have to labour, they could not take their place as fighters but under Mr. Gandhi's leadership they arranged a corps of stretcher-bearers and acquitted themselves in that humble capacity with such zeal and devotion and discipline that their conduct excited general admiration and received ample recognition from the authorities. For a time this led to a kinder feeling towards them on the part of the English community in South Africa, but that did not last and it was not long before the old policy of harassment and persecution was again resumed.

IN THE TRANSVAAL. 'EVEN MORE ACUTE'.

While things were thus again wearing their old complexion for Indians in Natal, their ill-treatment in the Transvaal after the close of the war became even more acute and soon engrossed all public attention. The main incidents of the struggle that then ensued are, I am sure, still fresh in your memory and do not call for more than a passing reference to-day. How the anti-Indian legislation of President Kruger's Government was alleged as one of the causes for which England went to war with the two South African Republics; how that same legislation, instead of being repealed after the overthrow of the Republic, was enforced against the Indians even more stringently than before; how on responsible government being granted to the Transvaal the very first act made by the Transvaal Assembly of its legislative powers was to rush fresh anti-Indian legislation of a most offensive character through the two Houses without discussion and without even a single dissenting voice being raised prohibiting entry of any more Indians into the province and requiring those who were already there to register themselves giving fingerprints of all ten digits while so registering; and how the Indian community, driven to despair by the failure of all appeals and all attempts at compromise and by the refusal of the Imperial Government to protect it from indignity and oppression, resolved not to submit to the humiliating legislation, preferring to go to jail and suffer in other ways rather than sacrifice their self-respect. The struggle which thus commenced in 1906 lasted for four years in the course of which untold miseries were undimly endured by our countrymen and countrywomen in the Transvaal. Three thousand five hundred sentences of imprisonment were borne; about 100 persons were deported, many families were broken up, women and children in some cases being lost trace of; businesses were ruined and the entire community practically pauperised.

MEMORABLE STRUGGLE AND PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT.

This memorable struggle which, whatever its suffering, brought an accession of self-respect to the community and raised the Indian name throughout South Africa, was suspended a short time before the Coronation of his Imperial Majesty George the Fifth, on a compromise being arranged between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi—a compromise reduced to writing and embodied in correspondence between the two parties. The terms of the compromise were that the offending legislation passed by the Transvaal Assembly was to

be repealed; that in any new legislation that might be undertaken on the subject of immigration there was to be no statutory racial discrimination against Indians as Indians or Asiatics, and that existing rights were to be maintained. As the struggle was confined to the Transvaal, the terms of compromise could only refer to the Transvaal, but meanwhile the union of the four provinces of South Africa had been effected and it was understood, and Mr. Gandhi had insisted on it in a letter to the Minister, that if it was sought to give the promised relief to the Indian community not by new legislation confined to the Transvaal only by fresh legislation common to the whole Union, the two conditions agreed to between the two sides, about the racial bar and existing rights, were to extend to such legislation for the whole Union. And this position was further insisted on in most clear and emphatic language by the Imperial Government itself which in a despatch dated the 3rd October 1910—Lord Crewe was then the Colonial Secretary—informing the Union Government that no solution of the Indian problem would be acceptable to it which either introduced the racial bar in any fresh legislation or impaired in any way the existing rights of the Indian community in the Cape and Natal and of course in the Transvaal (there being no question about Orange as there was practically no Indian community there). An attempt was made in 1911 to draft a bill to give effect to this compromise, which however proved abortive. But the beginning of last year a bill was introduced to carry out the provisional settlement. There were certain serious flaws in the bill as first drafted. But on Mr. Gandhi's drawing the attention of General Smuts to them, the latter agreed to introduce changes fully meeting the objections raised. The Union Government, however, professed to be unable to carry this bill through the house owing to the opposition of a considerable section of its own followers and the indifference manifested towards it by the Unionist party, and the bill was eventually withdrawn. An assurance was however given to the passive resisters that the settlement would continue in force for another year till the Ministry had time to draft a fresh bill and get it through Parliament.

MR. GOKHALE'S VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Matters were in this state when I visited South Africa about this time last year on an invitation from the Indian community there conveyed through Mr. Gandhi. I hope you will pardon this little personal reference and I assure you it will be very brief. I visited nearly all important centres in South Africa and addressed several meetings of both Europeans and Indians that had been arranged for me, and I concluded my tour with a visit to Pretoria where three Ministers—General Botha, General Smuts and Mr. Fischer—granted me an interview for a discussion of the whole Indian question in South Africa. The interview lasted for two hours and appeared at the time to be satisfactory.

The representation which I had made to the Ministers on behalf of the Indian community in South Africa fell under three heads: first, about the provisional settlement, secondly, about the £3 license tax, and thirdly, about the existing disabilities of British Indians in provinces in the matter of trading, residence, education, owning of property, and so forth. On the first point the Ministers gave me a definite assurance that the provisional settlement would be carried out subject to one alteration which they felt confident would not be objected to by Mr. Gandhi as it was not inconsistent with the stand he had taken, namely, the substitution of the Canadian test in place of the Australian in the matter of immigration. On the second point, I was assured that the Government realized the iniquity of the license tax, that from a financial point of view its proceeds were negligible and that the earliest opportunity would be taken to abolish it. On my asking for authority to announce this, I was told that it was necessary for the Ministers to mention the matter first to the Natal members and I should therefore merely announce in general terms that Ministers had promised their most favourable consideration to my representations in the matter and that I had every confidence that the tax would be repealed in the next Parliament. On the third point, while promising a careful consideration of what I had urged, Ministers pointed out to me the difficulty of their own position and undertook to do what they could to remove hardship by a sympathetic administration of existing laws and a gradual amendment of others without provoking any violent antagonism on the part of any section of the European community.

I am convinced in my own mind that Ministers at that time were sincerely anxious to carry out the provisional settlement both in letter and in spirit. And even after what has happened, I venture to think that if the difficulties created by the secession of General Hertzog from the Ministry had not hampered the Government, they would have carried out the compromise entered into with Mr. Gandhi.

A DISTURBING FACTOR.

General Hertzog's revolt, however, soon changed the whole aspect of things. That extremely clever tactician immediately raised

the cry that he was astonished at the concessions which were contemplated by General Botha to the Indian community at the dictation of the Imperial Government, thus making an effective appeal to the prejudice of the Boers against Indians and in their resentment against anything savouring of imperial dictation. General Botha, confronted with the prospect of a split in his own party, has since then been making desperate efforts to convince Free-Staters and other Boers, that he was as much against Indian as General Hertzog and that he would not submit to imperial dictation any more than General Hertzog would. The whole attitude adopted by the Ministry towards the Indian community in the discussion on this year's Immigration Bill—an attitude of superciliousness and contempt—was deliberately designed to please Free-Staters and other extreme Boers.

FAITH HAS NOT BEEN KEPT.

And though at the instance of the Unionists or the English party in the House, whose leaders this time put up a strong fight on our behalf, several important amendments were introduced in the Bill, there is no doubt that faith has not been kept with the Indian community; that the provisional settlement, in accordance with which passive resistance was suspended three years ago, has not been carried out, and the conditions laid down by the Imperial Government in 1910 have been violated. Thus after nearly three years' waiting Mr. Gandhi and his associates find that the fruit of the suffering heroically borne by them for four years has again been snatched from them.

MR. GANDHI'S OBJECTS.

In insisting that there should be no racial bar against Indians as such in any future legislation and that existing rights should be respected, Mr. Gandhi has two objects in view. If once the principle that there was to be no racial bar tolerated against Indians in any legislation of the Union Parliament was fully recognised and acted upon, there would be no need to fear, as there is to-day, that in any legislative measures that may be taken in hand hereafter by the Union Parliament, such as the contemplated legislation about trade licenses or municipalities and so forth, an attempt would be made to discriminate against Indians as such, and this is a matter of the utmost importance.

And as regards the maintenance of existing rights we have been pushed back step by step during the last 25 years to such an extent that unless we

MAKE A STAND ONCE FOR ALL

against all further encroachment we shall be steadily pressed down more and more to the level of the Kaffirs as is really the aim of the bulk of the European community in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi has therefore been driven both by considerations of honour and faith not having been kept with him by the Union Government and to prevent further assaults on the Indian position, to unfurl again the banner of passive resistance with all the sufferings and sacrifices involved in the struggle. Even after the passing of the Immigration Bill, he clung for a while to the hope that both the Union Government in South Africa and the Imperial Government in England would see the necessity of carrying out their respective undertakings towards the Indian community. His negotiations with General Smuts which are set forth in a series of communications published in *Indian Opinion* of the 13th September, show how moderate and reasonable his attitude throughout was and how anxious he was to prevent a revival of passive resistance if that could be honourably achieved. But the Union Government had

CLOSED ITS EARS TO ALL FURTHER APPEALS

'I found that out for myself when I had an interview with Mr. Fisher at the Colonial Office in London when he was there on a brief holiday and thus, reason, justice and obligations of honour have all alike failed to bring us any relief.

THE SPECIFIC DEMANDS

which Mr. Gandhi and other passive resisters have not put forward are six in number:—

(1) The racial bar which disfigures the present Bill in that humiliating and wholly unnecessary declaration is not required of Europeans is still required of Indians wanting to enter the Free State be removed;

(2) The right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape freely which has been taken away be restored;

(3) The right of domicile which ex-indentured Indians paying the £3 license tax could acquire in Natal after residence of three years as recognised by the decision of the Natal Supreme Court only last December be restored;

(4) The £3 license tax to which ex-indentured Indians are subjected be abolished;

(5) All monogamous marriages celebrated in accordance with Hindu or Mahomedan rights, whether inside South Africa or outside South Africa, be recognised as valid;

And (6) all existing laws affecting Indians be administered in a spirit of sympathy and consideration for the community.

'Of these demands, the first three arise wholly out of the provisional settlement. The fourth is put forward because of its iniquitous character, of the suffering it causes to the poorest and most helpless of the population and the promise of early repeal given in the matter last year. The fifth first arose out of the wording employed in the new Immigration Act in connection with the recognition of Indian marriages, seeming to imply that monogamous marriages celebrated outside South Africa in accordance with Hindu or Mahomedan rights would be recognised as valid by the Union Government not if they were similarly celebrated in south Africa itself. The position in this matter, since the demand was put forward has been further aggravated by the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Natal that marriages celebrated in accordance with Hindu and Mahomedan rights, though single or monogamous in themselves, could not be recognised in law as monogamous, because the rights were not confined solely to monogamous marriages. Under this decision no Hindu or Mahomedan wife can be legally recognised as a wife in South Africa and no married Hindu or Mahomedan lady can therefore enter South Africa legally, or if she is already there, can leave South Africa temporarily and return. This is, as recognised by European organs of public opinion in South Africa themselves, an intolerable position and has infuriated the Indian community in South Africa, both men and women, as nothing else could have infuriated them. The last demand is of a general character, but unless it is granted in essence there is no doubt that the lot of the Indian community in all provinces of South Africa will now steadily become more and more deplorable.

THE FIERCEST STRUGGLE.

'There can be no manner of doubt that the new struggle will be the fiercest that the Indian community in South Africa has to wage. The Government is in no mood to listen to passive resisters and the bulk of the European community, who are bitterly hostile, will urge the Government to crush the spirit of the Indian community once for all. But Mr. Gandhi has not entered on the struggle without the fullest realisation of the situation, and certainly he has not entered on it in a light-hearted spirit. He knows that the odds are tremendously against Indians. The Government will not yield if it can help it. The Imperial Government will be reluctant to exert any further pressure in favour of passive resistance, and among Indians themselves, already exhausted by the last struggle weak-kneed persons will be found shrinking from the sacrifice involved and advocating submission.

BRAVERY AND HEROISM.

But Mr. Gandhi is full of courage and what is more, he is full of hope. He has planned his campaign carefully, and whether he succeeds or fails, he will fight like a hero to the end. The struggle this time, as I have already pointed out, is not confined to one province, but extends to the whole of South Africa. And not only men but women are taking part in it. From what I have seen of Mr. Gandhi's hold over our countrymen in South Africa, I have no doubt in my mind that thousands will be glad to suffer under his banner, and his spirit will inspire them all. The last telegram which I had from him two days ago, speaks in enthusiastic terms of the bravery and heroism which the women, who are taking part in the struggle are showing. They are courting arrest, they put up with ill-treatment and even assaults without complaint and they are spreading the movement in all directions with wonderful zeal. The horrors of jail life in South Africa with Kaffir warders devoid of all notions of humanity for Indian prisoners, do not deter them and they are lifting the whole struggle to a plane which the last struggle even at its highest did not reach. Already two thousand families of indentured and ex-indentured men have joined the struggle. They are suspending work in the collieries and on fields, and unless the Government guarantees the repeal of £3 tax next session, the industries which depend on Indian labour, will soon be paralysed and the Government will have a big job on its hands. Mr. Gandhi also writes to say that a growing minority of Englishmen is showing itself increasingly favourable to the Indian demands and that the leaders of the Unionist party, who did so much for us last session, will, it is expected, urge the Indian case with vigour when Parliament reassembles. But even if no assistance comes from any quarter, if the bulk of the passive resisters retire from the struggle after enduring hardships for some time, and if the prospect is altogether dark instead of being hopeful, even then, 100 men and 40 women are determined to perish in this struggle, if need be, rather than withdraw from it without achieving their object. They think that if everything else fails this supreme sacrifice on their part is necessary to prevent the Indian community in South Africa from being crushed out of existence altogether. Do not let us be discouraged by a telegram which appeared the other day in the papers about some Indians in Durban opposing this passive resistance movement, and wanting

to submit quietly to the indignities of new position. When we think of the suffering which will have to be endured and the ruin that may have to be faced, is it any wonder, knowing ourselves as we do, that some Indians in South Africa should shrink from the ordeal? Is it the wonder rather this, that many men and women—Hindus, Mohammedans and Pagans, well-to-do and poor—should come forward to undergo the sacrifice?

OUR DUTY.

'And now one word about the duty which we owe to these brave brothers and sisters of ours, a buzzing and suffering for the honour of India in a distant land. We must first of all raise funds to support the families of the passive resisters and in aid of the struggle generally. It is difficult to frame an estimate when the movement is assuming such proportions, but if I may venture to suggest a figure, I think that for the next four or five months, that is, till the Union Parliament meets again, we shall have to send about two thousand pounds a month on an average. The sum is certainly not large when the extent of this country, the feeling that the question has caused here, and the sacrifices which our brethren in South Africa are preparing to make are taken into consideration. And for one not only hope, but feel confident that the amount will be forthcoming. Funds will now be started in the different provinces, but I think it will be desirable that all remittances should be made from one centre in India and would respectfully suggest Bombay as the most suitable centre. But though we may raise this money, the whole of our duty in the matter will not be discharged by merely raising it. We must hold meetings throughout the country, in large towns and in small towns and even in important villages, to address our protest to the Imperial Government against the manner in which we are being treated in South Africa. It will not do for the Imperial Government to express its helplessness in the matter.

GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATION.

It has made itself responsible for our welfare. We have no other Government to look to and it must protect our interests and our self-respect by every means in her power.

RETALIATION.

'Finally, we must appeal now to the Government of India to take up the question of retaliation against the Union of South Africa. It may be said that there is not much scope for retaliation. That is true to a certain extent, but whatever is possible must now be done. The Union Government has notified in a lofty spirit that the Government of India should not interfere in its affairs. After that we should not ask the Government of our country to send any official deputation to South Africa to negotiate a settlement. But the Government must now consider the desirability of declaring that the public services of India will no more be open to Europeans from South Africa. Then there is South African coal, which since last year the railway companies have been permitted to use by the Secretary of State. I feel strongly that in view of what South Africa is doing to us this permission must be withdrawn, for its continuance will be nothing less than an outrage to our sentiment. There are other directions also in which something may be done by way of retaliation. But will not go into them on this occasion.

A WARNING.

'If we do all these things we should do whatever is possible to us in circumstances. And now one word of warning would like to utter to ourselves before close. The agitation on this question is bound to stir up racial feelings and although they will in the first instance be directed to the European community of South Africa they may not, unless we are very careful, remain confined to that community. And that would be a grave misfortune, for any such result may alienate the Government of India and the Secretary of State from us, and we all know that they have done the best they could, since this question became acute some years ago to support our cause; therefore, that we shall work in this matter with whole-hearted devotion coupled with due restraint and a strong sense of responsibility. When we have done that we shall have done our own duty. The rest we must be content to leave into other hands than ours.'



Continuity.

(Continued from our 1st.)

'Yet undoubtedly continuity is the backbone of evolution, as taught by all biologists—no artificial boundaries or demarcation between species—a continuous chain of heredity from far below the amoeba up to man. Actual continuity of undying germ-plasm, running through all generation, is taught likewise; though a strange discontinuity between this permanent element and its successive accessory body-plasms—a discontinuity which would convert individual organism into mere temporary accretions or excretions, with no power of influencing or conveying experience to their generating cells—is advocated by one school.

DISCONTINUITY AND PURE MATHEMATICS.

Discontinuity does not fail to exercise fascination even in pure mathematics. Curves are invented which have no tangent or differential co-efficient, curves which consist of a succession of dots or of twists, and the theory of incommensurable numbers seems to be exerting a dominance over philosophic mathematical thought as well as over physical problems. And not only these fairly accepted results are prominent, but some more difficult and unexpected theories in the same direction are being propounded, and the atomic character of energy is advocated. We had hoped to be honoured by the presence of Professor Planck, whose theory of the quantum, or indivisible unit of energy, excites the greatest interest, and by some one thought to hold the field.

Then again radiation is showing signs of becoming atomic or discontinuous. The corpuscular theory of radiation is by no means so dead as in my youth we thought it was. Some radiation is certainly corpuscular, and even the ætherial kind shows indications which may be misleading, that it is spotty or locally concentrated into points, as if the wave front consisted of detached specks or patches; or, as J. J. Thomson says, "the wave-front must be more analogous to bright specks on a dark ground than to a uniformly illuminated surface, thus suggesting that the æther may be fibrous in structure and that a wave runs along lines of electric force as the genius of Faraday surmised might be possible," in his 'Thoughts on Ray Vibrations.' Indeed, Newton guessed something of the same kind and Hancey, when he superposed æther pulses on his corpuscles.

IMPORTANCE OF RADIATION.

Whatever be the truth in this matter, a discussion on radiation, of extreme weight and interest, though likewise of great profundity and technicality, is expected in Section A. We welcome Professor Leventis, Dr. Arbuthnot, Professor Langevin, Professor Pringsheim, and others, some of whom have been specially invited to England because of the important contributions which they have made to the subject-matter of this discussion.

Why is so much importance attached to radiation? Because it is the best known and longest-studied link between matter and æther, and the only property we are acquainted with that affects the unmodified great mass of æther alone. Electricity and magnetism are associated with the modifications or singularities called electrons; most phenomena are connected still more directly with matter. Radiation, however, though excited by an accelerated electron, is subsequently let loose in the æther of space, and travels as a definite thing at a measurable and constant pace—a pace independent of everything so long as the æther is free, unmodified and unaided by matter. Hence radiation has much to teach us and we have much to learn concerning its nature. How far can the analogy of granular, corpuscular, countable, atomic, or discontinuous thing be pressed? There are those who think it can be pressed very far. But to avoid misunderstanding let me state, for what it may be worth, that I myself am an upholder of *ultimate* continuity and fervent believer in the æther of space.

PROGRESS IN THE STUDY OF MOLECULES.

One very valid excuse for the prevalent attitude towards discontinuity is the astonishing progress that has been made in actually seeing or a near-seeing the molecules, and studying their arrangement and distribution. The laws of gases have been found to apply to emulsions and to fine powders in suspension, of which the Brownian movement has long been known. This movement is caused by the orthodox molecular bombardment, and its average amplitude exactly represents the theoretical mean free path calculated from the 'molecular weight' of the relatively gigantic particles. The behaviour of these microscopically visible masses corresponds closely and quantitatively with what could be predicted for them as fearfully heavy atoms, on the kinetic theory of gases; they may, indeed, be said to constitute a gas with a gram-molecule as high as 200,000 tons; and, what is rather important as well as interesting, they tend visibly to verify the law of equipartition of energy even in so extreme a case, when that law is properly stated and applied.

Still more remarkable—the application of X-rays to display the arrangement of molecules in crystals, and ultimately the arrangement of atoms in molecules, as initiated by Professor Laue with Drs. Friedrich and Knipping, and continued by Professor Bragg and his son and by Dr. Tutton, constitute a series of researches of high interest and promise. By this means many of the theoretical anticipations of our countryman Mr. William Barlow and—working with him—Professor Pope, as well as of those distinguished crystallographers von Groth and von Fedorow, have been confirmed in a striking way. These brilliant researches, which seem likely to constitute a branch of physics to themselves, and which are being continued by Messrs. Moseley and O. G. Darwin, and by Mr. Keppel and others, may be called an apotheosis of the atomic theory of matter.

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Turco-Persian Treaty

Constantinople, Nov. 19.

The protocol in connection with the Turco-Persian Frontier delimitation has been signed by the Grand Vizier and British, Russian, and Persian Ambassadors. The frontier is greatly in favour of Persia, which retains the disputed districts of Bazyrgan, Tergever, Decht, Meizer, Ushan, Lavenevanc, and Merivan, and the southern extremity of the frontier formed by the Shat-el-Arab as far as the mouth of the Klaiya channel. The waters of the Shat-el-Arab remain under Turkish sovereignty, also all the islands, except Moulalla and six dependent islands Mahommereh continues to enjoy Persian jurisdiction. The Shukh will be maintained in possession of all his properties on Turkish soil. A special article states that the concession granted by the Shah and exploited by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company will be maintained in full vigour throughout the extent of territory transferred to Turkey.

Kiamil Pasha.

London, Nov. 18.

Kiamil Pasha has died at Larauaca (in Cyprus) and has been buried at Nicosia.

Turco Persian Boundary.

Tehran, Nov. 17.

The Persian Government has informed the British and Russian Legations that it has decided to ratify forthwith the frontier agreement reached in Constantinople by the Turkish and Persian delegates on the understanding that as the Southern boundary will henceforth follow the left bank of the Shat-el-Arab, the Persian Navigation right on the river will not be affected. The Government also expresses the hope that Persian interests at Zohab will be safeguarded. It is understood that the former proviso is unnecessary as free navigation is secured by the Anglo-Turkish Agreement of July 29th, 1912.

London, Nov. 16.

Eight hundred Swedish Gendarmes have left Shiraz to undertake the work of policing the road to Bushire.

Convert to Islam.

London, Nov. 16.

At a meeting of the Islamic Society in London it was announced that Lord Headley had been converted to Mohammedanism.

Charles Mar, Allanson Winn, 4th baron Headley is an Irish representative peer and owns about 16,000 acres in Kerry and Galway. He resides mostly, however, in Hammersmith, West London. Lord Headley was born at Brighton in 1845 and was educated at Harrow and Oxford. He was present as an attaché with the German army throughout the Franco-German War, and afterwards, went through the Carlist campaign in the same capacity. He was Commandant of the Light Horse of the Honourable Artillery Company from 1881 to 1885 and Colonel of the 4th battalion, Royal Munster Fusiliers from 1887 to 1892. He succeeded his father in 1877 and married the daughter of a Dorsetshire rector, by whom he has had one child, a daughter.

The Week.

The Balkan Settlement.

Athens, Nov. 14.

Peace between Greece and Turkey was signed at midnight.

Paris, Nov. 17.

The Bulgarian Lieutenant Torcom, who challenged Pierre Loti on account of the latter's alleging that the Bulgarians had committed atrocities in the late war fought a duel to-day with M. Georges Brailmeyer, who took up the challenge on behalf of M. Loti. There were six bouts—Torcom was twice wounded.

Albania.

London, Nov. 15.

Both Austria and Italy have now accepted the proposal of the British Commissioner for the delimitation of Albania. The exact nature of the proposal is uncertain, but it has the character of a compromise between the Greek and the Albanian contentions.

London, Nov. 17.

The Austrian Consul-General, Herr Bilinski, Member of the Albanian Delimitation Commission, has died at Valona.

The German Consul-General, Herr Wickel, Member of the Albanian Commission of Control, has been bitten by a mad dog and has gone to the Pasteur Institute at Naples.

Serbia.

Budapest, Nov. 16.

A bill has been introduced to construct railways in Bosnia Herzegovina. The cost will be met by a loan of 124 million sterling.

Hindu University.

Allahabad, Nov. 17.

The amount of donations to the Hindu University received from 16th October to 15th November 1918, is Rs. 85,168-5-8. Babu Bishamber Nath Singh of Sitapur among others, contributing Rs. 200. The total amount subscribed up to date including the valuation of the perpetual annuity granted by the Jodhpur, Kashmir and Bikaner Durbars is Rs. 41,47,568-18-10.

Among the donations paid to the Hindu University and included statement of realisations published to-day is the handsome one, of Rs. 25,000 given, in part payment, by one of the oldest citizens of Allahabad, Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Das, who has promised the handsome subscription of 75,000, and Rs 5,000 paid by Raja Gopal Lal Roy Bahadur of Tajhat, Rangpur. The payment of some big donations is expected shortly International Postal Congress.

The International Postal Congress, which is to meet at Madrid next September, may possibly consider the question of one universal date for foreign correspondence. The Indian Post Office will be represented, but the delegates have not yet been selected Mr. Rabindranath Tagore.

London, Nov. 18.

The Nobel prize for literature has been conferred on the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

London, Nov. 18.

The choice of Mr. Rabindranath Tagore for the Nobel prize is welcomed heartily in Stockholm. The papers quote extracts from his works. The Swedish poets Karfelt and Heidenstam and the writer Hallstrom extol Mr. Tagore's works as showing an original poetic vein of great depth and undoubted literary merit.

Home Rule.

London, Nov. 18.

Mr. Bonar Law, speaking at Norwich this evening, said that the situation with regard to Home Rule had not changed since he spoke on October 29th. "If the Government persisted in obeying the orders of Mr. Redmond, we shall be face to face with a national disaster. If they attempted to coerce Ulster without the sanction of the people, we shall support Ulster. We shall be in honour bound to use any and every means to prevent British troops being used to shoot down loyal Irishmen. Think what that means. If the Government have any proposals which will avert these horrors, we will consider them most carefully, solely with regard not to the interests of party but to the welfare of the nation."

There was a scene of frantic enthusiasm, the audience rising and singing "Rule Britannia."

"The tide against the Government," Mr. Bonar Law said, "was now in flood." The Unionists, if in power in the next Parliament, would carry out their fiscal policy. They would not impose new duties on food, but a moderate tariff on manufactured goods and would establish the principle of Imperial Preference. They would compensate agriculturists for any losses from the tariff by a readjustment of local taxation. They would also appoint a committee to consider the possibility of making insurance voluntary."

London, Nov. 17.

The *Times* states that within the next few days the Government will communicate to Mr. Bonar Law proposals dealing with Ulster. The *Times* forecasts that these will consist of the exclusion of Ulster for a definite term of years, without any option at the conclusion of that time; also the additional burden of taxation on English tax-payers to compensate Nationalist Ireland for the temporary loss of wealth of Ulster.

London, Nov. 18.

Lord Lansdowne, speaking at Brighton, said that the proper solution of the Home Rule problem lay in the reference of the question to the electors. Failing that, the opposition were prepared to consider special treatment of Ulster, accompanied by such changes in the Bill, as were thereby necessitated. "If both these offers were refused," said Lord Lansdowne, "we shall give Ulster all the encouragement we can in her resistance. The Government will be held responsible for all the disasters resulting from their conduct."

London, Nov. 19.

The *Daily Telegraph* says that the cabinet yesterday was mainly occupied with the consideration of the estimates which are expected to total nearly two hundred millions for 1914-15, involving fresh taxation. The *Journal* adds that nothing has done regarding Ulster.

London, Nov. 18.

The *Daily News* states that there is no foundation for the statement appearing in yesterday's *Times* that Government will communicate to Mr. Bonar Law proposals dealing with Ulster. The paper says no such proposals have been made or will be made. There will be no surrender on the fundamental points of Bill of which the unity of Ireland is one.

The *Daily Telegraph* is officially informed that the Cabinet has not yet arrived at a decision on the subject of proposals to be made. The Opposition leaders have received no communication whatever.

TETE À TETE



WHILE the Liberal Press in England has been discreetly silent over the scandal created by the tactics of Mr. Ameer Ali, the Tory papers have with significant unanimity inveighed against the "young Moslems" and the impertinence of their sending a political mission to England. These mentors of India and guardians of the British Empire have themselves little knowledge of Indian affairs or Indian feelings, and usually take their cue from some "Indian expert" who has learnt his craft in the school of Anglo-Indian journalism. The worthy is not unoften gifted with a strange mobility of opinion and a singularly nimble faith and knows the art of pleasing "the man on the spot" in India to perfection. He has a superb instinct in divining all that may be passing in the official mind and keeps his memory refreshed by hanging about the ante-chambers of the great. The campaign of vituperation and abuse started in the Tory Press against Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan owes its inspiration to an "expert" of this type. We think we could make a guess and lay bare the features of this gentleman complete in every tone and tint. But we desist. It is enough for our purpose to show that the Tory Press is as ignorant about the real state of things in India as it is slavish in its method and petty in spirit. As an instance of its omniscient wisdom we call the following precious little paragraph from the *World*—"A 'young Moslem' campaign is about to be started in England, several Mohamedan leaders having arrived to try and catch the ear of the British public. At their head is Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of the *Comrade* of Cawnpore, a journal published in English of—in recent times—a needlessly violent tone. To a very large extent, the wind has been taken out of the sails of this deputation by the abandonment of the prosecutions in connection with the riots at Cawnpore. These agitators have to find new grievances to air, and the task is not an easy one." We would not be surprised after this if Mr. Mohamed Ali is declared to be the head of a political Samiti at Peshawar and the Government urged to send such a dangerous character to Mandalay.

MR. ASHFAQ AHMAD ZAHIDI has left Delhi to visit some places in the Deccan especially in the Hyderabad State as our accredited agent with a view to secure subscribers for the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*. We trust our readers and sympathisers in the places he visits will be pleased to lend him all the help he needs.

THE struggle has now reached its critical phase and the news received this week give us an idea of the remorseless and inhuman methods with which it is being sought to be suppressed by the South African authorities. Several

Indians on strike have been arrested, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and driven into mine-compounds to serve their sentences. They have been put to hard labour and do the work under the lash. A man has already died of flogging. These barbarities are being denied by the Union Government, but we know the value of such denials and people in India can well realise, in face of definite and independent evidence, what the lot of their persecuted, harassed and despised brethren can be under existing conditions. Nothing short of independent inquiry would satisfy those who have felt the shock and pain of the cruel practices that are being countenanced by the South African authorities. Efforts to collect funds for the support and relief of the passive resisters should be continued with redoubled energy and no gains should be spared to help our long-suffering fellow-countrymen in carrying their struggle to a successful conclusion.

The Comrade.

Mr. Ameer Ali's Escapade.

II

WE have already analysed in some detail the nature of the crisis forced by Mr. Ameer Ali and the manner in which it was brought about. We have shown how trumpetry is the excuse about "insult and dictation" on which his sudden resignation was ostensibly based. The whole correspondence relating to this sorry affair is now before the public, and we have no doubt that the Mussalmans, without being obsessed by misrepresentations or the misleading cries of the partisan, have already come to definite conclusions in the light of the facts. There now remain only three important points to be considered in regard to the whole issue to which Mr. Ameer Ali's action has given rise. We have to see, in the first place, what it was that prompted Mr. Ameer Ali to act as he did. Again, there is a question of larger importance relating to the resignation of H. H. the Aga Khan and its bearing on the crisis. Then, again, there is the most important question of the organisation and working of the All-India Moslem League, its relationship with its branches and the initiation and settlement of its policy. We will have to deal with these points in order to clear the existing situation, and bring into prominence the important issues which must be considered and discussed by the All India Moslem League in its forthcoming session at Agra. We publish to-day the full text of the letter written by H. H. the Aga Khan to Mr. Wazir Hasan, a summary of which was cabled to India by Reuters the other day. His Highness sets forth in this communication the reasons which had influenced him in his decision to resign the presidency of the All-India Moslem League. These reasons have nothing to do with the action of Mr. Ameer Ali, and are, in fact, wholly opposed in spirit to the latter's conception of himself as president of an independent league ready to resent the least suspicion of outside dictation. The All-India Moslem League has now to depend mainly on united efforts of the whole community in order to become a powerful instrument in the political evolution of the Mussalmans and the country as a whole. This is a wide and important question and we will examine and discuss it at some length in our next. Mr. Ameer Ali's indefensible conduct has, as we have said, certain definite motives behind it and we will have to analyse them in the public interest. In the meantime we publish below an important letter sent by Mr. Wazir Hasan to the *Times*, with a view to clear the misrepresentation which the greatest organ of British opinion deliberately chose to create about the League crisis, especially the parts played by Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali and H. H. the Aga Khan. The *Times* refused to publish this letter and returned it to Mr. Wazir Hasan. We need not be surprised at this exhibition of journalistic fairness, which is thoroughly of a piece with the petty boycott that the Moslem representatives have had to bear in England in their efforts to convince the British Ministers and responsible officials of the essential loyalty of the Mussalmans of India. Mr. Wazir Hasan's letter to the *Times* is a complete vindication of his position, and in conciseness and thoroughness it leaves nothing to be desired. It throws full light on the circumstances connected with the crisis and shows how Mr. Ameer Ali has sought to exploit the situation for his own ends. The letter is as follows:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—With reference to the article about the All-India Moslem League and the "resignation of leaders," which appeared in your issue of the 21st October, I crave the courtesy of your publishing the following explanation which I trust will place your readers in a better position to judge the situation than what has already appeared in the *Times*. I may add that I have already placed in your hands the reply which I had sent on the 29th October to Mr. Ameer Ali's letter of the 27th, and although you have not yet published it, I hope you will do so at an early date in fairness to Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself. I have also placed in your hands the telegram addressed by His Highness the Aga Khan to Mr. Mohamed Ali in connection with the true significance of his well-known desire for some years past to relinquish the position of President of the All-India Moslem League, and the League's reconstruction on more popular lines. This telegram too has not been published in the *Times*, but I trust it will also appear in an early issue.

As the *Times* article as well as Mr. Ameer Ali's last letter deals with some important matters of principle, the discussion of which should not, I feel, be clouded by the intrusion of any personalities, I think I should first state as briefly as I can the true facts in connection with the project of a dinner to be given to Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself, and thus clear the way for the consideration of matters of far greater importance. You say that "the suggestion that a

public dinner should be given in their honour by the Aga Khan (on himself, Mr. Ameer Ali demurred, whereupon they (meaning Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself) proceeded to Paris to discuss the matter with the Aga Khan." It is not clear from this passage from whom the suggestion emanated, though it is made to appear that the dinner was to be a complimentary dinner given in our honour, and that Mr. Ameer Ali demurred to such a suggestion, whereupon we proceeded, of our own accord, to Paris to discuss the matter with the Aga Khan. Now, in the first place, the suggestion of a dinner to be given to us emanated from His Highness the Aga Khan who communicated it to Mr. Ameer Ali through us, and I need hardly say that it was not suggested in any way either by Mr. Mohamed Ali or myself. In the second place, the dinner was never intended to be a complimentary dinner, but, as His Highness the Aga Khan wrote to Mr. Ameer Ali, it was only meant to provide an opportunity for "counteracting the false charges of the *Times* correspondent," about the growing disloyalty of a section of Indian Mussalmans. Mr. Ameer Ali has this letter in his possession, and in fairness to ourselves he should have published this in its entirety. We now ask him to publish it along with his own letter to the Aga Khan, for I have myself had this letter read out to me by His Highness, and I know that its publication would clear up a much-befogged situation. But it is somewhat fortunate that the purpose of the dinner is made clear in a letter of Mr. Ameer Ali himself, dated 25th October, and addressed to me, from which I have reproduced this textual quotation from the Aga Khan's letter. In the third place Mr. Ameer Ali demurred only to a dinner in which he and the Aga Khan were to be the only hosts while we were to be merely guests who were to be introduced in this way to other guests. He had, however, agreed that very morning to the original proposal of His Highness the Aga Khan, namely, that Mr. Ameer Ali, His Highness himself, Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself should all be the hosts at a public dinner to which influential public men should be invited, and at which we should all explain the real attitude of the Mussalmans of India towards the Government, which was essentially loyal, and thus counteract, in the words of His Highness the Aga Khan, "the false charges of the *Times* correspondent." In the next place, it was Mr. Ameer Ali himself who asked us to go to Paris. Finally, it must be remembered that on our return from Paris and after he had received from me the letter in which Mr. Ameer Ali now says I had insulted him, Mr. Ameer Ali agreed even to the second proposal of the Aga Khan that he and the Aga Khan should be the hosts and we among the guests, and he went so far as to apply to the Lord Chancellor for his sanction. Now that he cannot be the joint host with the Aga Khan at such a dinner, it is only because on the 27th October the Lord Chancellor informed him that "he thinks that it would be wise not to attend the public dinner" to which he had referred.

From Mr. Ameer Ali's letter of the 27th October which you have published, it appears that because he would not give us a complimentary dinner we threatened him with an intrigue against him in India. But Mr. Ameer Ali does not seem to remember that in the same letter he says he was ready "to participate in a non-political complimentary dinner." Either he *did* wish to compliment us in this manner or he did not; and I must confess I fail to see how I could at all threaten him for not honouring us when in fact he was ready, as he says, all the time to do so. There was, however, never any talk of a complimentary dinner to be given to ourselves any more than of a triumphal banquet, as Mr. Ameer Ali seemed to dread, to exult over the Cawnpore settlement.

I do not know whether Mr. Ameer Ali placed in your hands the whole of my letter of the 24th October or only carefully selected passages. But in any case I submit that considerable injustice has been done to Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself in mutilating my letter, and the sense is entirely changed. There is sometimes far more mischief in asterisks and dots than in the worst invective, and in this instance it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the mischief was deliberately meant. Would your readers have formed the same idea of ourselves and our inordinate appetite for "recognition" and a public dinner if the dots in the *Times* quotation from my letter had not been substituted for the following words:—

"A little regard for our own dignity compels me to say that we do not desire any personal appreciation of our labours, and if this dinner was to come off at the end of our stay here, there might have been some suspicion that it was meant to crown our work with generous appreciation from two such eminent Mussalmans as yourself and the Aga Khan. As it is, it is really an introduction of us to the influential men in England."

Throughout, the object of the projected dinner was, as both His Highness the Aga Khan and I had repeatedly tried to make clear to Mr. Ameer Ali, to get an opportunity for explaining the real attitude of the Mussalmans towards the Government and to counteract "the false charges of the *Times* correspondent," and if Mr. Ameer Ali for some unexplained reasons, which, however, are not entirely unknown to us, denied us such an opportunity, I would have been entirely

within my rights in telling the members of the League on my return to India that, "if things go wrong in India it is no use trusting anybody here to do us justice," and in informing Mr. Ameer Ali in advance that "I do not see how can get out of a clear explanation to the members of the League that the President of our own London branch is unwilling to assist the community even when he has to risk nothing and sacrifice nothing."

While on this subject I may add that I am at a loss to understand the position of Mr. Ameer Ali. As a Privy Councillor, and a prospective Peer, it is wise for him not to attend a public dinner of this character, but his position does not appear to him, or to anybody else to be incompatible with the presidency of an admittedly political body such as the London Branch of the Moslem League. For the president of such an organisation to demur to participation in a public dinner given with the object of emphasising Moslem loyalty and repudiating the absurd ideas and demands sometimes attributed to Indian Mussalmans is, to say the least of it, wholly inconsistent. Indeed, the position is anomalous and contradictory.

A word now about my "slightly veiled insinuations as to 'selling our community'" which Mr. Ameer Ali regards as "contemptible" and unworthy of "the Secretary of an Association of respectable and responsible Mussalmans in India." In my letter of the 29th October which you have not yet published, and to which Mr. Ameer Ali does not so much as refer, although it was read out in his presence at a meeting of the Committee of the London League when his resignation was being discussed, I have already said that "my observations with regard to this matter refer entirely to people 'out in India' who, like me and my friend Mr. Mohamed Ali, 'have to contend every day with difficulties of a nature of which one who has been away from the country for so long can have little conception'" "Is it not clear," I had asked in that letter, "from the antithesis drawn between people out in India and people who have been away from the country for so long as yourself that in saying 'we have only two alternatives, the alternative of the weak man to go under and sell our community as so many others have done before us,' etc. I refer only to our own position and to the position of those of us who have to work in India, and could have had no thought of you in my mind at the time of making this observation?" I had also added how remote from my mind had always been the idea of insulting or offending Mr. Ameer Ali, and that I trusted he would accept this as a sufficient explanation and withdraw his resignation of which I had heard only from an indirect source. I wrote to him, and I am still of that opinion, that "I shall certainly consider so serious a step on your part as a great misfortune, and my distress will be all the greater if such an action was due in any measure to what I had said or written to you."

Now that Mr. Ameer Ali, while availing himself fully of every expression of opinion that he should not resign, has not only confirmed his resignation, but has also given to it such extraordinary publicity, may I point out that Mr. Ameer Ali did not seem to discover in my letter any insult or insinuation, veiled or otherwise, on the day on which he received it, nor when he wrote to me on two occasions on the following day, and that it was after an interval of three whole days that he made the extraordinary discovery that I accused him of selling our community! That is not all. Indeed, on the day following the receipt of my letter to which he now takes such serious objection, he wrote to me that he was quite willing to join the Aga Khan in a non-political complimentary dinner to Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself, and because he considered the gathering a political function he went so far as to write to the Lord Chancellor for sanction to his being a joint host with the Aga Khan. The repeated desire of participating in a complimentary dinner and all this trouble undertaken for the sake of giving us an opportunity of ventilating our political views do not seem to indicate any very deep resentment at the slightly veiled and contemptible insinuations of Mr. Ameer Ali's selling the community, which he found on the 27th October all of a sudden to be unworthy of the Secretary to an Association of respectable and responsible Mussalmans in India. Whether they indicate extraordinary forbearance which it took three whole days to wear out, or something else which it took three days to perfect, I leave your readers to judge. I shall, however, appeal to them to beware of the dangers of becoming a mere cat's-paw in controversies prompted by our personal ambitions. This is a danger to which the British Government and the British public are very prone to fall a prey, and in such controversies people successfully enlist the sympathies of otherwise disinterested officials and public men on their side by accusing those whom they dislike of sedition against Government and hatred of the ruling race.

Mr. Ameer Ali's last letter has introduced into this unfortunate episode a matter of principle which is of the most far-reaching importance, namely the relationship of the All-India Moslem League—which on some occasions he and you call the "Lucknow League"—and the London Moslem League. This is a subject which is happily wholly independent of our respective personalities, and I can dwell on it with some emphasis without the fear of being accused of reflecting

on Mr. Ameer Ali or praising my own work in the League of which I have the honour to be the chief executive officer. I maintain that the policy of the Moslem League must be laid down in India and nowhere else, although naturally, and rightly, it must be laid down in consultation with the London Branch whenever it is possible for us to avail ourselves in time of its assistance and advice. It is only in this manner that any work can possibly be done and I cannot see how else a practicable programme and procedure can be arranged. This is very different from my dictating to the president of the London League, and I need hardly say that such an idea never crossed my mind.

I may mention that the whole controversy has arisen not out of anything that I proposed to Mr. Ameer Ali, but, on the contrary, out of a letter which Mr. Ameer Ali sent to me on the 22nd October asking for an increased subvention from my League to the London Branch, and adequate guarantees that such support will be regularly and punctually forthcoming. In that letter Mr. Ameer Ali wrote to me "I hope that before you leave England you will be good enough to inform us of the views of your Council, whether they wish to contribute properly to the maintenance of this League which is doing the Imperial part of their work." With reference to this, I do not see what objection he has, or can have, to my pointing out, in response to his own invitation, the very obvious fact that the All-India Moslem League's subvention to the London Branch would be in proportion to the support the latter gives to the work and projects of the parent League. This is a matter of principle and as such, I believe, absolutely incontestable. What is more, it is a matter of fact and has to be accepted. I can well understand that between people so differently circumstanced as Mr. Ameer Ali in England, with all the responsibilities and limitations of his position as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and ourselves, working in India in daily contact with the realities of the situation, differences of opinion may arise which would correspond to differences of outlook. If such existed at present there was an opportunity, which Mr. Ameer Ali should have welcomed, of a discussion between two responsible representatives of the parent League and its London Branch, and I had every hope that such a discussion would result in mutual satisfaction and the promotion of the best interests of our community. Of that opportunity Mr. Ameer Ali did not choose to avail himself. Be that as it may, I maintain that everything is subject to the guiding principle that in the last resort the opinion of the All-India Moslem League must prevail, and its policy must be laid down in India and in conformity with the wishes of the entire community and not of any individual in this country, no matter how eminent. An unconditional subvention is too preposterous to consider, and co-ordination can only be a euphemism for giving every legitimate consideration to the personal equation in the matter, which we are always prepared to do. Otherwise, does it stand to reason that Indian Mussalmans should tolerate a system which must contemplate the possibility of a conflict of opinion between a few permanent residents and a larger number of Indian Mohammedan students who reside here only for three or four years each, on the one side, and the seventy millions of Mussalmans on the other side, who have to live and work and suffer and prosper in India. I need only add that I am not speaking without authority, and that my authority is the Constitution of the League of which I am the Secretary, and which has not failed to specify the relationship of the Central League and its provincial, district and London Branches.

So far as our personalities were concerned, I had offered in my last letter what a member of the Committee of the London League called at its meeting a very full explanation, and I have reason to believe that the Committee was satisfied with that explanation. As regards the relationship of the two Leagues and the subvention from the one to the other, His Highness the Aga Khan and the entire Committee unanimously requested Mr. Ameer Ali to leave it to be settled by the two Leagues. I was, and still am, prepared to accept this, and I need hardly say that I shall abide by the decision of my League and shall discharge all the duties laid down by and incidental to the enforcing of its rules as I am required by its Constitution to do, and am doing at present. But Mr. Ameer Ali did not accept this very reasonable suggestion, and I cannot consider myself in any way responsible for his adherence to his resolve to resign.

I cannot, however, see what his resignation and, if I may say so, the "sympathetic strike" of the Vice-President and the Treasurer, have to do with the well-known desire of His Highness the Aga Khan to resign the Presidency of the All-India Moslem League. His Highness tendered his resignation two years ago, when there was not the least suspicion of Mr. Ameer Ali's resigning the office he holds here. Again, last year he discussed this matter with Mr. Mohamed Ali and the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. I had the privilege of a long and frank conversation with His Highness on the 30th October just before he left London, and he never suggested anything about resigning himself because of Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation, nor did he commit himself to any view about the relationship of the two Leagues, and, in fact, we have never been under the

impression that he regards the League here as anything but a branch of the League of which he himself is the President. I have, therefore, no reason for believing that he has authorised anybody to indicate that he regards the London League as a co-ordinate body with the All-India League. As regards his desire to resign the office that he holds in India, it is prompted by considerations which are just the reverse of those that have led to the resignation of Mr. Ameer Ali. In reply to a telegram which we addressed to him to Paris immediately on reading *The Times* article on the 31st October, he wired back that while his reasons for this decision were numerous, the first and chief reason was that under the present circumstances he considered a permanent president impossible, and in view of the fact that the League had now become more popular, national work should be carried on on lines of general popular opinion rather than on the semi-dictatorial lines of the League's early days which are already impossible. He desires us to realise that this essential change is now necessary, and he suggests that the League should have a new chairman every year which is, I may add, the practice of the Indian National Congress. Whatever we may think of the desire of His Highness to resign the office which he still holds, we cannot refrain from admiring the frankness and boldness with which he is always anxious to face facts, and to state them, and the democratic spirit which gives to him the truest conservatism—the conservatism “that lops the mouldered branch away.” He thinks more of the general good of his community than of his own position or power, and he, at any rate, can have no sympathy with a semi-dictatorial attitude that is very much out of date at the present time.

This letter is already very long and I do not propose to make it longer by justifying the attitude of the Mussalmans of India to-day or vindicating our own political views. But in view of your repeated attacks levelled at the men who lead the community at the present day and your references to ourselves and the mission on which we have come to England, I trust you will permit me to say in very general terms that our views about the right policy of the British Government in relation to Moslem States are the same as those of the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali, and that our views about the future development of India and the relations of Indian Mussalmans with other communities and with the Government are the same as those of His Highness the Aga Khan. We regard the British connection with India as a dispensation of Providence, and shall, to the best of our power, assist our community in making the fullest use of the facilities for self-improvement which British rule in India provides by means of the peace that it has secured to us and the introduction of new factors in our development, both of which are to a great extent lacking in other countries largely inhabited by our co-religionists. These views we have repeatedly expressed in India as well as during our short stay in this country, and by these we abide. We, however, reserve to ourselves the right to criticise the actions of individual officers of Government, and certain measures and policies of that Government, which we consider injurious to the best interests of our country and our community and no less injurious to the best interests of Great Britain herself. We do not, however, desire to discuss these publicly before bringing them to the notice of the authorities responsible to His Majesty, and to the British Parliament, and, in the last resort to the British public, for the good government of our country. For this very reason we have hitherto refrained from public agitation, and we feel that in the first instance our concern is with the Secretary of State for India and those who assist him in his work at the India Office.

This, Sir, is I feel a sufficient, though necessarily an unfortunately somewhat long explanation of our position and attitude, and I trust you will in fairness to ourselves find a place for it in an early issue of *The Times*. We fully subscribe to the observations made in its address by the famous Simla Deputation of October 1906 to Lord Minto, which you quote in your article, and it is just because we desire to prevent the feelings stirred up by recent events, specially among the younger generation of Mohamedans, from passing beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance, that we have come to this country to explain to the authorities their real character and intensity. Had we wished to embarrass them we would have remained in India and followed the tactics of the revolutionaries with whose movement a contemporary of yours attributes to the All-India Moslem League a sympathy that never existed, that does not exist to-day and that will never, we hope, come to exist.

I remain,
Yours obediently,
WAZIR HASAN.

Belgrave Mansions,
 Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.,
November 3, 1913.

The Boycott.

It is only after the return of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali to India that the Mussalman community would hear in full detail the story of their treatment in a land of freedom by the officials and henchmen of a most “Liberal” Ministry. The story is, we are sure, destined to live as the classic example of the pettiness and intolerance of officialdom, from which even statesmen responsible for the administration of a great and complex Empire are not wholly free. What details have already reached us clearly point to a moving finger of intrigue which has successfully bound together the Tory Press and the Liberal Ministers of Great Britain in a deliberate policy of boycott. Ever since they reached England efforts have been made to malign the two representatives of the Indian Mussalmans, their views and objects have been distorted; and the character of the movement they represent has been besmirched with mud. And whenever they have sought to expose calumny and clear deliberate misrepresentation, the great organs of the Press, like the *Times*, have flatly refused to give them a fair chance. Lord Crewe's refusal to give them an interview has set the seal on this imperial achievement. Judged even at the lowest plane of expediency Lord Crewe's action has been a grievous miscalculation of means and ends. We are amazed to think that so little sanity should have existed in the counsels of Whitehall and the Secretary of State for India should have been led into such a blunder. By granting the interview he would have risked nothing and gained some insight into the feelings of the Indian Mussalmans. By his refusal he has caused an unmerited shock to the Moslem community and placed official susceptibilities above the requirements of fairplay. Does he imagine that the novel method he has devised for treating Mussalmans of independent views would lead to contentment? Is it possible to kill grievance by indifference, to terrorise the voice of candour and criticism into silence by cold and angry frowns? He has refused to hear Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali in the privacy of his closet whence not a whisper would have escaped outside. Would he like it very much when he hears the same uttered from the house-tops? It is impossible not to admire the patience and self-restraint with which Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan have conducted themselves in peculiarly provoking circumstances. They purposely refrained to say anything about the objects of their mission in the Press or on the platform. They tried every means at their disposal to reach the ears of the responsible Ministers themselves. But they have failed. The causes of their failure will not be forgotten in India. How far they tried to avoid agitation and work quietly, and in what spirit they have endeavoured to work in the interests of their community and country would be apparent to our readers from the following letter which they sent to Sir James La Touche on the 4th November requesting him to arrange an interview on their behalf with Lord Crewe. This is the letter to which Reuter had made a reference in his cablegram:—

DEAR SIR JAMES LA TOUCHE,

In the course of our conversations we have come to know that considerable misconception exists in the minds of the authorities here about the purpose of our visit to this country, and that because of them we have to face difficulties which we should very much like to avoid. To remove these misconceptions, we enclose a copy of the message which we left for our people when leaving India and we believe it has been published in all important newspapers in India.

From this you will see that what prompted us to come here was a series of events which had been taking place in rapid succession during the last two or three years, both in India and abroad, and not merely the unfortunate and deplorable happenings at Cawnpore. You will note that we were advised by our friends to go to England for the purpose of explaining the Indian Moslems' point of view and the salient features of the true Moslem situation in India and abroad, in the first instance to His Majesty's ministers, and afterwards to members of Parliament and other influential men in Great Britain and in the last resort to the British nation itself through the important organs of the press and by other suitable means. As we then stated we were anxious to convince them of the essential loyalty of the Moslem community to His Majesty's person and throne and of the justice of the Moslem claims.

Had we come here only for arranging a settlement of the Cawnpore affairs stands to reason that we would have left for India soon after the satisfactory solution found by the statesmanship and courage of Lord Hardinge? As it is we are still here and only at the beginning of our work.

To give you some more details of that work we may mention that when we left India the following questions were agitating public mind, and induced us to undertake a journey to England to assist to the best of our power in achieving a satisfactory solution. The fate of Adrianople was then hanging in the balance and we feel sure that His Majesty's Government could not have been left unaware by the Govern-

ment of India of the intensity of Moslem feelings in the country on the subject of the British attitude towards Turkey over this question. Nearer home was the fate of the Indian and particularly the Moslem press which gave rise to the most lively apprehensions, in view of the judgment of the Special Bench of the High Court of Calcutta on the one side and the repressive action of various local governments on the other. In the next place only recently the Mussalmans of India had met at Aligarh as the Foundation Committee of the Moslem University, and passed several resolutions of far-reaching importance. In this matter particularly the final decision lay not with the Government of India, but with the Secretary of State, between whom and the Government of India there was considerable difference of opinion as the fact of several despatches having been exchanged between the two indicated. In addition to these questions were those relating to the extension of a system of Executive Council Government to such provinces of India as were still without Executive Councils, and the separation of judicial and executive functions.

Considering the fact that the London "Times" had published a series of articles on the subject of the attitude of Indian Mussalmans towards Government, insinuating the growth of disloyalty and attributing to them ideas and demands of a preposterous character which never crossed the minds of any responsible Mussalman, and particularly as the new constitution of the All-India Moslem League had been subjected to a good deal of unformed and unjust criticism and its regarding self-government suitable for India as an ideal had been distorted into more or less immediate demand, we felt that a repudiation of all these charges and suggestions in the Moslem press and from Moslem platforms in India which had not proved as effective as we had wished should be supplemented by a series of our personal interviews with the authorities in this country, and an emphatic and clear explanation of the real attitude of Indian Mussalmans towards Government which we maintain is as loyal to-day as it has ever been in the history of our community.

We have already stated that in the first instance we desired to deal with the authorities concerned and you will see that we have made it clear even after our arrival that until and unless we are finally told that the authorities here will have nothing to do with us, we do not intend to give publicity to our views and opinions. In a meeting of the Postivists Society held at Evelyn Hall on the 26th October, which you will note was more than a month after our arrival in London, Mr. Mohamed Ali said that "we have purposely avoided hitherto the publication of our views through important organs of the Press in order to give no chance to anyone in authority to accuse us of coming here to embarrass His Majesty's Government." Only yesterday Mr. Wazir Hasan has written to the *Times* a rejoinder to the very misleading article about the resignation of Mr. Ameer Ali and a proposed dinner suggested by H. H. the Aga Khan which has appeared in the issue of that paper for 31st October, and in the course of that letter he says: "We do not, however, desire to discuss these publicly before bringing them to the notice of the authorities responsible to His Majesty and to the British Parliament, and in the last resort to the British public for the good government of our country. For this very reason we have hitherto refrained from public agitation, and we feel that in the first instance our concern is with the Secretary of State for India and those who assist him in his work at the India Office."

We hope the above is a sufficiently clear and convincing explanation of our position and the objects we had in view in coming to England, as also of the methods we desire to pursue here. We have only to add that we intended to leave England about the middle of November, but as we have not even had an interview with the Secretary of State for India we have postponed our departure for a fortnight, and we trust that you will kindly convey to Lord Crewe our anxious desire to place the views of the Indian Mussalmans on the various questions which we have enumerated before his Lordship, should he kindly grant us an interview. The time at our disposal is now very short, and we trust His Lordship will favour us with an interview at the earliest date convenient to him.

We cannot conceive that His Lordship can be unaware of our representative character for the Council of the All India Moslem League and many other provincial and District Leagues and Associations and large bodies of Mohamedans throughout the country have passed resolutions accrediting us as their agents, and if we fail to get the ear of the authorities here, we do not exaggerate in saying that their disappointment will be very great and nobody will regret more the feelings likely to be stirred by such disappointment than the best friends of the Government and of the Indian Mussalmans.

Apologising for the length of this letter and hoping for an early and favourable answer,

CORRESPONDENCE



The "Islamic Review."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The *Comrade* of 4th October has just reached me. I was pleased to read the letter printed on page 293 making such an earnest appeal on behalf of the periodical launched by our brother Kamal-ud-din. Anxious as I am to see "Moslem India and the Islamic Review" successfully accomplishing the purpose for which it was founded and to see Islam securing a sure foothold and a central rallying point in the principal city of the Empire, I should like to add a few words in support of and as an enlargement of the appeal. The raising of a fund such as indicated will afford immediate relief, but its effect will be temporary, sporadic ebullency will not fulfil the hopes nor achieve the end.

A paper cannot live on charity.

For "Moslem India" to be successful the conditions supporting it must be practically stable, its income permanent. To attain this it must have subscribers and those subscribers must consist of readers and advertisers. If the Moslems are anxious to see the banner of their evangel flying in the greatest city of the world and the sons of Islam leading on the Jihad of Truth, may I put before them the following suggestions:—

- (1) Let every other Moslem paper give "Moslem India" a free advertisement from now to say the end of 1914.
- (2) Let all Moslem booksellers order copies to the extent of their ability and do their utmost to dispose of them.
- (3) In all large towns such as Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and elsewhere in India let a committee be formed and let them go to the principal booksellers and say, "you will order so many dozen copies of 'Moslem India' and display them and do your best to sell them, if you do so we on our part will guarantee to take of your hands at the end of two months any copies unsold." An individual may do the same on his own initiative. Copies returned may be distributed judiciously.
- (4) Moslem merchants everywhere will arrange to advertise in the *Review*, guaranteeing to continue such advertisements for one (or more) years. If enough advertisements can be obtained to clear the expenses of the paper, the following may result.
 - (a) The price of the paper can be lowered so as to place it within the reach of all:—
 - (b) Extra copies can be printed and distributed for propaganda work.

There are Moslem merchants numerous enough and rich enough to make the paper a success financially if they do their duty. I hope at the January issue to read between one and two hundred such notices. Hurry up gentlemen there is nothing to be gained by waiting.

The above is the way of success.

Everyone can help. Order copies yourself and ask your friends to do likewise, the expense will be small and the energy expended not excessive. Now is your opportunity, Moslems, will you take it? Are you for yourselves or are you for God and Islam?

Kilmarnock, Scotland, 27th Oct. 1914. YAKTA-UD-DIN PARKINSON.

The Moslem League Crisis.

The Aga Khan's Letter.

DEAR MR. SYED WAHID HASAN.

I write you this letter to place in your hands as the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League my resignation (which allow me to assure you is definite and irrevocable) of the honour of being the President of the League. Kindly communicate it to the Council and to the members in India.

It is my duty to tell you frankly most of the reasons that have decided me to take this step. I will begin by mentioning some of the minor and personal ones.

I am so circumstanced that I am compelled to be out of India for considerable periods every year (next year, for instance I have to spend six months in Africa and the year after I am compelled to go to South America for at least six months) and I have to be very often in Europe where I have considerable private interests, and where I am interested in some corporations. Thus, I cannot carry out the duties of president in the way I should like. In addition to this, I have other minor personal reasons of a purely domestic and family nature that make me consider it more advisable that I should retire from the presidency. However, all these personal reasons together would not have made me retire from the presidentship, if I thought that my continuance would serve the welfare of the community. But I have come to the conclusion, for reasons which I will now give you, that it is essential for our communal welfare that I should retire from the presidentship.

Both you and Mr. Mohamed Ali are well aware that I have had many personal reasons for wishing to take this course for some time past and I cannot further delay taking this step. But I do not propose to sever my connection with the League, far from it, I indeed will continue to give my usual subscription and I am anxious to belong to its Council as an active member, and once I am relieved from the chair of president, I hope to attend every year the annual meeting. I sincerely believe that as an active member of the Council, free from the necessarily "judicial" character that attaches to the presidency, I can more effectively contribute my share to the service of the community.

In order to explain this clearly, I will have to go back to the history of the foundation of the League in India. When in the spring of 1906 I was at Aligarh, foreseeing the coming political movement in India, I suggested to the late Nawab Mohsin-ul Mulk the formation of a federation or league in order to give our people a political platform and also to prevent their disappearance as a national entity and unity. In fact, I was anxious that the Mussalmans in the India of the future should be a "Kaum" or "Millet" and not a mass of scattered units without political and social cohesion. He immediately agreed and the months that led to the formation of the deputation to the Viceroy he was occupied in preparing the ground. At that time, the Mussalman community in India owing to long neglect of all organized interest in politics had unfortunately fallen into a state of absolute chaos and political non-existence. In these early stages, the foundation of a League with a large number of office-bearers from the aristocracy and men of strong social and financial position was absolutely necessary in order to give the organization its weight and its status in the eyes of our Government and the Hindu community. The post of permanent president was necessary so that our organization in India might not die still-born by too early struggles between different schools of thought in our community. Then came the long and memorable struggle to win the principle of separate representation on Councils, Imperial and Provincial. I, for one, never looked upon the principle of separate representation as a national policy, but as a necessity for awakening our people to the importance of political life and organization, in fact, partly to be an encouragement, but mainly to give them a platform and a sense of self-reliance. For me, separate representation in the Imperial and Provincial Councils was the only way for awakening our people from the state of coma into which they had fallen. I must say that in this early stage the League in India had as much need of high-sounding names for its office-bearers as a newly formed company in the City has need of high-sounding titles on its board of directors.

Now, however, the League has reached the stage when it must depend for its prestige on the results of the services it renders to the community and on the popular backing and support that it receives rather than on the position or wealth of its chief supporters. Happily the League has passed through its infancy. Thank God, I have lived and seen the beloved "infant" reach the stage of early manhood. I am profoundly convinced that in India a permanent president, an official spokesman and a recognized leader

at this stage will hamper the natural evolution and development of our community, even if he be always on the spot and fully worthy of such a position. In future, the League in India must become more and more not a political party but a national organization of the loyal and devoted Moslem community in India, the organization in which all parties must be represented and all schools of thought given due voice. In future, the League cannot have a leader but leaders of parties representing different schools of thought, and each trying to convince the community that its policy is the best for India. I do not wish to give these parties question-begging names by calling them conservative or liberal, moderate or extremist, reactionary or progressive, for I consider all these names ill-suited as descriptions of parties that will have to deal with the practical problems of contemporary India.

I will give you two instances of questions on which there must be differences and discussion, and I could easily give you twenty similar examples and leave you to draw your own conclusions as to the probable lines of division of opinion in India. In these discussions and differences I, for one, mean to take part, free from the judicial character that attaches to the president, and, God willing, I may be the leader of those who agree with me from conviction.

One of the two instances is the question of separate representation on municipalities and local boards. There must necessarily be two or even three ways of dealing with this question and there must be two or three parties to a discussion that will ultimately settle on policy. The other example is the problem that must arise with regard to primary education and its relation to the local vernaculars and the Urdu language. As these questions arise, there must be differences and discussion before a settlement can be reached and I, for one, heartily welcome the fact that our organization in India can now be, thanks to the awakening of our people, freed from the trammels of my presidentship. The future of our community in India and of the League depends on the people. This is a truism, but the time has come for our people to realise the truism and its responsibilities. They cannot leave the responsibilities to their officers and yet expect results that come only to active, patient and patriotic peoples. I am convinced that my retirement will help to develop this sense of responsibility and also that my varied experiences will be of greater service to the free bench of the League's Council than in the cramped chair of the President.

Nearly two years ago, for these very reasons, I tendered my resignation. Unfortunately, just before that time there had been a difference of opinion between me and large numbers in India on the question of the second partition of Bengal and the Darbar changes. The motive of my resignation was misunderstood and the community imagined that I was hurt at the criticisms passed on me and very graciously refused to accept my resignation, which was simply and solely for the reasons I have now told you and from a sense of duty. Then came the Turkish war and all its anxieties and sorrows. I could not go at such a time of pain and distress, and our community's efforts had to be devoted to the single purpose of relieving the distress of the poor Moslems of the Balkans.

But now the time has come when the community must wake up and reorganize the League on a popular and sound basis, or it will degenerate into a self-appointed society of leaders without a following. If I continue any longer in the chair of the president, I shall not be doing my duty and my conscience compels me to take this step. If you or any other office-bearer of the League wishes to consult me on any matter, whether privately or publicly, my advice is at your disposal.

With this explanation, I place in your hands my resignation.

Yours truly,

HOTEL RITZ, PARIS;

(Sd.) AGA KHAN.

Nov. 3rd, 1918.

Letter to the Times.

The following letter was sent to the *Times* for publication which was, however, returned to Mr. Wazir Hasan:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—I enclose copy of a letter which I have just received from His Highness the Aga Khan in which he explains fully and frankly the real reasons which have induced him for the third time to offer his resignation of the office of President in the All-India Moslem League.

On the 31st October you published a long article on the All-India Moslem League, and the "Resignation of Leaders," in which you

suggested that it was we who had proposed that a public dinner should be given in our honour by the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali, and had stated that "Mr. Ameer Ali demurred, whereupon we (meaning Mr. Mohamed Ali and myself) proceeded to Paris to discuss the matter with the Aga Khan." To disprove this I placed in your hands the letter which I had addressed to Mr. Ameer Ali on the 29th October, that is, two days before your article appeared. You, however, refused to publish it and returned it to me after four days while you made no reference whatever to it in the article which you had published. I also sent you a rejoinder to that article proving that the suggestion of the dinner did not come from us but from the Aga Khan, that Mr. Ameer Ali did not originally demur to the proposal of the dinner in which the Aga Khan and he were to be joint hosts with ourselves, that we proceeded to Paris to discuss the matter with the Aga Khan at Mr. Ameer Ali's own suggestion when he demurred to a dinner in which we were not to be joint hosts with him and the Aga Khan, but, so to speak, the principal guests. I also showed in that rejoinder that the dinner was never intended to be a complimentary dinner, but, as Mr. Ameer Ali himself wrote to me, that the Aga Khan had written to him that it was only to meant to provide an opportunity for "counteracting the false charges of the *Times* correspondent" about the growing disloyalty of a section of Indian Mussalmans. With reference to Mr. Ameer Ali's considering himself insulted by something I had written to him I pointed out in the rejoinder that the words quoted by him had no possible reference to him as was clear from the context and that in any case in spite of having received a letter to which three days afterwards he took such serious objection, Mr. Ameer Ali wrote to me expressing his readiness "to participate in a non-political complimentary dinner," and that he went so far as to apply to the Lord Chancellor for his permission to be the host at the dinner which the Aga Khan was pressing upon him.

As regards your suggestion that the Aga Khan's well-known desire of long-standing to exchange the office of President of the League for a freer position was due to Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation, and, if I may say so, "the sympathetic strike" of the Vice-President and Treasurer of the London Branch, we telegraphed to H. H. the Aga Khan immediately and received from him a telegram, copy of which was also sent to you for publication. It showed clearly that far from having any sympathy with the motives of Mr. Ameer Ali for resigning, the Aga Khan was prompted to vacate his office by just the opposite reasons. His first and chief reason was, that under the present circumstances he considered a permanent president impossible, and that in view of the League's popularity, national work should now be carried on on lines of general popular opinion rather than on the semi-dictatorial lines of the League's early days which are already impossible. This he desired us to realise as an essential and a necessary change, and suggested that the League should have a new chairman every year like the Indian National Congress. Although you had linked His Highness' decision to retire with the resignation of Mr. Ameer Ali and had stated that even his co-operation in the work re-construction would depend upon the Central League recognising its London Branch as a co-ordinate organisation, you refused to publish this telegram of the Aga Khan as well as my rejoinder in which I questioned your authority for making statements about the Aga Khan's retirement inconsistent with this telegram.

Apart from our individual selves you had attributed ideas and aspirations to the All-India Moslem League which had never crossed the mind of any responsible person connected with it, and in fact you had traduced the whole of the Moslem community except a few gentlemen with double-jointed consciences and opinions whom you have always represented as the leaders of Moslem thought and men of sober judgment. My explanation on this score also was not published by you, and not only Mr. Mohamed Ali and I, but our League, and in fact the whole of our community, stand in a position to lose the entire case by default. I do not know whether this is or is not your conception of journalistic fairness. You have offered not a single word of explanation for refusing to publish what I have sent you, and this could not certainly encourage me to address myself again to you. But possibly the enclosed letter of the Aga Khan may stand a better chance, and I send it to you with this covering letter hoping almost against hope that they would both be published in an early issue. I cannot force you to give reasons for your refusal, but as I intend, in case of the fourth refusal, to send the whole case to the Indian, Anglo-Indian and the British Press for judging between us, I hope you will at least vouchsafe a reason for the repeated refusals.

Yours obediently,

WARIS HASAN,

Honorary Secretary of the
All-India Moslem League.

Belgrave Mansions,
Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.,

7th November, 1918.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Explanation.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "DAILY GRAPHIC".

SIR,—In your issue of the 1st November, written on the subject of "Unrest in India," you refer to "the announcement that the Right Hon Mr. Ameer Ali, H. H. the Aga Khan, and other prominent Indian gentlemen are retiring from the All-India Moslem League," and suggest that what you call "the younger party" which according to you has been gaining ground, does not follow the "advice of the late Sir Syed Ahmed, who realised and taught that true liberty for the followers of the Prophet in India could only be secured through the maintenance of British rule." You add that "recently the young Indian Mohamedans felt strong enough to force the situation by sending their leader to England," and that, "within a few weeks of his arrival Mr. Mohamed Ali has succeeded in persuading two of the most distinguished of Indian Moslems to announce their intention to retire from the All-India Moslem League." You conclude by saying that "this step can hardly fail to lead to the adoption by the League of the policy closely in sympathy with the revolutionary movement among a section of the Hindus."

Speaking for myself, I may say that according to my lights I adhere very closely to the advice of the greatest Mussalman of the last century to whom you refer and at whose feet I sat for no less than 8 years as a student at Aligarh, and of whose College I am to-day a Trustee. His well thought-out policy is "sufficiently attractive" for every class of thoughtful Mohamedans whether they be young or old. If, however, there is anything like a "young party" among the Mussalmans its "youth" consists in nothing more than being abreast of the times and in touch with all the movements characteristic of Indian growth and development on sound lines, and not in the paucity of years. Its leader is Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, the friend and successor at Aligarh of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Only he is 79.

As regards the League having any sympathy with "the revolutionary movement among a section of the Hindus," I should prefer to let the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, who is its chief executive officer, speak for it rather than say anything in this behalf myself. Addressing a meeting of the London Indian Association on the 11th October at Caxton Hall, on the subject of the Hindu Moslem unity, Mr. Wazir Hasan, referring to what he called "chimerical dangers pointed out and needless warnings indulged in by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian Press, which have found an echo in the correspondence columns of an important journal here," said that "the unity of Hindus and Mussalmans is not to be a unity in opposition to the British Government. . . . We are not so foolish as to believe that self-government can be achieved in a day. It will only follow the growth and development of a common nationality, and I would be deceiving you if I did not make it clear before I sit down to-night, that I believe the evolution of a nation to be the work of many years and decades of patient labour and sincere and sustained effort. If we are to believe these journals to which I have referred, the Mohamedans seem to be very much like the child in the nursery rhyme: 'When he is good, he is very, very good, but when he is bad he is horrid.' Is it sane to imagine for a moment that Indian Mussalmans mean to exterminate the British and oust the British Government from India simply because, following slowly in the wake of the Government of India, they have now come to cherish the ideal of self-government, to which such a clear reference was made in the now memorable despatch of that Government on the 25th August 1911? . . . Is it wise, is it even in the interests of the continuance of the British connection with India, to distort for the ultimate rulers of India (the British public) the legitimate hopes and aspirations of educated Mussalmans into a movement of anarchical character?"

As regards the resignations to which you refer, I may say that H. H. the Aga Khan has not resigned, nor has his long-standing desire of occupying a freer position in the councils of the community than that of President of the All-India Moslem League any connection with the resignation of Mr. Ameer Ali. In a telegram which H. H. the Aga Khan addressed to me from Paris, in reply to my enquiries on reading the "*Times*" announcement, the Aga Khan says that while he has numerous reasons for such a decision, which he points out is by no means a new one, but had been expressed on two different occasions within the last three years, and personally discussed with me last March at Bombay, the first and chief reason is that under the present circumstances he considers a permanent President impossible, and in view of the fact that the League has now become more popular, national work should be carried on on lines of general popular opinion rather than on the semi-dictatorial lines of the League's early days which are already impossible. He desires us to realise that this essential change is now necessary, and he suggests that the League should have a new chairman every year. Whatever we may think of the desire of His Highness to resign the office which he still holds, we cannot refrain from admiring the frankness and boldness with which he is always anxious to face facts.

and to state them, and the democratic spirit which gives to him the trust conservatism—the conservatism "that lops the mouldered branch away." He thinks more of the general good of his community than of his own position or power, and he, at any rate, can have no sympathy with the semi-dictatorial attitude of Mr. Ameer Ali which is very much out of date at the present time.

As regards your statement that within a few weeks of my arrival I have succeeded in persuading Mr. Ameer Ali to announce his resignation, I fear you flatter my power at the expense of my prudence, and I may say that whatever may have induced Mr. Ameer Ali to resign, I have not had the least hand in assisting him to form this intention. Though you have tried to hang me, so to speak, I must gratefully acknowledge that you have chosen for this operation the highest tree in the United Kingdom. However, my mind was never set so high and I must decline, thankfully, the honour of this had eminence. I am only one of the 150 Councillors of the All-India Moslem League, and I do not feel qualified to dictate to one in the position and of the eminence of the Right Hon gentleman. Far be it from me to participate in the amenities of a controversy in which he is one of the belligerents. The only way in which I come in is that Mr. Ameer Ali has thought fit to give extraordinary publicity to my alleged hunger for his recognition and his dinner. The facts, however, have been incorrectly stated in the "Times." As a matter of fact it was the Aga Khan who suggested to us the project of a dinner in order to "counteract the false charges of the *Times* correspondent," as he himself wrote to Mr. Ameer Ali. He, Mr. Ameer Ali, Mr. Wazir Hasan and I were to be the four hosts. To this Mr. Ameer Ali cordially agreed when it was pointed out to him that he would be saddled with no portion of the cost of the dinner. In the meantime, the Aga Khan modified his original proposal and wished Mr. Ameer Ali only to be a joint host with him, while he wished us to be the principal guests to meet whom others were to be invited. It was to this proposal only that Mr. Ameer Ali demurred, and he requested us to go to Paris to settle the matter with H. H. the Aga Khan in person, suggesting that His Highness alone should be the host. The Aga Khan, however, again pressed him to join as a host, and thereupon the Right Hon gentleman actually applied for sanction to the Lord Chancellor. Now that he cannot join the Aga Khan as a host, it is just as well to remember that this is because the Lord Chancellor thinks it would be wiser for a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council not to join a public dinner. Whether a Privy Councillor can still consistently remain the President of an admittedly political body is for him and the Lord Chancellor to judge.

For my own part may I say that my doctors strongly advise me to undertake a "fasting cure," and I think I can without much danger introduce a variation in this prescription on my own account and dispense with Mr. Ameer Ali's recognition as well as the repast, as I did on a previous occasion when the recognition was proffered to me as the price of my transferring to him the unconsidered trifle of a mere £8,000, out of £25,000 collected by me for the Turkish Relief Fund of my paper, to his own British Red Crescent Society. On that occasion I considered that the halo was not big enough for two moons, and now it is Mr. Ameer Ali's turn to object to three moons in the same firmament.

Yours obediently,

MUHAMMAD ALI,

Editor of the "Comrade," Delhi.



The Indian Press Act and the need for its Repeal.

The judgment delivered by the Special Bench of the Bengal High Court, consisting of the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, and Justices Stephen and Woodroffe, in the matter of the application made by Mr. Mohamed Ali, the editor of the *Comrade*, against the order of the Bengal Government forfeiting, under the Press Act, a pamphlet entitled "Come over to Macedonia and help us," is an extremely important document, and I trust it will receive from the Secretary of State for India the attention it deserves. The Advocate-General, on behalf of the Government, frankly admitted that the pamphlet was not seditious, that he attributed no criminal offence to Mr. Mohamed Ali, that, in fact, "he was acting in the higher interests of humanity and civilisation." But the Press Act is such a drastic and comprehensive piece of legislation that, notwithstanding all these admissions the judges had no alternative but to dismiss the application. Mr. Mohamed Ali has thus

not succeeded in his immediate object; nevertheless, he has undoubtedly rendered a distinct service to the cause of the freedom of the Press in India by his application. For it has, at all events, led to a judgment by the highest judicial tribunal in India than which there can be no more severe condemnation of the Press Act or a stronger plea for its repeal. There can be no doubt that the judgment will remain a landmark in the history of the freedom of the Press in India, and that it will, in the long run, go a great way in restoring that freedom to the Indian people.

The Press Act is one of the most repressive laws that disfigure the Indian statute book. It was enacted in February, 1910, and its avowed object, as stated by Mr. Sinha, the then law member of the Government of India, was to prevent "doubtful matter," which could not be reached by any other penal law, from being published. For this purpose it introduced the system of security and forfeiture. Mr. Sinha did not define "doubtful matter," as conceived by him or the Government, but, apparently, he meant prohibited matter as defined by Section 4 of the Act. How comprehensive that definition is we shall see presently. Mr. Sinha held up the Act to admiration for its moderation and reasonableness. Mr. Gokhale and other representatives of the people fought tooth and nail for softening its rigour and limiting its operation to a brief period. But their efforts were of no avail and the Act was passed with all its draconian severity undiminished.

The judgment of the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, is chiefly remarkable for this reason, that it supports the popular view that the Press Act is an extremely severe measure, and calls for early repeal. With regard to Section 4 of the Act, which defines prohibited matter, the Chief Justice pointed out that there were practically no lengths to which the definition might not be stretched and that it could undoubtedly be made to cover much writing "that would command approval" and much standard literature. He also pointed out that under the Act the onus of proof is thrown on the defendant, who must prove not only that his writings have not in fact brought into hatred or contempt any section of His Majesty's subjects in India, but that they could not conceivably do so by implication, suggestion, metaphor, "or otherwise." After this judgment the official view that the Act is characterised by moderation and reasonableness cannot but strike an impartial mind as the very height of absurdity and unreasonableness.

The liberty of the Press is a very precious right, as highly valued in India as in other countries. The Indian Press is a comparatively young institution, but it has already become a powerful factor in the social, political, and educational progress of the country. But for the Press, the ideas of liberty, social equality, social service, civic responsibility, nationality, and so forth, that have come in the wake of English education and European civilisation would have been confined only to those who received English education and not been diffused among other classes of people. In Japan the Press played an important rôle in giving an impetus to her progressive activities and in organising public opinion in favour of reform and improvement in every sphere of her national life, and this is exactly the great function that the Indian Press has been, on the whole, performing and is expected to perform more and more in the future. Ideas of social reform are in the air; the old social and religious prejudices of the people are disappearing and have to be completely eradicated caste has to be attacked and abolished. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that a good deal of the best talent and spirit of India should devote itself to the promotion of Indian progress by means of the Press. But the Press Act hangs like the sword of Damocles over every journalist and everyone who wishes to promote the progress of India by means of literature. So long, of course, as one writes *dilettante* literature of the humdrum kind, or literature that is pro-Government, the Press Act is no hindrance, but as soon as one begins to follow the dictates of one's conscience and seeks to expose abuses on the part of Government officials, to represent popular grievances, or to instruct the people in the ideas of political liberty, constitutional reform, representative and responsible government and the like, there is no knowing when one may not be hauled up before the magistrate and ordered to furnish ruinous security. As Sir Lawrence Jenkins say, "Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught." The Act is, in fact, the severest check upon the free expression of every thought that the Government may regard as inimical to what they conceive to be their interests. All journalism and literature is at their mercy, and the Act makes them the sole arbiters of what ought not to be published.

I need hardly say that I plead for the liberty of the Press, not its license. The more serious abuses of the Press—those, that is, that really matter—must certainly be put down. But even if the Press Act were not in existence, the Government of India would still be armed with powers great enough to put them down. There is, first, Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, the provisions

of which are wide enough to bring within its purview the slightest attempt to excite ill-feeling against the Government. Secondly there is Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which provides for security being taken from persons attempting to disseminate seditious matter. Thirdly, any attempt to excite class hatred is made punishable under Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code. And, in the fourth place, there is "the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act (1908)," empowering the Government to forfeit newspapers, together with the printing presses at which they are published, in case the former contain any incitement to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, or to any act of violence. (The italics are mine) Surely these are no mean weapons, and they ought to be sufficient for repressing any real abuses in the Press. Any powers other than those given by these laws cannot fail to be instruments of tyranny, the only effect of which will be to deprive newspapers of their wholesome influence as organs of public opinion and as instructors of the public.

The Press Act is not the first effort made by the Government to curtail the liberty of the Press in India, since it received the sanction of the law in 1885 during the régime of Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose name is justly held in veneration by the Indian people as the father of the freedom of the Indian Press. In 1857 when the Mutiny broke out the Government enacted Act XV of 1857 and introduced the system of licences. But one of the provisions of the Act was that it was to have effect only for one year, and it deserves to be noted that, though the public excitement and unrest caused by the Mutiny had not quite subsided, it was not renewed at the end of the period. Surely it cannot be maintained that the recent unrest through which India has passed, and which led to such enactments as the Press Act, was in any way worse or more serious than at the time of the Mutiny. Again, in 1878 the Vernacular Press Act was passed, introducing in a comparatively mild form the system of security and forfeiture. It applied only to the Vernacular Press, and papers published in English did not come under its operation. But it, too, was repealed in 1882, after being in force for a little over three years. Since then the Press enjoyed perfect freedom until it was again taken away by the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910.

The history of the Press legislation in India thus discloses a fact which has an important bearing upon the question of the repeal of the Press Act. It shows that the Press laws enacted in the past have been of a temporary nature, that in each case they were defended not on the ground of principle, but of a special emergency, and that they were repealed as soon as the emergency passed away. Even with regard to the Press Act of 1910, much stress was laid by the Government upon the peculiar circumstances of the time, the abnormal political trouble through which India was passing and Sir Herbert Risley, who introduced the Bill, assured the Council that "when we get a Press temperate in tone and honest in intention then it will be possible to repeal it." I think it cannot be denied that the political situation of India has vastly improved during the last three years. Lord Morley's reforms, His Gracious Majesty's visit to India and his noble utterances and messages, the modification of the partition of Bengal, the policy of appeasement pursued by H. E. Lord Hardinge, the better treatment now accorded to the people and their leaders by the officials—all these have revived the faith of the people in the British sense of justice and the British spirit of benevolence, and the improvement that has thus taken place all round is reflected in the Indian Press. The Government reports themselves testily to the vast improvement that has taken place in the tone of the Press and its attitude towards British rule. It may therefore be truly said that we have now a Press "temperate in tone and honest in intention," and that there is no reason why the Press Act should be allowed to remain on the statute book any longer. As was well observed by a London paper, "India cannot be governed by a series of restrictions which contain no seed of progress, no possibility of fructification."

I think what I have said above ought to convince the Government that the time is now come for the repeal of the Press Act. More than three years have passed since its enactment. In the course of the debate in the Legislative Council the Hon. Mr. Gokhale passionately appealed to the Government to limit its operation to three years. Sound policy, as well as consideration for the wishes and sentiments of the people, imperatively demands that the Act should be repealed as early as possible. The matter is of the gravest moment to the future progress of India. Will not the Secretary of State for India earn the undying gratitude of the people committed to his care by moving the Government of India to repeal the Act, the extreme severity of which has now been so fully exposed by the Calcutta High Court?

R. G. PRADHANIN in *The New Statesman*.

Nasik, 19th September, 1915.

The South African Crisis.

The Struggle.

Johannesburg, Nov. 13.

A crowded meeting of British-Indians here unanimously passed a resolution expressing gratitude to and admiration for Messrs. Gandhi, Kallenbach, and Polak, their leaders, and for the rank and file of passive resisters, and pledging themselves to maintain the struggle to remove the £3 tax in Natal and other grievances. The Indians yesterday suspended trading as a mark of sympathy with Mr. Gandhi.

Durban, Nov. 13.

The large majority of Indian strikers employed by sugar planters have returned to the estates, but it is uncertain whether they will resume work. General Lukin, Commanding the Cape Mounted Rifles in an interview, stated that the Rifles would be reinforced in case the strikers showed further intention of marching and intimidating other Indians.

Mr. Gandhi in a message to his people urges them not to return to work until the tax is replaced.

A fracas took place at Verulam between the police and Indians. Several were injured. The police were only armed with sticks.

London, Nov. 15.

A mass meeting of Indians has been held at Mombasa, protesting against the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi in South Africa, and protesting against the ruling that Mahomedan marriages contracted in India are illegal in South Africa.

The meeting decided to wire to the Viceroy to ask his assistance.

Addressing the court at Volksrust yesterday, Mr. Gandhi said that he had given the Minister of Interior due notice of his intention to cross the border with prohibited immigrants, and had informed the Immigration Officer at Volksrust of the date of crossing.

He assured the court that the present movement had nothing whatever to do with the unlawful entry of a single Indian for the purpose of residence in the Transvaal. He might fairly claim that during his whole career in the Transvaal, he had been actuated by the desire to assist the Government in preventing surreptitious entry and unlawful settlement, but he pleaded guilty to knowingly committing an offence against the section under which he was charged.

He was aware that his action was fraught with the greatest risks and intense personal suffering to his followers. He was convinced that nothing short of much suffering would move the conscience of the Government or of the inhabitants of the Union, of which in spite of the breach of the laws, he claimed to be a sane and law-abiding citizen.

Cape Town, Nov. 16.

Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Gandhi's fellow-worker, has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Mr. Polak has been remanded without bail. Over a hundred police from the Rand have already been drafted into the districts near Natal, and others are being held in readiness.

Johannesburg, Nov. 17.

At a mass meeting of Indians here, a resolution was passed expressing deep sense of despair and dismay at the growing seriousness of the position owing to the arrest of the leaders and calling on the Government to release them for the purpose of negotiating a settlement.

Durban, Nov. 17.

The strike of Indians in sympathy with the passive resistance movement against the South African Immigration Act is becoming General throughout Natal.

It is most serious on the sugar plantations, the strikers attempting to terrorise the Whites by burning sugar-cane.

In one instance, 150 acres were destroyed the Indians standing by and cheering.

So far as is known here, the Government has issued two orders to suppress the strike. The men sentenced are understood to be chiefly from the two thousand Indians arrested at Balfour on November 10th who were sent back to their own mines to work out their sentences, the compounds of the mines being used as gaols owing to the limited accommodation of the ordinary gaols.

The allegations as to flogging are denied. The Government has ordered no arrests to be made unless acts of violence are committed by Indians.

No shooting has been authorized or has taken place.

No force will be used, unless it is absolutely necessary in the interest of maintaining order.

Reuter's correspondent at Johannesburg wired on the 16th instant:

Two thousand Indians, tired and footsore have been arrested at Balfour, where three special trains were in readiness to take them back to Natal.

Durban, Nov. 18

The strike is spreading to factories north and south of Durban. Rioting on the plantations has ceased.

It is alleged here that the majority of Indians have undoubtedly left work as the result of intimidation, as for instance, the harbour Indians who state that they have no grievances, but are afraid to remain at work.

Ladysmith, Nov. 18.

The Indians yesterday struck in the Blandslaag mine. Five hundred subsequently returned, but 96, who left the place were arrested and remanded. More troops are expected to-night.

Cape Town, Nov. 17.

The statements contained in the telegram from the Natal Indian Association to Mr. Gokhale have been received with amazement in official circles. They are regarded as grave exaggeration. The matter is being investigated.

The Indian harbour, railway, and Corporation employees have joined the strike. They have been partly replaced by whites but the work of the port is hampered. The scavenging service is suspended. The situation has hitherto been quite orderly. The Indians declare they have struck under compulsion of pickets who are leading the passive resisters.

Volkraat, Nov. 17.

Mr. Polak has been sentenced to three months imprisonment

London Nov 18

The *Daily News* says that the South African Union's Indian policy has been neither very wise nor very just. Its handling of the recent crisis has been conspicuously weak. The telegram sent to Mr. Gokhale may very likely have been overcoloured, but even if it was substantially true it is in the power of the Government of India to prevent the mishandling of Indians with word, and in that case it is to be hoped that the word will be spoken without delay.

The *Daily Graphic* says there is grave danger of the Colonial Government and population adopting methods of coercion which will set India aflame with indignation. South Africa's record in dealing with Indians is utterly bad and that of the Imperial Government is hardly better.

The editorials in the evening papers in connection with the Indians in South Africa, all dwell on the extreme gravity of the position in Natal. They say that there is a likelihood of serious unrest in India, unless the trouble is quickly ended. All realise the fears of the Whites in South Africa, who are determined to maintain the European standard of living, but they urge the imperative necessity of a speedy remedy for the present position.

The *Westminster Gazette* emphasises the Imperial Governments grave concern at the position. It says, India will never believe that the Imperial Government is unable to persuade the union to accept an imperial view. It appeals to the Boer and Briton, especially to the latter who claim to be good imperialists to help in this matter, which is a real serious test case of Empire, it urges the withdrawal of the Three Pound Tax and the restriction on immigration within Union. The Indian leaders, however, says the journal, must keep the strikers within bounds.

Douas, Nov. 19

Six thousand miners are on strike in Pac do Clair

The National Council of Miners yesterday decided to recall an immediate general strike in order to secure an eight hours' day and abolition of long shifts.

Durban, Nov. 18.

With regard to the cablegram received from the Natal Indian Association by Mr. Gokhale on the 15th instant, it transpires that the local Indian Association made allegations of ill-treatment against some mine official some days ago before the general body of miners returned from the Transvaal.

The Government promised that the matter should be investigated. No reports have been received bearing out the allegation that Indians have been flogged or that one has died from flogging.

The Natal Coalowners Society officially repudiates all allegations of cruelty or ill-treatment of any kind on their mines.

All is quiet, but practically every Indian in Durban is idle. The strike has spread to the south coast. The majority of Indians in Kynoch's explosive works are not working.

London, Nov. 18.

A telegram from Durban to the British Indian Committee in London says that the situation is getting most serious. The difficulty of feeding Indians and keeping order is increasing everywhere. The active intervention of the Imperial and Indian Governments is necessary lest greater hardships ensue. The Telegram adds that already one Indian has died as the result of flogging.

Pietermaritzburg, Nov. 19.

It is officially stated that the report that an Indian had been flogged to death is absolutely false.

An Indian died recently at the Ballengeich mine, and was reported to have been flogged to death. The *post mortem* examination however by the district surgeon and two doctors showed that death was due to natural causes.

Ladysmith, Nov. 19.

Indians have returned to Elandslaagte on receipt of promises from the manager that the police and volunteers should be disbanded.

Durban, Nov. 19.

Everything is quiet here. Several Indians charged with desertion have not been penalized. Reinforcements of police are arriving and elaborate precautions are being taken to protect the town.

At a mass meeting of Indians, conducted in Hindustani, it is understood that the men were ordered to keep quiet and not provoke the police. All is tranquil on the coast estates where the Indians are remaining in barracks.

(REUTER'S SERVICE.)

Ladysmith, Nov. 18.

A thousand Indians, with their wives and children, arrived here yesterday evening from the Elandslaagte collieries.

In the morning, after an address by the Magistrate, they agreed to return if their imprisoned fellow employees were released.

The Magistrate agreed, but while the released prisoners were being escorted to the railway station they broke through the police at the instigation of the miners.

Simultaneously, the mob assailed the police with stones and sticks.

The police, consisting of twenty unarmed mounted men and twenty native police armed with sticks, scattered the rioters. The Commandant of the police was obliged to call off the native police lest they should kill the Indians.

The rioters re-assembled a thousand strong near an Indian temple, where they armed themselves with iron standards and other implements.

The authorities ordered them to return to the collieries, but they refused to do so. The police have been armed with rifles, and the citizens are armed with revolvers and shot-guns, they are now (at three o'clock in the afternoon) congregating in the Town Hall awaiting reinforcements.

Durban, Nov. 19.

Signs are not wanting that the strike is collapsing. Numbers of Indians have been enquiring about returning to work, fearing that they will lose their places owing to the employment of Whites and Kaffirs on their work.

Pietermaritzburg, Nov. 19.

A number of Indians engaged in railway construction and wattle plantations left work yesterday.

The Railway employees subsequently returned.

Johannesburg, Nov. 19.

A mass meeting of Indians here passed resolutions.—(1) Calling on the Government to liberate the imprisoned leaders with a view to negotiating with them for a settlement, (2) placing on record their indignation that in a British Colony innocent subjects of the Crown should be subjected to assault and flogging in mines and public places at the hands of the Government's white and native officials, and calling on the Government to institute a searching inquiry into the riots at Ladysmith, and (3) declaring that there can be no peace among the Indian population until the Three Pound Tax and the other grievances have been removed.

Durban, Nov. 19.

The Chief Magistrate, addressing the Indian dock strikers, said they could take it from him that the Government would not listen to the talk with regard to the repeal of the Three Pound Tax so long as they remained on strike.

This is regarded as more or less defining the Government's attitude.

It is understood that the Indian market gardeners will bring in their produce to-morrow on the assurance of police protection.

It is roughly calculated that hitherto two-thirds of the cane crop has been cut. No trouble is anticipated in the country districts till next ration day, which is usually, Friday.

Contingents of European and native police continue to arrive from other provinces. Large numbers of Kaffirs are arriving to replace Indians.

The Indian prisoners detained in the Ballengeich Colliery are under the supervision of a gaol official. They have given absolutely no trouble since conviction. A magistrate is visiting them frequently.

London, Nov. 20.

Mr. Samuel warned the Postal Employees Deputation that if employees went on strike measures would be taken to render a recurrence impossible.

Cape Town, Nov. 20.

The outlook in Natal last night was most favourable.

The Government is not disposed to discuss matters till order is restored.

The strikers have resumed work; forcible measures are being avoided and leniency shown wherever possible while every precaution is being taken against emergencies.

London, Nov 19

Lord Ampthill writes that he has received a telegram from Mr. Ritch stating, "I have conclusive evidence of brutal flogging by the employers of the man captured."

Lord Ampthill, at present, refrains from comment. He says it is high time that the British public expressed itself on the deplorable results of the mismanagement of several years.

London, Nov 19.

The *Standard*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* dwell on the danger to the Empire involved in the Indian troubles in South Africa.

The *Standard* says that the best solution would be for South African Governments to recognise that Indians are not niggers and put Asiatics on much the same footing as European and American immigrants.

The *Daily Mail* appeals to General Botha to consider whether steps cannot be taken to end a perilous situation. Concessions on points of form might yet satisfy Indian opinion.

The *Daily Express* says it is obvious that the Union Government has blundered deplorably, and it is time for the Imperial Government to assert itself.

The *Daily News* thinks the best and only hope of meeting a very grave crisis lies in the resolute action of the Union Government. The control of events ought to be immediately taken from the hands of the Natal irregulars. Unfortunately, the journal adds, the Union Government shows little evidence of strength or statesmanship.

Mr. Polak's father, in a letter to the *Daily News*, says.—Perhaps now the Indian Government will send special representatives to the four provinces of British South Africa to protect the interests of those unable to defend themselves.

The *Times* thinks that the Indians showed public spirit in refusing to press their demands at the time of the Rand strikes and it is all the more regrettable that the Government has continued to refuse them reasonable consideration. Some step like the Indian Government sending an official representative like Sir James Meston to negotiate with Botha and the Ministers is now urgent. If this is impracticable, some other step must be taken. The Imperial Government cannot neglect its responsibilities.

London, Nov 19

The London evening papers contain further editorials on the South African Indians. They urge South Africa to find an immediate reasonable solution of the Indian problem, and hope that statesmanship will be displayed in the face of the vast imperial interests involved, also in view of the increasing restiveness in India. They say conciliatory methods are essential.

Delhi, Nov 15.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following further wire from Natal Indian Association.—"Volksrust strikers confined estates and brutally assaulted. Employers refused rations, communications and food supply are debarred. Strikers numbering 10,000 from Kallenberg, Polak remanded till 17th. Bail again refused."

Mr. Gokhale received the following telegram yesterday from Natal Indian Association, of which Mr. Dawood Mohamed is the President.—All passive resistance leaders in all Government has declared nine mine compounds temporary gaols. All strikers arrested and returned to each mine. Indians firm and refuse attend rollcall or work. They are being charged with absence from rollcall and sentenced to hard labour to be performed in mines. Messrs. J. W. Cross, Dundee, and D. G. Giles, Newcastle Magistrates, have issued warning that Indians refusing to work will be starved and thereafter mercilessly flogged and a good regulations must submission, and forcibly driven underground with the last. Hundreds of Indians on Hallingh Navigation and Carabinan Mines systematically flogged also shot at and two wounded. Magistrate have refused protection and notified that Indians leaving the mine to complain to Magistrate will be shot as escaping prisoners. Passive resistance in coast districts are being assaulted by Military armed with sticks. Are we no longer British subjects?

Mr. Gokhale has furnished the following explanation with regard to the above telegram which he thinks will enable the public to understand fully the precise character of the steps which the Union Government have taken. The law under which indentured labourers have to work in Natal provides that a labourer refusing work to without sufficient cause is liable to be sent to jail. If the Government had enforced this provision according to its plain interpretation it would have meant a large number of Indian prisoners in its own jails and the mines would have gone without labour during the time of their incarceration. The Government, therefore, have notified all mine areas in which there is a strike to be jails for the time being and have invested Managers of mines with the powers of jailors. With this continuance strikers sentenced by Magistrates to three or six months' hard labour under the indenture law have been made over to the Managers of their mines as prisoners. As prisoners are liable to be flogged for disobedience and to be shot if they try to escape from

prisons Indian strikers are being threatened that they will be flogged if they refuse to work in the mines, and shot if they seek to go to any adjoining Magistrate to complain.

Delhi, Nov. 17.

Mr. Gokhale has issued the following communication to the press:—

The telegram received from the Indian Association of Natal during the last three days, which will appear in most papers to-day, tell their own tale. The news, which they contain, recalls in some respects the worst horrors of the days of slavery. It is England's pride that she took the lead in abolishing slavery, and that under her, slavery cannot exist. Are not our countrymen, subjects of His Majesty residing in South Africa, entitled to the protection of the Flag, as the Natal Indian Association so pathetically asks? I have no doubt that the Government of India will use every endeavour to move the Imperial authorities to exert their utmost pressure on the Government of South Africa so that an immediate stop may be called to these barbarous proceedings, but we have our duty clearly defined and that is to lose no time in giving expression, definite and pointed to the profound indignation with which we are thrilling and to send up emphatic protests from every place great or small, through his Excellency the Viceroy to the Imperial Government against what is going on in South Africa. Further All-India must now, with one voice, urge the Secretary of State to withdraw forth-with the permission which he granted only last year to railway companies in India to use South African coal. The mines of which these horrible cruelties are being perpetrated on Indian strikers are coal mines, and any coal coming from them now into India will come wetted with the blood drawn from the lashed backs of our hopeless countrymen.

Injuries are being addressed to me from different parts of the country if the non-cooperation of Mr. Gandhi and other passive resisters and the possible coercion of the strikers by imprisonment starvation and flogging will mean the end of their struggle. I wish to state most emphatically that it will mean no such thing. The struggle is only at its beginning. The passive resisters were all avowedly out for being imprisoned, and it was part of their plan of campaign that they should be so imprisoned. Even if the Government succeeds in breaking the spirit of the strikers and driving them back to work under the lash, the families of all ordinary passive resisters, who are in jail or who may be sent to jail hereafter, and their number is already several hundred, have to be supported till the struggle ends in one way or the other. There need be no fear that there will be no leaders available now for guiding the movement. Several leading members of the Natal Indian Association of Durban and the British Indian Association of Johannesburg and European co-workers of Mr. Gandhi, like Mr. West, now editor of *India Opinion* are deliberately keeping themselves within the limits of the law so as to be able to raise funds locally to administer to the families of passive resisters and keep up a vigorous and systematic agitation in South Africa itself, in England and in India, and they will receive in traction, if necessary, from time to time from Mr. Gandhi even though he is in jail. There is no need for us therefore to be disconcerted in any way by the turn events have taken and we must proceed straight on without looking to the right, or the left, carry on the task of collecting funds, and doing our duty in other ways by those who have come forward to ask their all for the honour of our motherland.

G. K. GOKHALE.

Bombay, Nov. 17

The work of collecting funds for South African Indians is proceeding vigorously. The latest news of the sufferings of the passive resisters having given a fresh impetus to men of limited means are coming forward in numbers with voluntary contributions.

The most notable contribution of the past week was a sum of Rs. 10,000 from Mr. Ratan Tata, who has already paid in all three quarters of a lakh of rupees. The Wadia Charities have given Rs. 1,000 paid in addition to one thousand subscribed in the previous week, Sri Chavasse Jelangir, Barrister, Rs. 2,500, Cama Brothers, Rs. 1,500 and Mr. Jayaker, Barrister, Rs. 500.

Ladies' meetings are going to be held all over the presidency to raise funds and expressing sympathy with the passive resisters.

One Parsi lady has volunteered her services for going out begging for funds from house to house.

Rangoon, Nov 17.

In addition to the donations of Rs. 1,000 already paid, Mrs. Besant has sent a second contribution of Rs. 500 to the Indian South African Fund. Rs. 378 have been raised in Nellore and paid to the Indian Bank.

The South African Passive Resistance Fund Committee, Rangoon, have collected Rs. 1,488, of which Rs. 1,500 has been remitted to the Secretary, British Indian Association.

A mass meeting has been arranged to be held here to-morrow to consider the situation in South Africa when it is expected the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, will preside, and among the speakers will be the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; the Hon. Dr. Tej

Bahadur Sapru, the Hon. Syed Abdul Raof, Munshi Iswar Saran, and Mr. P. D. Tandon. The speeches will be in the vernacular.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following message from Durban, dated the 17th instant:—

"All Indians on sugar estates, railways and corporations have struck."

Mr. Gokhale estimates that the number of men now on strike must be at least thirty thousand.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has given £2 in aid of the South Africa Fund.

A circular letter bearing the signatures of Lady Alshah, mother of His Highness the Aga Khan, and Lady Dinshaw Petit has been circulated to Indian ladies of the city summoning them to a meeting on the 20th instant and inviting subscriptions to support the noble struggle now being made by Indian women in South Africa.

Last evening, a meeting was held in the premises of Mohamed Ismail Khan, ex member of the Eastern Bengal Council, presided over by Khan Bahadur Hemayet Uddin Ahmed, B. L., at which resolutions were passed recording sense of high admiration for the heroic efforts for the removal of the iniquitous disabilities imposed upon Indians by the South African Government and also recording sympathy with the sufferings of the women and children of those incarcerated, urging upon our Government the necessity of taking retaliatory steps for the protection of loyal British subjects. A committee was formed to collect subscriptions and over hundred rupees was collected on the spot.

The Hon. Pundit Motilal Nehru, President of the Committee of the South African Indian League, has sent a telegram to the Viceroy urging the adoption of retaliatory measures against the South African Government, and stating that any delay in interference by the Government will create the greatest discontent in the country, and he has also sent telegrams to the Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies imploring immediate and effective intervention, and saying that the continuation of the existing situation is intolerable.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following telegram from Mr. Polak:—

Durban, Nov. 18

"Twenty thousand strikers, railway labour, corporation, estates and hotels. One man died result flogging Newcastle. Military and Police Force everywhere. Men kept forcibly estate barracks by Military. No rations. Strike absolutely spontaneous. Men under control very firm. Reports violent conduct false."

Mr. Gokhale has received the following telegram from the Natal Indian Association:—

Durban, Nov. 18—"Demonstration vigorous. Kaffir and European mounted Police entered Railway trucks forced, kicked, fished men brutally. Two hundred arrested panic-stricken. Police drafted all parts Union object term size. Crowds dispersing. Orderly meeting raided by Police using bayonet. No further news. Understand Martial Law proclaimed."

With reference to this morning's *Reuter's* message stating that telegrams sent to Mr. Gokhale by the Natal Indian Association are regarded as grave exaggerations in official circles at Cape Town, Mr. Gokhale interviewed, and said that he did not attach any weight to that official contradiction. He thought it only meant that the Union Government was washing that it had gone too far, and that the British public would not stand the revival of the horrors of slavery under the British flag. The telegram from the Natal Indian Association, dated the 18th, mentions the names of the magistrates who have issued the warnings to the strikers that they would be starved, mercilessly flogged and driven underground under the lash to work. Mr. Thood Mohamed, Mr. West and others, who are sending these telegrams, are honourable men and are in the thick of the fight, where as Cape Town is hundreds of miles away from the scene of the struggle.

To-day Mr. Gokhale has received the following telegram from Durban which shows how grim the situation there just now is:—Indian mass meeting. Over 5,000 present. Thousands coming out. Situation getting serious every hour. Increasing difficulty feeding people. Active intervention Imperial and Indian Government necessary lest greater hardships ensue. Even many lives may be lost. Polak sentenced three months. One Indian died recent flogging."

Mr. Gokhale thinks that any enquiry by the Union Government into such serious allegations made against it by the Indian community is bound to be more or less a white-washing inquiry, but the very fact that the Union Government sees the need of an enquiry into the allegations is a hopeful sign. Meanwhile, they in India must lose no time in putting all the pressure they can on the Imperial Government to intervene at once and put an end to the dreadful sufferings of their countrymen.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following wire from Mr. R. L. Ritch, dated 17th, from Johannesburg:—"Have conclusive evidence brutal flogging by employers of men captured."

Mr. Gokhale has also received the following telegram jointly from three associations, namely, The Tamil Benefit Society, The

United Pathadar Society, and the Hindu Community of Johannesburg:—"Polak three months. Mr. Ritch reports brutal assaults strikers mines to coerce return to work. Men and families on estates not fed and Indians refused permission, send food. Starving days. Men, nevertheless, firm against working unless tax repealed and registers released."

Madras, Nov. 18

Mr. G. A. Natesan has addressed through the columns of the *Madras Mail* an appeal to the Anglo-Indian community to contribute to the Indian South Africa Fund. He says:—While I recognise that the bulk of the Anglo-Indian Press have been in our favour, and also that some Europeans in this country have helped this cause, still I must confess that Indians would be better pleased if this sympathy of the European community in this country were translated into action. Amidst the misery and gloom under which many pass, now-a-days it does cheer up one's heart to hear that a Christian Missionary at Lahore has given £300, his life's saving, as offering to this sacred cause. The magnificent donation of Rs. 1,000 given by the Rev. C. F. Andrews is one more proof, if proof was wanted in this case, of the spirit of Christian charity with which we been working in this country. But Sir, may I ask what has become of other great representatives of the Anglo-Indian community in this country, leading merchants, traders, planters, barristers, doctors, engineers, educationists and others following various vocations in this land? Could they not come forward to help the South African Indians with their mite?

Mr. Natesan concludes his letter as follows:—I cannot conceive of a cause more great, more noble, more sacred, and more hallowed by such soul stirring incidents of heroism and bravery. Let every European remember that the Indians in South Africa are fighting only with the weapon of passive resistance. They undergo imprisonment cheerfully. They perform any amount of hard labour imposed upon them in the jails, to the meanest duties assigned to them, and in a hundred ways subject themselves to privations and sufferings which had better be left untold. From what I know of English literature and of English character these qualities must appeal to the good and the broadminded men in that community. They say out of evil, cometh good. There in South Africa, Hindus and Mohammedans and an uncounted small number of Europeans have joined hands. It will be a great thing if in this heroic and gigantic struggle which a handful of Indians are on a vast tremendous odds, thousands of miles away from us, the European community in India with one voice and of one mind join hands and contribute also their mite to the fund started for affording relief to the families of the strugglers now left desolate. Let Englishmen forget that in fighting for the honour of their Motherland their Indian fellow subjects are also fighting for the fair name and prestige of the British Empire.

The *Madras Mail* has subscribed Rs. 50 to the Fund.

Indians in South Africa.

The protest meeting at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on the 5th November evoked expressions of sympathy from men whose names and names were very weighty although they could not be present; among them were Lord Ampthill, whose continued service to the cause of the treatment of British Indian subjects in South Africa was recognised by Lord Sydenham, who referred to his strong pronouncement in the House of Lords and said that as the true facts of the case were now more fully known, his hope of settlement would be maintained. Sir Frederick Pollock, who put the trouble down to the fact that the Indians had shown themselves more business-like than their captives and said that their case was all the better because now one of the excuses of the Boer War still left unimproved, rather worsened. Lord George Hamilton, who maintained that in spite of the difficult situation a just and favourable solution must be found; Sir M. M. Bhownagare, who argued for justice before Britain or India realised what was being done and Lord Curzon, who joined these and other friends in expressing the sympathy.

Mr. Wazir Hasan's Speech.

Mr. Wazir Hasan, who presided, made the following speech:—GENTLEMEN,

I am exceedingly grateful to the organisers of this meeting for their kindness in asking me to take the chair this evening. It is a great honour and I am highly sensible of it, but I think I shall be stating the significance of this kind of a feat I regarded it as purely or even mostly personal. I believe, Gentlemen, you wish in this meeting to honour the political organisation of which I am the chief executive officer, and you wish to emphasise the fact that on many questions of common interest the Mussalmans of India share the feelings and opinions of their Hindu brethren. Such a co-operation is as useful to the Empire as necessary for the peace, prosperity and progress of India, and if this co-operation is characterised as a revolutionary movement, then Gentlemen, I have no hesitation in accepting every word that

is said against us on this score as the truth, and in priding in that truth.

Gentlemen, my conception of the duties of a Chairman is not one which includes a desire on his part to talk everybody out and to recite an encyclopaedic address, leaving for those who have to come after him the excuse of the poor speaker in our school debating societies, namely, that the previous speaker has left nothing for him to say except to repeat some of their ideas rather tamely. I promise you I will not make a long speech this evening, and it will suffice if I just tell you in a few words the purpose for which we have met, and the nature of the resolutions that will be moved before you.

In the first place we have met to express our profound conviction that so long as the ordinary rights of citizenship in the Empire are denied to us in the Colonies, it is difficult for us to accept with any degree of loyalty any share in Imperial obligations. Nothing short of equality for all members of the Empire can be any equitable or a lasting solution. As I had on a previous occasion in this very hall said with reference to the union of Hindus and Mussalmans, union, lasting union, is impossible when any great disparity exists between people who wish to be united to each other. This is no less true of countries than of communities or individuals, and although for a time we may recognise at present not easily alterable disparities, we must provide for their entire removal before we can expect to achieve complete unity. I do not for a moment suggest that we in India are man to man as good and able as the European members of the Empire. But in certain matters we can well lay claim to an equality of rights even to-day and our conception of a well knit Empire must postulate a complete equality of rights as well as of obligations. Making every allowance for the existing condition of affairs I maintain that the treatment at present meted out to our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies of our Empire is degrading and so long as we feel this it is impossible to expect from us a loyal acceptance of Imperial obligations. This is not a threat nor even a warning. It is a mere fact and as such cannot but be accepted. By quarrelling with it you cannot alter it.

This brings us to the present situation, particularly in South Africa, where once more our brothers and our sisters and even their little children have been compelled to resort to passive resistance and to court the rigors of South African gaols. Gentle men, it may be difficult for me to explain to the British public or the British Ministers who are not unfamiliar with the idea of very respectable people going to gaol with a light heart in the cause of their principles, the horror which we in India feel at such degradation. But you can well understand it and in fact do understand it. You will therefore realise what it all means to Mr and Mrs. Gandhi and their children who are willingly going to gaol. This has been a much harder choice for them than it can be for anybody in the British Isles, but I maintain that they have chosen the lesser degradation, namely the degradation of their body which can submit to the rules of the prison rather than the degradation of their soul which is free and must remain free and cannot consistently with self-respect and respect due to their motherland, submit to the fetters which a narrow Imperialism has forged for them. You will be asked to express your feelings about the action of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi and their fellow-workers in South Africa, and I have no doubts what those feelings must be. But as I may not have another opportunity of expressing my own feelings, let me say that I do not grieve for them for I envy them and would willingly risk all that they are risking and suffer all that they are suffering. If these are the words of rashness and impetuosity characteristic of youth I plead guilty to the charges of rashness and impetuosity and the still greater charge of youth. If these are the ideas of firebrands, I must plead guilty to the charge of being a firebrand. But remember that we have learned this from an old country and from a cold country, I mean old England. If our western education is to blame for all this, are we to blame for having received western education? But, Gentlemen, education whether Western or Eastern, makes people self-respecting and it makes them free, and to condemn us for all this is merely to condemn us for our education and our culture.

But whatever others may think of us we regard ourselves as true imperialists, for we feel that unless the present conditions are speedily changed, our Empire would go to the brink of the precipice from which it is our duty to keep it back. In this matter I do not appeal to the Colonies for I fear the case is hopeless. I appeal to the conscience of the Imperial Government and to the might and power of that Government, for it is not so much the duty of South Africa or of any other Colony to save the Empire from grave dangers that threaten it, but it is the duty of His Majesty's Ministers. Matters have been growing from bad to worse and if dealt with in the same leisurely manner and with the same lack of courage, they will grow still worse. This is no idle talk, though I fear from what I see in England with

my own eyes it is probable that even His Majesty's Ministers may regard this as idle talk.

Only recently we had an instance of unfortunate happenings in one part of the Empire which were brought about by the lack of true insight into Oriental minds. Happily the wisdom and courage of Lord Hardinge has settled in a satisfactory manner all the difficulties that had arisen there. But I find that recently in South Africa our religion is once more being wantonly insulted. I, of course, allude to the recent judgment of the South African court according to which the wife of an Indian married in conformity with the rights of his religion is not his wife for the purpose of entering the Union together with her husband, although she might be his sole wedded wife. Now, Gentlemen, this is a direct attack on the matrimonial law of Islam, but because the laws of matrimony in Islam are the laws of religion I refrain from dwelling any further on this part of the subject.

It is our plain duty that if these iniquitous disabilities are going to be imposed or have been imposed upon our fellow-countrymen in one part of the British Empire, in another part of the same Empire, *i.e.* India, we should strongly insist upon the Government of India for the adoption of all possible retaliatory measures against such Colonies as deny the ordinary rights of citizenship to His Majesty's Indian subjects.

Our claims are based upon the simple doctrine of equality of rights and founded upon the celebrated proclamation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. They are fortified by pledges which have been given from time to time by responsible ministers of His Majesty's Government. Lord Selborne said: "Was it or was it not our duty to see that our dusky fellow subjects in the Transvaal should be treated as the Queen in our name had promised they should be treated. We were trustees for our brothers all over the world, trustees also for our fellow-subjects of different races and different colour. Was the British Government going to make its name respected and to have the pledges given by it faithfully observed? Was it going to see that the British subject wherever he went all over the world, whether he were white or black, was to have the rights which his Queen had secured for him?" Lord Crewe in a despatch, dated October 7, 1910, said, "I ought to add that any solution that prejudices or weakens the present position of Indians in the Cape Colony and Natal would not be acceptable to His Majesty's Government." For the purposes of this opinion the noble Marquis treated the whole of the Union as one immigration area. In view of the bare justice of our demands and in view of these solemn pledges the question which naturally arises in the mind of an Indian is: "Is the British Empire too weak to protect its Indian subjects from the iniquitous treatment that they are receiving at the hands of the Union Government, and to fulfil the pledges solemnly and repeatedly given?"

I deem it necessary to read before you a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta in March 1912.

"That the All-India Muslim League places on its record its deep appreciation of the gallant fight that the Indian settlers in Eastern and South Africa, Mauritius, Australasia and British North America were maintaining under depressing circumstances for their inalienable rights as British citizens, protests against their unrighteous treatment at the hands of their fellow-subjects in those British colonies and appeals to the Imperial Government to assert its undoubted supremacy in matters of Imperial importance, and secure for the Indian subjects of the Crown the full rights and privileges of British citizenship by the removal of racial distinctions within the Empire." Gentlemen, I have quoted this resolution, not so much for the purpose of showing my personal heartfelt sympathy with the objects of this meeting as for proving my authority which has lately been so light-heartedly questioned for speaking on behalf of that great political organisation of the Mussalmans of India, called the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Speech.

In moving the first resolution Mr. Mohamed Ali made the following speeches:—

GENTLEMEN,

The Chairman of this meeting has already explained to you in general terms the object with which we are gathered together in this Hall. Amongst the resolutions that are to be moved this evening, I have been entrusted with the first which runs as follows:—

"That this Meeting strongly protests against the degrading treatment meted out to our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies in the British Empire, particularly in Canada and South Africa, and records its profound conviction that so long as the ordinary rights of citizenship in the Empire are denied to His Majesty's Indian subjects, it is difficult for them to loyally accept any share in Imperial obligations."

Gentlemen, the problem of the relationship of Indians and Colonials in the British Colonies is not a new one. It is a problem of

other it has existed for a very long time, for we have been familiar for many decades past with the aversion of Australia to receive any of our fellow-countrymen, but the question has become much more acute since South Africa became British. I shall not tire you with the history of the problem in South Africa, for we have long been familiar with it and familiarity has bred the customary feeling. When this problem was somewhat young and when I myself was younger, if it is possible to believe this, I studied patiently and laboriously the details of the question and the various laws framed for excluding Indians from South Africa, the negotiations that were carried on for the repeal or at least the modification of the most repressive provisions of these laws and the reasons why all these negotiations came to nothing in the end.

Gentlemen, I admire the patience of that long-suffering man, Mr. Gandhi, all honour to him, and the extreme moderation of that leader of all moderate men in India, Mr. Gokhale. But I must confess I have not Mr. Gandhi's patience, and I sometimes think that all the moderation of Mr. Gokhale has availed us nothing. For my part, although I belong to that profession which serves with the Indian Civilian—and this is the only thing that we share in common—omniscience, I must admit I have ceased to study the details of South African legislation and the negotiations carried on by our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies, for they seem to lead to nothing and we have evidently discovered the cul-de-sac of Imperialism. For this reason when I was asked to select out of a good half a dozen resolutions which I should move this evening, I selected this, the first, because to my mind it is little use to spend a great deal of time over the details of a question where it is not the details that matter but a very broad general principle, the principle of Imperialism and its relation to the colour question. Last year when Mr. Gokhale went to South Africa, he was feted and honoured a good deal and much Imperial eloquence flowed along with a considerable amount of champagne, though I may mention that I believe Mr. Gokhale is a teetotaler. Well, the Imperial conceptions of South African politicians were explained to Mr. Gokhale between sherbet and champagne, and when he returned to India everybody seemed to think that the grievances of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa were already removed, or at least would shortly be removed. There were some, however, who seemed to think that instead of having gained anything we had dropped one or two very important principles during the post-prandial negotiations in South Africa. I must admit I was one of them, but I did not dare to shout this from the house-tops. Subsequently I found that others also shared my apprehensions, and no less an Indian politician than Sir Pherozshah Mehta, that level-headed and shrewd son of India, was the chief among such people. However, we all hoped that we were wrong, but in view of a recent telegram in which General Botha and another South African minister have stepped into the witness box to corroborate General Smuts, and to rebut the evidence of Mr. Gokhale himself, it appears that far from having gained anything for India Mr. Gokhale has lost his reputation for unimpeachable veracity, that is to say, if we can ever believe a South African politician against the word of Mr. Gokhale.

Gentlemen, I repeat that it is no use wasting time over negotiations of this character, for all our attention and all our energies should be concentrated on the broad principle that if India is to be a part of the British Empire, Indians must be conceded the ordinary rights of Imperial citizenship throughout His Majesty's dominions and that if such rights are not conceded it is idle to expect India and Indians to acknowledge any Imperial obligations.

The British Empire is in its various aspects, a wonderful and imposing achievement. Those who look upon it as something unique in history have abundant reasons for marking their sense of this great political fact thus superlatively. There are various standpoints from which modern Britons can glory in their magnificent heritage. For the majority of them the mere vastness, variety, and physical bulk of the Empire are themes of perpetual pride and wonder. The politician has, however, deliberately moved out of the common groove of feeling and raised his emotions and impressions about the Empire to the dignity of a creed. He now possesses a vast literature on the subject which teems with gorgeous phrases and idyllic fancies about the might and majesty of the Empire. He loves to deck himself in these phrases and to move in their glamour as a giant on the world's stage. I hope I shall be pardoned if I suspect that his imperialism is an aggression based on personal vanity and the Empire is to him a temple in which he worships his own image as the member of a dominant and divinely gifted race. Only the elect few amongst men of light and purpose in England to-day realise that the Empire is a great and anxious trust. They alone feel the weight of its manifold responsibilities and are anxious to create the right spirit amongst the responsible statesmen of Great Britain so that these responsibilities may be intelligently and fairly met. I believe it will not be unjust to say that the political forces at work in Europe during the last two decades have rendered Imperialistic doctrine a conception of right and duty.

One of the most vigorous exponents of British Imperialism, Lord Milner, issued some six months ago a collection of his speeches with the title "The Nation and the Empire".

He defines the meaning of Imperialism and applies it to the leading problems of both imperial and domestic affairs. He points out that imperialism has suffered as a name from the connotations of the past with the result that, according to him, no "great movement of the human spirit" has ever been more completely misunderstood. This is what Lord Milner writes: "Imperialism as a political doctrine has often been represented as something tawdry and superficial. In reality it has all the depth and comprehensiveness of a religious faith. Its significance is moral even more than material. It is a mistake to think of it as principally concerned with extension of territory, with 'painting the map red'. There is quite enough painted red already. It is not a question of a couple of hundred thousand square miles more or less. It is a question of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it by maintaining that unity, to develop freely on its own lines, and to continue to fulfil its distinctive mission in the world."

Such is the meaning and purpose of the creed that inspires a great Imperialist whom the "Times" holds up to the admiration of his compatriots, and who in training, capacity, and force of character is certainly above the general run of British politicians. According to the *Times*, that great organ of Imperialism under the weight of whose, I fear, ponderous leading articles and manufactured correspondence, the whole fabric of the Empire is creaking, Lord Milner's volume will make a special appeal to all those who are capable of taking long views in British politics. It says: "It amounts to a statement in the clearest possible form of what is ultimately the only successful basis for British Imperialism if ever the organic union to which Lord Milner looks forward is accomplished, it will be largely due to those who, like him, are determined to be, 'citizens of the Empire,' and who are making the idea of Empire Citizenship and all that it implies, more widely understood both in the mother country and outside it." It is thus manifest that Lord Milner's creed represents the political ideal of the most influential imperialists in Great Britain. It is held as an adequate and honourable conception of duty for those who are fit by wholesome ambition and capacity to share in the vast burdens of their race. Its cardinal purpose is to preserve the unity of a great people so that they may fulfil their distinctive mission in the world.

Now, Gentlemen, so far as Lord Milner regards Imperialism as something different from a tawdry and superficial boast, as something in reality having all the depth and comprehensiveness of a religious faith, as something of which the significance is moral even more than material, I have no quarrel with him, and in fact take my hat off to him for having eternalised something which to me seemed to be associated a little too much with the world, the flesh and, if I may name him in this polite assembly, the devil. When he tells us that it is a mistake to think of it as principally concerned with extension of territory and with painting the map red, I rejoice at it. When he goes further and tells us that there is quite enough painted red already, I say Amen. You see he does not think very much of a couple of hundred thousand square miles more or less and he would probably not be offended very much if I tell him on behalf of a couple of hundred thousand square miles more or less that they do not think very much of him. That is of course the policy of retaliation to which he and his great chief have been wedded for very long, though unfortunately in a sterile union. That is, however, by the way. But when he talks of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it by maintaining that unity to develop freely on its own lines and to continue to fulfil its distinctive mission in the world, it becomes necessary to ask him what place he assigns to us the three hundred and fifteen millions in the British Empire in India out of a total of no more than four hundred millions that inhabit his great Empire. Is not his answer very much like the answer of the French waiter in a recent play, "The Typhoon"? A Japanese student in Paris hears the noise in the street at the time of the annual celebration of the French attainment of liberty and asks the waiter at his hotel what it was all about. He is told that it is all about the celebration of liberty. The Japanese mind travels very fast, and no wonder it travelled from Paris to the French possessions and protectorates outside Europe. He asked the waiter: "What about Cochinchina, Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin, and Laos?" The waiter was evidently shocked at such an irrelevant question, for he burst out with the reply: "But, Sir, that is in Asia!" Well, is not the Imperialism of the most spiritual among the *Times* Imperialists of the same order and does not Lord Milner almost in so many words tell us about the three hundred and fifteen millions of Indian citizens of the Empire "But they are in Asia?" This, gentlemen, is the sum total of Imperialism so far as we are concerned "We are in Asia", and that settles the matter. British Imperialism would preserve the unity of a great race but it forgets that in its empire there exists not one race, but many races. It would aim at developing that race freely on its own lines, but it easily forgets that we too want development and sometimes on our own lines. Even in its mildest form the Imperialist ideal is an expression of race egotism and race ascendancy. Its first postulate is that the British race represents the supreme triumph of the law of Natural Selection. British character and institutions are, therefore, the last

words in human development and should be the sole standards of conduct in international relations.

One would ignore the self-sufficiency of such a temper if it did not lead to anything beyond a mere harmless gratification of racial vanity. But as a matter of fact this temper has bred some of the worst evils that may some day imperil the very existence of the British Empire. To such imperialists the Empire means nothing more than an embodiment of the strength and energy of the British race. This conception does not go beyond the perpetuation of racial glory and prestige, yes, prestige which has now become so brittle that the blows of Jack Johnson can smash it in a moment and which is so unsightly that it must be covered up with a thicker veil than the idealism and art of Miss Maud Allan can support. Yet this Empire comprising about four hundred millions of human beings contains only about sixty millions of the British race. The rest are made up of diverse races, creeds and nationalities that have little in common with the British race in history, tradition, culture and blood. The Chairman referred in this very hall some time ago to a speech of Lord Morley who is among the very few Britons who think imperially in the truest sense of the word. On that occasion Lord Morley reminded the House of Lords that "India is your Lordships' only Empire." But curiously enough, even among Liberal ministers the only Empire is seldom allowed a place in the schemes of British Imperialism. I remember well enough that Mr. Chamberlain gathered round himself many supporters in his political campaign against the South African republics by pointing out to the degrading terms on which Indians were allowed to remain in South Africa. That was the work of an Imperialist. Lord Morley and Sir William Harcourt along with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman boldly and resolutely opposed the popular policy of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and I believe the predominant partner of Mr. Asquith in the Liberal Ministry to day won his spurs by exercising his great art of political invective which was then in its infancy at the expense of Mr. Chamberlain. These men were called "Little Englanders" though to my mind with very little justice. They, at any rate, had no desire to paint any further portion of the world's map a gory colour. But now that South Africa at least has been painted red through the efforts of the Unionists, what is the position? Are the little Englanders of twelve or fifteen years ago any better than the Imperialists of Lord Milner's type? Is it not an irony of fate that the son of Sir William Harcourt should be the British Minister in charge of the Colonial portfolio and give to the Indians no better consolation than what Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Milner desired to give us.

Gentlemen, I ask the British people whether they be Imperialists or little Englanders, is the idea of Imperialism meant to convey any sort of appeal to the three hundred and fifteen millions in India? Has the Empire any significance for them beyond an instrument to enforce the will of the dominant race? Lord Milner may leave these questions entirely out of account because he deliberately holds the subject races of the Empire unfit for free partnership in its responsibility and its rights. His only alternative to keep the Empire together is perhaps in the last resort the application of force which he wants to create by organising the will and energy of the dominant race on an efficient basis. The necessary will and energy will, according to his notions, be always forthcoming as long as the instinct of racial dominance remains active and alive. But what of Liberalism? Does the Liberal creed of Imperialism also at its best postulate an insolent assumption of the rôle of Providence? Must the subject races always be maintained in subjection because some people, drunk with racial pride, have somehow got into their heads the monstrous idea that they are always to be the elect of God's earth and the sole dispensers of blessings to the rest of mankind? If such is the imperial ideal towards which both Liberals and Conservatives have been moving in recent years then we must ask them whether the Empire can have any great attractions for its subject races and whether its future can inspire them with much confidence and enthusiasm.

To the British statesman who is really capable of thinking imperially there can be no more arduous task for Imperial statesmanship than the determination of the status of the subject races within the Empire. Indeed he cannot fail to realise that the future of the Empire, to a very large extent, hangs up with the solution of this problem. The present temper of the ordinary British politician is absolutely averse to attempting any courageous, adequate and equitable solution. The existing position of Indians in the British Colonies furnishes a key to the capacity and foresights of men who are entrusted with the conduct of imperial affairs. The question has on every occasion been thrust aside as if it were a more trifling not worth troubling about. Yet this is one of the most important questions so far as we are concerned and it is certain that the Indian attitude towards the Empire will be mainly determined by the manner in which this question is solved. Gentlemen, we have been recently told that the Turk must leave Europe not because he is a Mohammedan, not because he is an Asiatic who has been in Europe only for five or six centuries, but because he cannot govern his

European dominions without using force to quell the resistance of his European subjects. Now I maintain that if half of the arguments that have been employed in order to provide an excuse for racial, if not religious fanaticism which desires the disappearance of the Turk from Europe were applied to our own Empire there will not be a single European left in India or Africa. But let us apply this last argument. Is it not a unique commentary on the success of British Imperialism that European dominance in South Africa has to be preserved by filling South African goals with men and women like Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi and their children, people who would no less be shocked at the suggestion of the least criminality in their conduct than the noblest Englishmen or Englishwomen in this great island. That, gentlemen, is not an ideal reflection which Britons can desire of their Imperial policy. But there it is and it is for the Government in power to see that it is changed for something, nobler and something better.

We need not set about to define the Indian standpoint in detail. The only thing certain is that it is not an extravagant or impossible standpoint. What is wanted is simple justice. Indians are exhorted to be loyal to the Empire and share its responsibilities. They ask in turn that they should receive equal treatment within the Empire and share in the rights of Imperial citizenship. You will hear a great deal about the persecution of Indians in South Africa and Canada from other speakers, and I have no desire to indulge in horrors and get the report of this speech proscribed under the Press Act by the local Governments in India. I only say this, we who have received our education at the hands of British tutors and have not proved such inapt pupils, how can you expect us to remember that we owe obligations to the Empire but can have no corresponding rights. This has not been the teaching of British philosophers nor of British politicians, this is not even the teaching of British poets for one of them says:—

"We must be free that speak the tongue
That Shakespear spake, the faiths and morals hold
That Milton held."

Our own philosophy and our own law is still better. In India we are more familiar with the doctrine of fraternity and the joint family system than with the doctrine of free competition. If you are not going to allow free competition in the Empire because that is the horrible western teaching which you so strenuously condemn and yet still more strenuously absorb yourself, give us the position of a member of the joint family in which the weaker member always gains at the expense of the stronger and the drone consumes what the busy bee provides. That is the innocuous teaching of the East. We are content with that, but will you be content with that?

Gentlemen, we have to remind our Imperialist friends that India has to maintain a very large army which it can hardly afford, but which can be utilised and has often been utilised for Imperial purposes. Was it not due to a contingent from India sent to South Africa that the British held their ground till succour reached them from Great Britain? Was not the Indian army used in China on more than one occasion? Did not the Indian army go to Sudan for the subjugation of a country which is now practically English though under that fascinating and classic doctrine of condominium? Do not the British Colonies benefit from trade relationship with India and has not Indian Labour helped in Colonial development? Was not East Africa practically given to Great Britain by Indians? In all these cases we have loyally accepted Imperial responsibilities and shared in Imperial obligations, but even the worm turns and you cannot expect that we shall go on accepting loyally our share of Imperial obligations without demanding the ordinary rights of Imperial citizenship. The millions of India have often been called dumb though this natural defect evidently never came in their way in whispering into British ears their perfect contentment and satisfaction whenever the educated classes showed signs of discontent and disapproval. Well, thanks to the education which Great Britain herself has given to them, they are no more dumb, and what is more they will not be dumb any longer. It is much better to concede to the rightful demands of a few constitutionally put forward than to the clamour and something more than clamour of millions of half-educated people. We have all noticed how prejudicial to British prestige is the idea of giving way to the dictation of such clamour. Well, their best way to prevent this is to give way to the voice of the educated few when there is still every chance of the gift being regarded as perfectly spontaneous. Above all do not permit this great Empire to be subjected to ridicule as an Empire the only meaning of which to us Orientals is the wailing of a few thousand union jacks by Anglo-Indian school-boys in hill schools at the bidding of that harmless imperialist Lord Menth. The conception of this Empire can be much greater, much nobler than this. It can be an Empire in which the minds and hearts of more than a fourth of the whole human race can work as one for the highest and most beneficent purposes of Providence, making the ways not only of God to men, but also of men to God.

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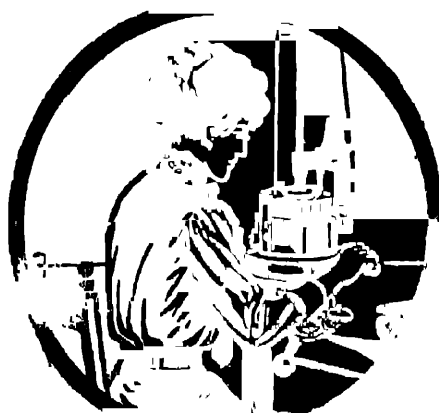
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—Morris

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There is much speculation regarding the adjournment of Congress on the ground that there was not a quorum. Though it is evident, that a quorum was present none protested. A telegram from Victoria British Columbia states that the sloops *Algerine* and *Shearwater* have been ordered to the west coast of Mexico.

New York, Nov. 24.

The Insurgent General, commanding at El Paso, reports that two trains, conveying 1,500 Federal troops, have been blown up between Chihuahua and Wauze. Two hundred men were killed.

Mexico, Nov. 24.

The Mexican Chamber has completed its organisation and has appointed several committees.

Vancouver, Nov. 25.

The sloop *Algerine*, which was ordered to the West Coast of Mexico, has returned, having lost her propeller.

Home Rule.

London, Nov. 26.

Speaking at Bristol, Mr. Birrell emphatically denied that the Cabinet was divided on the subject of Ulster. Colonel Hickman, at Wolverhampton, said he was buying rifles and enrolling past and present officers of the Army and Navy to help Ulster.

Germany's fighting Arm.

Berlin, Nov. 22.

The Budget has been introduced

It estimates the expenditure on the navy for 1914 at 487,952,167 marks, an increase of 7,698,273 marks. The expenditure of the army amounts to 1,217,167,548 marks a decrease of 152,051,808 marks. The Colonial subsidies are estimated at 30,795,642 marks, a slight decrease, and the estimated revenue from the Protectorates shows an increase of 19,255,517 marks.

Egypt.

Cairo, Nov. 20.

The Khedive has signed a decree establishing a new ministry of wakfs, the control of which is thus transferred to the Government. The decision has been received with gratification by the Moslem element, as they consider that the change will ensure more efficient administration. Hichmat Pasha, at present Minister of Instruction, has been appointed to the new post.

Tibet Conference

Simla, Nov. 21.

The proceedings of the Chinese Tibet conference continue to be held strictly confidential, and no news regarding their deliberations is available. It is understood, however, that a good many references are being made by the Plenipotentiaries to their respective governments and that good progress is being made. It may be mentioned that the "Novos Vremya" of 19th October, (i.e., 30th September Russian date) published a report from Peking purporting to give the draft of the Conference's questions for consideration.

The telegram in question, however, was entirely incorrect.

Canadian Hindus

Victoria British Columbia, Nov. 26.

Thirty-five of the 39 Hindus who were under orders for deportation have been released by order of the Chief Justice, on the ground that the Dominion Government's action exceeded the powers conferred by Parliament relative to Asiatic immigration.

The Week.

Mexico.

Mexico City, Nov. 20.

In his message to Congress President, Huerta gives prominence to Napoleon's dictum—that law is not violated when one loves one's Fatherland. He does not mention international relations. He proceeds to justify the recent dissolution of the Congress and concludes by reminding Congressmen that the moment is a solemn one, possibly decisive for the future of the nation. He hopes that Mexicans will soon be united in the task of national reconstruction.

There is much speculation as to President Wilson's next move as Mr. O'Shaughnessy has been further instructed to remain at his post.

London, Nov. 20.

The Japanese cruiser *Idzumo*, is now hurrying to Mexico. Already United States, British, French and German warships are in Mexican waters totalling twenty-two. It is reported that English people from the Comperbe Oil Works are crowding into Vera Cruz owing to the threats of the rebels, hence the despatch of British cruisers. A visit of the latter is exciting the keenest interest among Mexicans as they regard the British as their friends.

Foreigners are taking active precautions for defence from fear of disturbances.

New York, Nov. 20.

Following the demand of the Mexican insurgent leader General Carranza, that Mr. Hale, President Wilson's unofficial envoy, should produce his credentials, which he was unable to do, dealings between the American Government and the insurgents have ended.

Mexico, Nov. 22.

The War Office announces that the Federal troops are still holding out at Victoria and that a continuous battle has been in progress for twenty-four hours. Federal re-inforcements are hurrying to Victoria.

Persia.

Tehran, Nov. 24.
A gendarmery force, under a Persian Officer, has been defeated at Kazerun West of Shiraz, by tribesmen in the pay of a chieftain, who is believed to have been implicated in the attack on Consul Smart.

Two gendarmes were killed and the remainder took refuge in the telegraph office where they are awaiting a relieving force.

The South African Crisis.

The Struggle.

London, Nov. 20.
The Indian position in Natal is still grave. There have been exciting disturbances on the sugar estates at Illovo, a small body of police armed only with staves routing four hundred Indians who assailed them and arresting the ringleaders. The police afterwards removed five trolleyloads of cane knives and fencing standards and other weapons from the Indian barracks. The rioters offered to resume work, but were informed that they could not do so until Monday.

Durban, Nov. 20.
The anticipation that there would be a general resumption of work on the part of Indians has not been fulfilled. No market produce has arrived. One hundred and eighty Indian harbour employees were arrested this morning on refusing to work.

Cape Town, Nov. 20.
No evidence is forthcoming to corroborate the allegations of cruelty. The body of the coolie who was said to have been flogged has been most carefully examined and no trace of violence has been discovered. He died of pneumonia. Other allegations of flogging and brutality appear to be equally baseless.

London, Nov. 21.
A telegram from Durban says that everything is quiet. All the Indians in the Sanitary Department and the majority of the employees in the Corporation and Public Works Department have resumed work, the recalcitrants have been arrested and sentenced to seven days' hard labour. The Indians at Kynoch's Explosive Works are dribbling back to work gradually, and strikers are resuming work on the railways. The harbour tugs have full complements. The principal trouble is now on the sugar estates. The Natal papers strongly resent the comments of the British press.

The *Durban Mercury* declares that the allegations regarding flogging and cruelty are a libel on the employers, who uniformly treat their employees well. The paper says that the trouble is purely domestic, and has been engineered in order to influence the Indian National Convention.

The *Pietermaritzburg Times* says that little sympathy will be felt by free Indians for the victims of the Three Pounds Tax.

The paper asserts that if the Government now agreed to abandon the tax, the demands for further concessions would probably be made immediately.

London, Nov. 21.
Lord Amthill, in an interview, trusted that good would come out of evil in Natal, and a permanent settlement be at length effected in a matter which was a disgrace to British statesmanship. The responsibility for the present trouble rested with the Imperial Government. The Indian question ought to have been settled immediately after the war. The extreme moderation of the demands of Indians astonished the people in England. It now rested with public opinion, at home and throughout the Empire, to make its influence felt in Downing Street and at Pretoria.

The *Daily Graphic* says that the courageous Indians in South Africa should no longer be left alone to carry on the struggle to secure civil rights for the honour of England as well of India is involved.

The journal adds that the greatest responsibility of the Imperial Government is the protection of citizens from injustice.

Durban, Nov. 22.
The strike is apparently ended in Durban. All is quiet in the county districts, where rain has reduced the danger of cane fires.

Cape Town, Nov. 22.
After prolonged acrimonious discussions at the South African Party Congress, at which General Botha and General Hertzog were present, the Congress adopted by 181 to 90, a resolution moved by a supporter of General Botha calling on the Government to abandon the Botha-Hertzog controversy, and proceed with the administration of the country. General Hertzog and his supporters left the hall in silence. It is believed that they will form a separate party, styled the South African National Party.

London, Nov. 22.
Mr. Loughton, K.C., has delivered an opinion that the contracts of indentured Indians are not contracts at all, because immigrants enter the county bound to nobody. Consequently the Government is unable legally to collect the £3 tax on expiration of indentures. Mr. Loughton advises Indians to contest the legality of the tax and calmly await the result.

Three more prominent Indians have been arrested for creating of inciting to violence. They have been remanded.

The *Morning Post* urges General Botha, in spite of political exigencies, at least to remove the tax on Indians in India.

"We are entitled to ask that emigrants should be treated with some respect, justice, and humanity," adds the paper.

A telegram from Dundee states that the Magistrate in an interview with reference to cable received from Mr. West by Mr. Gokhale said that most of the allegations were incorrect and others greatly exaggerated. He reiterated that none had been flogged.

The general situation is that most of the Indians employed in towns and harbours and on railways are returning to work, but conditions are unsatisfactory in the county districts and on sugar estates.

Mr. Bonar Law in his speech said that when people said the Empire was in favour of coercion of Ulster they did not understand the Empire. That was the last thing Canadians and Australians would dream of. Natal's position in South Africa was not dissimilar to that of Ulster. No one dreamed of coercing Natal to join the Union, which could only be effected after a plebiscite had been taken in Natal.

Durban, Nov. 23.
Six hundred Indians from Natal estates came into Durban yesterday, of whom 168, including the leaders, were arrested and charged with being in the borough without permission. The rest were sent back under police escort.

Pietermaritzburg, Nov. 23.
At a mass meeting of between four and five thousand Indians yesterday scenes of great excitement occurred. The meeting passed a resolution in favour of a general strike until Government repealed the £3 tax and released the leaders and rank and file of passive resisters. A proposal to postpone the strike for a fortnight was coldly received. Mr. T. Naidu, representing Mr. Gandhi stirred up immense excitement. A detective came to arrest him, but he continued his speech and appealed to the audience to desist from violence. He extracted a promise from the employees of the Sanitary Department to remain at their posts and exhorted employees in hospital and the Electric Light Department to do likewise. He was carried out shoulder high to the street, where he was arrested. Mr. P. Naidu persuaded two thousand compatriots not to attempt a rescue. The strike is in full swing. All is quiet this morning. Another big mass meeting will be held this afternoon. Several drafts of Native and European mounted police arrived yesterday and patrolled the streets protecting employees of the Sanitary Department.

Cape Town, Nov. 23.
The members of the Hertzog party who are seceding include fifty from Orange Free State and forty representatives of the Cape Natal and Transvaal. They will constitute a new National Party and will hold a conference in Bloemfontein in January.

Cape Town, Nov. 24.
The Hertzogites are using the Indian question as an argument against the Government's attitude regarding imperialism. In the course of a debate, ending in a split in the South African Party Congress, General Hertzog asserted that South African Nationalism and Imperialism were incompatible. General Botha was prepared to sacrifice South African interests to imperial considerations. Mr. Burton delivered a spirited reply to General Hertzog, in answer to which, a Hertzog delegate declared that the pro-Indian agitation was an eloquent proof of the danger of imperialism. He argued, that in order to satisfy public opinion in India an attempt to interfere would be made on the strength of South Africa's treatment of the Indians, and such interference would not be tolerated. This declaration was heartily applauded.

London, Nov. 24.
With the exception of the *Daily News* the newspapers express sympathy with General Botha and the Government. The *Daily Graphic*, *Morning Post* and the *Daily Chronicle* anticipate that he will seek the support of the Unionists. The *Daily Telegraph* trusts that he will now be free to attend to the Indian crisis, and that he will act promptly, fully realising his responsibility both towards the Empire and South Africa. The *Daily Chronicle* hopes that General Botha will assent to the demand, which is justified, of an impartial enquiry into the allegations of ill-treatment of the Indians. The *Daily News* warns its readers against accepting the charges of racialism against General Hertzog, which the papers says, are circulated by a correspondent controlled by the mine-owners. The paper regards the readiness of the Hertzogites to co-operate with the Labourites as a sufficient reputation, and as likely to eliminate racialism altogether in future. General Botha, the paper adds, could easily lose more than he would gain by a coalition with the Unionists.

The *Times* to-day doubts whether the rupture in the South African Party is final, and anticipates an early appeal to the country. The *Times* thinks it will not be a misfortune if the rupture results in a complete reconstitution of the parties on lines approximating to those existing in the other Dominions.

Durban, Nov. 24.

The Public Prosecutor has withdrawn the charges against a number on Indians arrested for desertion, and announces that the protector of Indian immigrants has decided to cancel their contracts and deport them.

It is understood that deportations on a large scale will be considered in certain circumstances.

London, Nov. 24.

The south coast is quiet, but still unsettled. A number of scuffles have taken place, and a number of arrests made.

The conditions on the north coast are normal. Mr. Naidu has been conveyed to the Durban jail, bail being refused. There are now several hundred prisoners in Durban. Some compounds are still being utilised as jails. The communal executives of the Durban and Divisional Unionist Associations have unanimously passed a resolution that while no more Indians should be admitted to the Union, those here should be treated with scrupulous justice and the legitimate cause for discontent be removed.

Serious rioting occurred at the Premier mine yesterday evening.

About five thousand, out of twenty-two thousand, Kaffirs attacked the compound at Shangaan. The natives afterwards looted the enclosures and stores, doing damage to the extent of £3,000.

The police, who only numbered twenty, ultimately fired volleys over the heads of the Kaffirs. This proving ineffective, however, they fired into the mob.

Three natives were killed, and twenty-two injured.

Cape Town, Nov. 24.

General Botha made an important reference to the Indian situation at the Party Congress this evening. He said, "I wish to express the sincere regret of myself and my Government at the false allegations which have been made by irresponsible people. Such allegations can do no good to anybody. Great responsibility rests with the English press in England and India, and it seems to me as if some people have lost their heads altogether. I wish to advise them to be careful and moderate. In particular, I did not expect that a responsible statesman would go so far as he did, when he questioned the good faith of this Government. 'If these people do not want to do incalculable harm they must abandon the course they are following. Their agitation can do no good. It is very difficult, as it is, for us in South Africa to have the same point of view as they have in regard to this problem, but if they doubt the *bona fides* of this Government, then I see very little hope for the future. The Government has so far exercised the greatest moderation and generosity towards the Indians, who have really declared war against the laws of South Africa. Law and order shall be maintained in this country at all costs."

"I deny, *in toto*, the accusations of ill-treatment which have been made. So far, as we have investigated, none of the charges can stand the test of examination. If any man has been ill-treated, or if any ill-treatment has taken place, the circumstances, if brought to the notice of the Government, will be immediately and carefully investigated. We shall do everything in our power to see that nobody in this Natal strike is ill-treated. The charges which have been made by irresponsible people in other parts of the world have been a source of great regret to me, and they do not promote the cause of the Indians."

Referring to the question of races in South Africa, General Botha said:—"The two White races, who have been so greatly divided in the past, must live and let live. They must also remember the large coloured and native population which looks to them for justice. South Africa must be so governed that they also may love South Africa. The White people should see to it that these other races always look up to them in that way."

Discussing the question of Imperialism, General Botha said:—"Our first duty in the interest of South Africa itself is to stand on a friendly footing with the Empire without in the least departing from our principles. Safeguarding South African rights is in no wise incompatible with her attachment to the Empire, but the people of South Africa will never allow any interference with the rights and principles laid down in the Constitution."

It is now supposed that the allegations of flogging and ill-treatment partly relate to an affray at the Ballengeich mine on November 13th. According to the *Transvaal Leader*, the mine manager, Mr. Hutt, went to Hattingerspruit on the Government's instructions to collect the Ballengeich Indians, who had been arrested in the Transvaal on a march from Natal, and had been returned to Natal. The Indians quietly followed Mr. Hutt back to the mine where Mr. Hutt addressed them. One of their spokesmen then said that if Mr. Hutt would try to persuade the Government to repeal the Three Pound Tax, they would return to work. Mr. Hutt said he would do his best. Thinking the trouble was over, he ordered rice to be served out, and went to breakfast. During his absence, Indian women appeared and harangued the Indians denouncing them as cowards and fools. The Indians, who numbered about three hundred, then began running from the mine with the apparent intention of restarting the march to the Transvaal. Mr. Hutt followed them with three or four officials, and headed them off. The Indians began

pelting Mr. Hutt and his companions with stones. Mr. Hutt and the officials then used sjamboks freely, driving the Indians back to the locations. Dr. Nolan, who was on the spot, examined those complaining of injuries, and said none was seriously hurt. Dr. Cooper later examined them and said: "If any one man had got the accumulated injuries of the whole crowd, he could not complain that he had been badly mauled."

The publication in India and elsewhere of what are described as exaggerated cable reports misrepresenting the Indian situation in South Africa has caused irritation which has now been aggravated by the disposition displayed in India to question the good faith of Lord Gladstone and his Ministers, and to discredit the emphatic official and other denials. It is pointed out with reference to the claim for an independent enquiry that in the principal case hitherto adduced, namely, the alleged flogging to death, the body was examined by two non-official doctors in the presence of independent pressmen and of Mr. Ritch, who made the original charge, and it was proved that deceased was never flogged. With reference to the charges telegraphed to India it is pointed out that not a single one has been substantiated, so far as can be ascertained hitherto.

General Smuts has gone to Pretoria to confer with Lord Gladstone, after which he will proceed to Natal to deal with the situation personally. In an interview with reuter's representative General Botha said the Government had nothing to conceal and courted an enquiry.

Pietermaritzburg, Nov. 24.

Forty-five Indian deserters have been fined ten shillings or in default sentence to ten days' imprisonment. One of the accused said he feared for his life, if he remained at work. He wanted an assurance of protection in writing.

Johannesburg, Nov. 24.

With reference to the appeals to both the South African parties, especially the Unionists as Imperialists, for help in the present emergency, the leading Unionists point out that they advocated the Indians' case strongly last session. Their attitude is summed up in the speeches of Sir Thomas Smartt and Mr. Drummond Chaplin, who entirely opposed Asiatic immigration, but insisted on the necessity for treating with scrupulous fairness the Indians already in South Africa, and urged the abolition of the Three Pound Tax.

The matter will be discussed at the Union Congress this week end.

Durban, Nov. 25.

Mr. Polkinghorne, the Protector of Indians, discussing the opinion of Mr. Laughton, K.C., that contracts of indentured Indians are not contracts at all, says that the agreements between Indians and the Government, when the former are engaged in India, are in the terms of the statute, the originals of which are in his office. He is not aware that they have been inspected by anybody possibly, he says, Mr. Laughton's opinion is based on the document given to the Indians when leaving India, but that is not the agreement.

The Public Prosecutor's statement on the 24th instant was made under a misapprehension. He has no power to deport.

London, Nov. 25.

The *Daily News* says that Sjamboking by Mr. Hutt and his companions was not mentioned either by General Botha or Lord Gladstone, and clearly shows the absolute necessity for a thorough and impartial enquiry.

Fresh strikes continue to break out on the Natal sugar estates leading to minor disturbances. The police have made baton charges.

The strike is also extending to the sugar mills in Zululand.

It is understood that Mr. Ritch will shortly test the legality of the Three Pound Tax.

Pietermaritzburg, Nov. 25.

Fifty employees of the Scavenging Department were yesterday fined ten shillings or in the alternative sentenced to ten days' imprisonment. To-day they were again given the opportunity to resume work.

They declined, however, and were taken to gaol amid the cheers of a crowd of compatriots.

A number of non-strikers were assailed and badly mauled this afternoon, the strikers have been reinforced by a number of Indians in other occupations who have hitherto held aloof.

The Indians employed on the railway are striking intermittently.

Funds for feeding strikers are coming in freely. It is asserted that at present they amount to £5,000 here alone.

Durban, Nov. 25.

Certain turbulence among the Indian strikers is reported from Zululand.

They assaulted an estate manager at Umzinto and stoned a train breaking windows.

London, Nov. 25.

General Botha's speech has been received with favour in the British press. His attitude towards the Indian situation is described as firm and statesman-like, and should go far to allay suspicion in India.

The *Westminster Gazette* asks South Africa to be helpful as a sister State can fairly be expected to be. The paper says it can well understand that Lord Hardinge's *communiqué* is resented in South Africa, and hopes that too much will not be made of the formal grounds on which it is open to criticism.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says allowance must be made for General Botha's resentment at the *communiqué*. Allowance must also be made for Lord Hardinge's difficulties in view of the feelings and anxieties of the people of India. The Union could accept an independent enquiry without loss of dignity.

Reuter is informed that an exchange of views is in progress between the Indian and the Colonial offices. The latter is communicating with the Union Government with regard to the Viceroy's memorandum. General Botha's pronouncement yesterday is viewed in official circles as sound and fair. Much is hoped from Mr. Smuts's mission in Natal. The situation, however, is regarded as being full of difficulties. It is not one for Imperial interference. The real need is the exercise of moderation more especially as both sides from their own points of view are in the right. It is pointed out that Mr. Fischer saw Lord Crewe, and Mr. Harcourt on the subject. Moreover, it is stated publicly that *modus vivendi* is possible, if the Indians are moderate—therefore it is felt that while the just grievances of the Indians are admitted, it is not in their interest to raise fresh grievances and keep changing their ground. On the other hand, the declaration on the Indian side, that South Africa promised an amendment of the law which was not carried out, has given the Indians an excuse for a strike which would otherwise be wanting. Mr. Fischer, when in London, stated with emphasis in reply to the Imperial Government's suggestion of enquiry into the Indian problem that it would be interfering in the internal affairs of South Africa and would thus be unwelcome.

The *Times* says that the recent harshness of administration of the Immigration Act has been obviously due to the exigencies of party politics. It is to be hoped that General Smuts will now as a Minister of the Empire repair the damage done. The least he can do is to initiate a searching enquiry into the effect and administration of the Act of 1913, and he will do well if he asks the co-operation of the Indian Government and submits the action of his own Department to the fullest investigation by an impartial tribunal, containing at least one member fully conversant with conditions in India.

The *Standard* comments this morning on the unsatisfactory position of the different portions of the Empire which, it says, stand to one another in the relation of foreign states. India, adds the paper, has even less power to claim justice from South Africa than a foreign state. The latter might employ reprisals and hostile measures from which a British dependency is barred. Nobody wants to precipitate the creation of that federal constitution for which the dominions are not yet ready, but some kind of federal organ or tribunal of Supreme Appeal in political as well as legal matters seems to be required, if the component populations of the Empire are to enjoy all the benefits of the Imperial connection.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that at yesterday's meeting the Cabinet decided on a course of action with regard to Indians in South Africa.

Durban, Nov. 28.

The Indians broke out to-day at Esperanza on the south coast of Natal. A collision with the police followed, three Indians being killed, and twenty wounded.

London, Nov. 28.

According to details of the affair at Esperanza, the police proceeded to the Hawksworth Estates to collect the cane knives of the strikers. The latter refused to hand them over, and assailed the police with knives, sticks, and stones, wounding two native constables and one European. The police stood passive under the fusillade for an hour, after which they fired a volley over the strikers' heads, secondly on the ground in front of them, and finally fired in earnest, killing two, mortally wounding two, and injuring ten others.

Many police sustained minor injuries.

The official report says that while the Esperanza coolies were being addressed by a Sergeant-Major, accompanied by twelve European police, they suddenly, without warning attacked, the patrol, who retired to a better position.

The coolies, numbering 300, came on in a threatening manner and the leader was shot dead. As this did not stop them, the police fired a volley, and subsequently another, after which they drove the Indians into the barracks.

A telegram from Durban says that Mr. Albert West, acting editor of the vernacular paper *Indian Opinion*, has been arrested in a charge of harbouring indentured Indians at a farm owned by the paper.

The Natal Federation of Trade and Labour Unions has passed a resolution calling on the Government to take immediate steps to repatriate the Indians, with adequate compensation.

Durban, Nov. 28.

The unrest continues on the south coast. The sugarcane on Crooks Estate was fired yesterday, but the flames were quickly extinguished. The damage was not serious.

TETE À TETE



ACCORDING to a message from our correspondent, Mouli Abdul Wahid and Ghafoor accused in Ajudhya cow sacrifice case appeared before District Magistrate on the 22nd instant to show cause why sanction should not be given for their prosecution on a charge of having knowingly disobeyed the prohibitory order of District Magistrate against sacrifice.

Chaudhri Niamatullah, Vakil in showing cause urged that a general order prohibiting all Mohamedan residents of Ajudhya from sacrificing cows in their houses was not legal in as much as section 144 O. P. C. authorizes only orders against particular individuals and not against the public generally except in terms of sub section (3) which again contemplates cases of thoroughfares of persons frequenting or visiting a particular place. The legislature had not the faintest intention of so enacting section 144 as to empower the District Magistrate to prohibit lawful acts inside all houses in a city or town. The law contemplates not the prevention of lawful acts but rather the repression of illegal acts. If there was apprehension that any Hindu would commit riot unless cow sacrifice was prohibited the proper and the only legal course was to bind over such persons to keep the peace instead of restraining the lawful exercise of a religious and civil right. The foundation of every good and sound administration is to uphold rights and prevent lawlessness and not the reverse. Secondly it was contended that an offence under section 183 I. P. C. was not committed in disobeying the order because the act, *viz.*, sacrifice did not tend to cause obstruction, injury, annoyance nor tended to cause riot. Sacrifice was performed inside a house and even the constables posted near the house could not discover it till the accused himself reported at the police in all secrecy. In its very nature cow sacrifice inside the houses is such that no Hindus need know anything about it unless they scale the walls and break open the houses of Mohamedans which they have no business to do. On these grounds it was submitted that no offence was committed and therefore sanction should not be given. Now it is a matter of great surprise to us to learn that no criminal case was instituted against the two unfortunate persons up to 22nd November and yet they were put in the lock-up and a security of 10,000 cash was demanded as it was given out by the Sub-Inspector. It subsequently transferred that a cash security of only Rs. 500 each was demanded. After having remained in custody for five or six days the accused were let off on two securities of Rs. 500 each with a personal bond of Rs. 500. The proper course for the Deputy Commissioner was to have called the accused on the first instance to show cause why they should not be prosecuted under section 188. The accused ought not to have been arrested and kept in confinement before the District Magistrate had made up his mind to prosecute them. In case the District Magistrate had not accepted the plea of the accused, he should have sanctioned the prosecution and sent the case to a Magistrate for trial, who, on his taking cognizance of the case, should have admitted the accused to a reasonable bail as the offence was a bailable one.

The following letter received by Mrs. Khediva Jung from Mrs. Violet Ebrahim an English lady, who has recently embraced Islam will be read with interest:—My dear Sister Mrs. Khediv Jung,—I was greatly pleased at your sending your regards to me in your letter to Khwaja Kamaluddin and I thank you for the same.

He told us how interested you were in his monthly paper called the *Islamic Review*, and in the work he was doing; really he deserves all the encouragement we could give him. Last year when Khwaja Kamaluddin had recently arrived in London, my husband met him at some meeting and invited him in company with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of *Zemindar*, at our house; since that day he has our frequent visitor and he used to talk about Islam; he used to invite us at his house on every Friday when after praying he used to preach. His

logical arguments in favour of Islam and his comparisons of Islam and Christianity were most interesting and convincing. When I was with my parents I used to go to Ohurok with them every Sunday and used to hear the preacher who failed to rouse in me any interest for religion, and I used to take everything for granted—without giving any serious thought. Khwaja Kamaluddin has studied Christianity and therefore he is better able to make comparisons as to what is said in Bible on different subjects and how Al-Koran treats the same subjects, thereby proving how superior Islam was to Christianity. My eyes were beginning to open in favour of Islam and gradually I found that I was Moslem at heart. My heart went to Islam all the more by my reading every day in newspapers about the butchery and atrocities committed by the Christians of Balkans on the noble Turks whom now I consider my brothers in faith. I openly declared to be Moslem. The *Islamic Review* has done wonders. It has been my textbook, Khwaja Kamaluddin has a great talent for writing which must be a gift from God. I can never thank him enough for the change he had brought in my soul; we consider him as a member of our family; whenever he comes to London from Woking, he stays with us. He has made another conquest which will have far-reaching consequences in favour of Islam. Lord Headley an Irish peer and member of the House of Lords has accepted Islam, so much so that he has commenced to contribute articles in favour of Islam in the *Islamic Review*. We have intimate knowledge of Khwaja Kamaluddin's doings from the time he came to London. He started the *Islamic Review* at his own expense. He had about nine thousand rupees when he came to London and he spent it all in this work, publishing the *Islamic Review* and distributing it broadcast. Living in London is also expensive. But now he has no money and he is worried as to how to continue. At present he is circulating only a thousand copies in the Western world whereas at least a hundred thousand copies should be given out. It would be a thousand injustices and great shame for us Moslems if this *Islamic Review* was to stop for lack of financial help. I have been to the Woking mosque with my husband and have prayed there on one Friday. Khwaja Sahib lives in the adjoining house belonging to the Mosque, and he is living there very poorly, almost like a hermit. Moslems of India should rise to this occasion and you will please convey my message to my sisters in India for helping in this great work. This work should grow to gigantic proportions and should spread through the whole world. I shall be pleased to hear from you and I shall also keep on writing to you. With true sisterly love, I remain, Yours sincerely, (Sd.) VIOLET EBRAHIM." Mrs Khedive Jang has sent us her first instalment of Rs 250 towards the help of Khawaja Kamaluddin's Mission, and her appeal has been answered by others. We will give the list in our next issue and open a Fund as soon as Mr. Mohamed Ali returns from England. We have every hope that Mrs Khedive Jang's earnest appeal for a great cause would receive a splendid response.

WE HAVE before us the English translation of Albayan, the introduction to the Commentary on the Holy Kuran, by Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Abdul Haq Haqqani Sahab of Delhi and now Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. The translation in English is quite good, though in trying to make it very literal, the style is rather heavy. The printing and get up is excellent, Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem and more so for a non Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters and has an Introduction which deals with Knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctification, Angels, Genii, Soul, Resurrection and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet and discusses fully all about crusades, polygamy, inspiration of the Holy Kuran, Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Kuran, explaining the prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj and Jihad. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof of which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects and closes with an account of Zoroastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern **الكلام** were badly needed and we strongly recommend

all to study it carefully. We are very much tempted to give quotation but we resist and request all to get the book either direct from Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta or from Haji Mohamed Ishaq Sahab, Hindu-Rao-ka-Bara, Delhi.

The Comrade.

The Boycott.

In our last issue we had given the original letter which Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali had sent to Sir James La Touche, asking for an interview with the Secretary of State, and the reply to which was received direct through Sir Thomas Holderness. We give below the full correspondence rather interesting and edifying reading—

"I am directed to inform you that Lord Crewe has given very careful consideration to the request made by you through a member of his Council that he should grant you an interview to enable you to explain to him the Indian Moslems' point of view and the salient features of the true Moslem situation in India and abroad. Lord Crewe regrets that he is unable to accede to your request, as he does not see that any public advantage would arise from it, while he feels certain that his action would be misunderstood by those of your co-religionists with whom you are not in accord, who claim equally with you to represent the political attitude and temper of the Mussalman community in India.

In acquainting you with this decision I am to add that the sentiments and aspirations of Indian Moslems deserve and receive the fullest attention and sympathy of His Majesty's Government, and Lord Crewe spares no pains to inform himself on these matters through the many authoritative sources of intelligence that are open to him."

Even on the receipt of the above reply, Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali addressed another letter in which they gave their reasons for the reconsideration of the whole matter. We admire their self control and persistence. They wrote as follows—

We are grateful to you and to the Right Honourable the Marquess of Crewe for the letter of the 11th November in reply to our request for an interview with his Lordship which was conveyed in a letter addressed by us to Sir James La Touche on the 4th instant.

We regret very much that Lord Crewe is unable to accede to our request, but we trust he will believe us that if this is his Lordship's final answer it will create considerable disappointment in India among our co-religionists. We have already fully stated the objects of the mission on which we came to this country, and, although we do not know whether his Lordship has been kept sufficiently well informed about this matter, it is certain that a very large number of Leagues and Associations and public meetings of our co-religionists in all parts of India have accepted us as their agents, and many congregations offer prayers in the Mosques of India for the success of our mission. His Lordship's refusal to give us an interview would certainly be misunderstood by them and in view of their constituting at least a very large bulk of our community we trust his Lordship would weigh their disappointment against a possible misunderstanding on the part of some of our co-religionists with whom we are stated to be not in accord, if our request is granted.

We regret that you do not indicate in your letter with what section of our people we are not in accord as it would have thrown some light on the matter. Naturally we cannot pretend to be in accord with everyone of our co-religionists. But we are not aware of any publicly expressed antagonism to our views from any section of our community, and should you be aware of any, we shall be grateful if you would acquaint us with a description of this section and the objection that it has to our mission.

We trust what you write in this connection has no reference to the resignation which the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali has tendered recently of the office of President of the London Branch of the All India Moslem League. But if it is so, may we state that Mr. Ameer Ali has nowhere indicated that he is opposed to any of our views.

We are not unaware that the *Times*, and a few other Tory papers following the lead of the *Times*, have in very general terms insinuated many things against us, though these are expressed in such guarded terms that we are not sure we shall be able to compel these papers to justify their opinions in a Court of Law. His Lordship is, however, probably not aware that we have tried repeatedly to have a rejoinder published in these papers, but on each occasion publication has been declined. The *Times* would have no reason for the refusal at first, and when pressed again, had the hardihood to say that no injustice had been done to us in the articles published in that paper, and that therefore no rejoinder would be published.

Another daily newspaper informed us through in an informal manner, that it was opposed to the policy of the paper to publish anything from us just at present. Such are our experiences of the fairness of a section of the British Press, and if even the Secretary of State for India has in any way been influenced by what has appeared in such newspapers in England, our misfortune is naturally all the greater.

You tell us in your letter that such of our co-religionists with whom we are not in accord claim equally with us to represent the

political attitude and temper of the Musselman community in India. His Lordship has considerable experience of public life in this country, and cannot be unaware of the fact that it is very seldom that any section of the people is so modest as to admit that it is not as much representative of the political attitude and temper of the whole nation or country as people who are not in accord with it. But in every country or nation there are more or less clear means of ascertaining what section or class of people represents the opinions of the majority in that country or nation, and all that we request the Marquess of Crewe to do in this matter is to apply these well-known tests to the Mohamedan community in India also, and judge for himself whether we do or do not represent our co-religionists in India.

But in any case we would certainly not misunderstand his Lordship's action if he accorded an interview to any of our co-religionists who are not in accord with us, and we believe his Lordship has occasionally done so. All we ask is that similar courtesy should be extended to us, and we trust in requesting this we are not drawing too heavily on his Lordship's well-known courtesy and consideration.

One of us is personally known to his Lordship, and had the honour of a very long interview in Calcutta on the subject of the Mohamedan attitude towards the changes announced at the Darbar at Delhi by His Majesty, and the effect on Indian Musselmans of the troubles of their co-religionists in Persia and Turkey. Similar interviews have been accorded by his Lordship to other Indians of a certain representative character and position, and we should have thought that in according the same favour to us now his Lordship would not be departing from ordinary precedents.

It is a source of gratification to us to be assured that the Marquess of Crewe spares no pains to inform himself about the sentiments and aspirations of Indian Musselmans through the many authoritative sources of intelligence that are open to him. If we are to understand that his Lordship refers to official sources of intelligence only we would humbly beg him to consider the view that it is sometimes safer to supplement information received from such sources of intelligence by information received direct from non-official sources.

We do not in the least wish to suggest anything in the nature of a presumption on our part to pose as his Lordship's advisers, and we trust what we have said will not be misunderstood. But the work which has brought us to this country is so much at our heart, and its importance so deeply felt by us that we think we shall be failing in our duty if we did not make a last earnest effort to convince his Lordship of the desirability of acceding to the interview that we had sought and that we once more seek by means of this letter. We hope our earnestness will not be mistaken for presumption.

We need hardly add that one of the objects of our visit, is to convince his Lordship not only of the incontestable loyalty of our community, but also of our own sense of appreciation of the manifold blessings of British rule in India. It would certainly be a matter of personal disappointment to us also if we were not accorded an opportunity for explaining directly our general attitude towards government to the Secretary of State for India who is responsible to His Majesty and to the British nation for the good government of our country.

We trust his Lordship would vouchsafe a reply to this letter at his earliest convenience as we intend to leave England very soon.

The following final reply was received, the same day, which tells its own tale. —

"I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th November 1913, in which you ask that His Lordship would be pleased to reconsider the decision conveyed to you by my letter of the 11th November.

In reply I am to say that after very carefully weighing the considerations set out in your letter Lord Crewe regrets that he is unable to grant you the interview you seek."

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) T. W. HOLMES.

On the receipt of the final reply from the Secretary of State, they knocked again, and this time at the doors of the Prime Minister, but with no better results. We give below the whole correspondence:—

"Some weeks ago we came to this country on a mission, the general character of which we explained to a representative of the Associated Press in India on the eve of our departure, and we enclose that explanation for your information.

For several reasons which we need not detail here, we did not write to you earlier, as we had wished, requesting you to accord us an interview. But before returning to India we would beg you to give us an opportunity for explaining in some detail the point of view of Indian Musselmans with reference to some of the events and measures of Government agitating the minds of Indian Musselmans. This is all the more necessary because in some newspapers, and more particularly in the *Times*, ideas and aspirations have been attributed to our people which are of such a preposterous character that they constitute a libel on a numerous and great community of loyal and devoted subjects of His Majesty, and, contrary to our expectations about the fairness of all sections of the British Press,

we find that no rejoinder is likely to be published, in spite of our repeated requests, in the newspapers which have been prominent in trying to create a misunderstanding between Government and Indian Musselmans.

Some important pronouncements have been made by yourself at the Guildhall and by the Right Honourable Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons and at Newcastle more or less recently, in relation to the affairs of Turkey and other Mohamedan States, and the feelings of Mohamedan subjects of His Majesty. We feel that it would not be without its advantages if, while we are here, we expressed to you opinions on these pronouncements which we think are shared by our co-religionists in India, who have accredited us as their agents on this mission.

We may all that we do not suggest this interview as a formal deputation which under ordinary circumstances you may perhaps hesitate to receive, and we can assure you that if you prefer that it should be so everything that may transpire at the interview for which we pray would remain confidential.

In view of the fact that our stay in this country now is not likely to be very long, we trust you will kindly accord to us the interview we crave at an early date.

The following reply was received from Mr. Asquith. Short sweet:—
"The Prime Minister desires me to acknowledge your letter of the 13th instant, and in reply to express his regret that he cannot accede to your request for a personal interview."

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) F. W. LEITH ROSS.

We have given the complete correspondence which would be painful reading to many to show clearly how the two accredited agents of the Musselmans, whom the All-India Moslem League and the Musselman associations in the country had recognized as their Agents were treated. Mr. Mohamed Ali may or may not have been received but to refuse an interview to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, if not a direct insult was a grave wrong done, and we are afraid a great deal more will be heard about this. Even if the Secretary of State was convinced that these two gentlemen represented one shade of opinion only, they should have been given a patient hearing. If the other side wanted to represent their point of view, they should have been shown the same courtesy. We admire Messrs Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali for their perseverance and persistence in the face of difficulties which were not of their making, and we may easily pretend that they will be heard not only in India by millions of Musselmans but later on would get a hearing also in England. For them it is sufficient that they did their best and we honour them for this. We will discuss this affair further in our next.

The Criminal Settlement at Aligarh.

BARELY a mile from the Great Mohamedan College, in the old Historical mud fort of the Mahrattas has been located a colony of the worst type of criminals in the province—the Biryas. The men are all confirmed dacoits and the women still worse—a low kind of public women. Sir John Hewett in his zeal for reformation had planted these under the care of the Salvation Army at Aligarh and of all places had chosen this picturesque but most unsuitable place for their accommodation. The Aligarh fort as known to all is a mile from the old College buildings and barely $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the Minto circle, the new College Hostels. It has been decided to put the school buildings at a distance from the College and the site which has been acquired and where the construction work would shortly commence would have this fine company barely 300 yards from it. When this idea was first mooted out, the Honourable Sahabzada Aftab Ahmed Khan vigorously opposed it but the masterful Sir John Hewett who did not love Sahabzada Sahab paid no attention to his earnest appeals and in reply to a question put by him in the Council, he was snubbed and politely told that "His Honour hoped eventually to obtain the co-operation of all unselfish people in his endeavours to reform these unfortunate persons." Poor Sahabzada Sahab being a dangerously close neighbour of these gentry and himself a sufferer, was not unselfish and hence his warning was not heeded. The happenings of last Sunday, the 23rd November would we hope open the eyes of the officials and the Musselmans and they would now realize the grave danger. Only through good fortune, i.e., the presence of mind of Sahabzada Aftab Ahmed Khan and the good sense displayed by the students of the Minto circle, was this danger averted, otherwise the country would have been shocked to hear of a serious affair in which probably a large number of inexperienced students would have been killed or injured at the hands of the practised Dacoit *lathiyars*. Before we say anything further, it would be better if we gave the unvarnished account, which Mr. Shaukat Ali, who happened to be that day at Aligarh, supplied to us:—

"Last Sunday I had to go to Aligarh to clear off the arrears of work accumulated in my absence. The work was unusually heavy and I could not leave our Old Boys' Lodge, till about midnight prayers. After the prayers on the Tennis Court we all walked into the College Club, where that evening an unusually large

number of members was present, as Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan was going to discuss with them the division of communal work. Both the Billiard tables were engaged and those not playing were carrying on a brisk conversation. Suddenly at about 6.30 we heard an unusual bell in the Sir Syed Court, but we could not guess what it was about. Barely 10 minutes after, some one rushed into the room and shouted that about 100 armed Biryas from the fort were attacking the Minto Circle and as there were not sufficient students there, they had asked for help from the main boarding houses. Also that 4 students were beaten by them and two taken and confined in the fort. We all decided to go at once. Besides myself there were two more Trustees there, Messrs. Shaikh Abdullah and Surfas Khan. Of the College staff there were Dr. Wali Mohamed, and Dr. Nisar Ahmad, Messrs. Wilayat Ahmad, Khalil, Ferozuddin Murad, Syed Hasan, Abdul Majeed Kureshi, Abdul Hasan and a dozen more. Servants with lanterns ran with us and as we came out and cleared the cricket ground, we heard the patter of feet from all sides. Near Mumtaz Boarding House, we met Maulana Suleman Ashraf Sahab and Moulvi Bagdadi Sahab. Also a body of College servants, who were arming themselves with branches from the trees.

Behind the Sahab Bagh we met with a large body of students from the Sir Syed and Syed Mahmud Courts and with them were also some school students from the Mumtaz and the Morrison Courts. They were all anxious about the fate of the students said to have been beaten and taken to the fort. They had sent a party to the Minto circle to make enquiries and were waiting there for further news. We decided to send Dr. Wali Mohamed, Dr. Nisar Ahmad and Mr. Abul Hasan to the Minto Circle and the rest of us stopped there. We were joined by Mr. Barkat Ali and Professor Ala Baksh and a little later by Mr. Dunncliffe and the new Professor Mr. Money. On enquiries we learnt that 4 school students went towards the fort for a walk and there were pestered by these Biryas women, who began to beg them for money, also making other suggestions. The boys refused to give them alms and shied clods of earth at them, for their other suggestion, on which these women abused them and shouted for their men to come to their help. These boys, when they saw a crowd coming, bolted but after a short time stopped on the suggestion of one of their companions, who said "why should we run—we have done nothing." The Biryas caught them and knocked them about. It was lucky that the Salvation Army Officer in charge of the Camp reached there shortly after. Two of the younger boys when they saw this, ran as fast as they could towards the Minto Circle where they met a party of College students, who, when they heard all, ran for the rescue of the Boys. They caught hold of the Biryas and took them and the Salvation Army Officer Mr. Francis to the Principal of the College. The two Boys during this discussion must have escaped unnoticed as it was the fate of these 2 students which caused great anxiety to all of us. Those who knew Fatehgarh district would realize what Biryas are capable of. The cruel and out-blooded deeds of Eida Biryas and his gang would come to their minds. They could realize that nothing was impossible with these Biryas, when they were excited. Mr. Francis and a few Biryas were taken to the Principal, by the students. In the meanwhile some Biryas escaped and went to the Fort, where they informed Mrs. Francis that her husband and the Biryas were beaten and probably killed by the College students. She got excited and the whole camp, arming itself with lathis, rushed towards the College. It was lucky at this juncture that Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan who lives near the Minto Circle, heard something about this and rushed to the scene. I got these facts from him in person next day. As soon as he reached the road beyond the Sahab Bagh, he saw an excited body of the Biryas—about 100 armed with big lathis. They were flourishing them over their heads and asking students to come on. No abuse was too bad. "You are no match for us with lathis." Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan in spite of the abuses heaped on him went to Mrs. Francis and assured her that her husband was safe and that those Biryas must go back immediately. The students though excited obeyed the orders of Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan and exercised great self-control in most trying circumstances. With the greatest difficulty and with the help of Mrs. Francis he succeeded in making the gang move toward the Fort. Barely had they done so, when large bodies of students from the College were seen running towards the scene. In the absence of the Biryas it was easy to control them, and which would have been impossible 5 minutes before. It was pitch dark and the encounter would have caused fearful injuries to the students, many of whom were in shirt sleeves without anything in their hands. The students wanted to go to the fort to rescue their two companions but Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan's assurance that he would himself go they accepted on condition that he should take a few of them with him, as they could not allow him to go alone in that den of thieves and murderers.

The Principal, Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mr. Francis, the Salvation Army officer, and some students went to the fort and satisfied themselves that no students were there.

The Collector Mr. Marris came to the group where we were standing and enquired if any had seen the occurrence. Those who knew anything about it, gave him the information. I was told he

went to the Fort afterwards and was very angry with the Biryas for coming out armed and has confiscated their lathis.

The Principal and Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan came back and told all that there was no student in the fort and that they should go back to their rooms. The Trustees will move the Government and do their best that this nuisance was removed from the neighbourhood. Next morning, the Collector at his house held an enquiry the result of which was that the Collegians were not to blame. We all came back to our rooms at about 9 p.m. thanking providence that what might have been a very serious affair ended without any great harm done. This was due entirely to the self control of the Minto Circle students and the opportune presence of Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, who speaks very highly of the behaviour of the students. Personally I have the greatest respect and admiration for the Salvation Army,—their devotion, their courage, their self sacrifice for the sake of their faith is most enviable. They are attempting a great experiment with the criminals but we cannot understand why Aligarh was chosen, for this experiment and if Aligarh, why the present location.

The Biryas men are bad enough but the women are much worse. The following points deserve dispassionate consideration:—

(1). Aligarh is and will be a still greater centre of Moslem education in India. It cannot grow towards the city. It must move on towards the north, the fort side. I am perfectly certain that in another 10 years' time all land round about the Fort will be taken up with buildings for new Colleges and Hostels etc. hence no criminal settlements could be located there.

(2) The students must have plenty of space for their walks and amusements. They can't go without a permit across the Railway line, therefore to curtail their walk towards the fort would be cruel—one might just as well confine them to their quadrangles.

(3). Even if strict orders were given, I doubt if they could be carried out. Young men would be young men and those who know College as well as I do, cannot help but admire our students for their moral character. Still why put temptation right in their path.

(4). Even then it would not be possible to check the evil. These ladies gaily dressed go and return in numbers to and from the city and in doing this walk along the College compound for about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile. Overtures are easily made and nobody could stop them. They begin by asking alms. There is only one remedy. They must be removed at once from the fort and accommodated elsewhere.

(5). Thefts I need not speak of. Men have been seen in Jafar Manzil, Minto Circle and the Sahab Bag and the Biryas seem to have special love for Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan. He and his son Mr. Shahzad Ahmad Khan (now in England) narrowly escaped death once when they followed the thieves armed with Hockey sticks!

(6). If the main body of the students had reached earlier when the armed Biryas were there in such a large number and using foul language, a free fight would have ensued, resulting in loss of life—probably of College students, as most of them had either nothing or only small walking sticks in their hands. Besides it was pitch dark. They were all young and some of them were children who had managed to escape from their rooms.

(7). The Mussalmans have every reason to hope that the Local Government would remove this pest to some more suitable locality. We think the above account would be sufficient for our readers. We ourselves had drawn attention to this, great danger and we venture to quote at length from our issue of the 24th February 1912:—

"But if it is the Lieutenant-Governor who has himself selected the site, and that too deliberately, we are rather sorry for the Lieutenant-Governor and cannot admire the result of his deliberation. It is not a sufficient answer to say that the Biryas are not such great villains as they are believed to be, though in fact Sir John's reforming zeal would not be easily intelligible if they were merely moderate sinners. It is a fact that they form a criminal tribe, and it is notorious that the Biryas ladies do not always respect a somewhat neglected commandment of the Decalogue. We ask, is a site not a mile removed from a large residential College and from the seat of a residential University of the future, the most suitable for Sir John's experiment in the reform of Biryas morals? It is notorious that the Moslem League had to shift its head-quarters from Aligarh at the suggestion of Lord Minto himself. Yet, apparently a colony of criminals cannot, in the opinion of Sir John Hewitt, be justly described even as a source of danger and annoyance. At this rate, the Moslem League has only to enlist itself as a criminal tribe to secure from the reforming zeal of Sir John Hewitt, a sanction for its location at Aligarh. We regret we have to speak in this strain; but frankly, we must either shut up shop in order to say nothing about gubernatorial experiments that possess every merit except common-sense, or must appeal to the higher authorities in the way we do to interfere in a matter which is an obviously ripe for intervention. What is most regrettable is that Sir John Hewitt should have stepped into the arena of personal recriminations by

misapplying that the Trustees and Syndic of the College in charge of its residential discipline was selfish in asking so innocently a most necessary question. Had the authorities of the College even begged the Local Government for preferential treatment in the matter of hand appointment as against the Biriya, the request could be called selfish only by some strange perversion of ethical considerations. If Moslem education cannot have a favoured treatment even in Aligarh, we do not know where in this wide world Lord Crewe would find a place wherein to provide special facilities for the Moslems to compete on equal terms later on with other Indian communities? But Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan asked for no favours, and we believe he has long ago ceased to expect any from the present Local Government. To us the reply appears to be far more tinged with self-love than the question with selfishness.

Sir James Meaton will, however, soon be in charge of the Province, and we may safely say that the College authorities will not be dealt with by him in such cases as selfish people not entitled to the same consideration as criminal tribes.

The italics in the last sentence we have given now. We believe Mr. Mohamed Ali when in Calcutta had received from Sir James Meaton an assurance that he would look into this matter and rid the Aligarh College of this danger. But since then many things have happened and Lucknow is not Calcutta nor is Mr. Mohamed Ali, now so very sober and moderate. We are informed that the Trustees of the College are going to represent the matter strongly and that the Honorary Secretary has decided to go personally to see His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor about this. We hope he will do so at once and inform the Mussalmans of the result. Most people who have their relations in the College and School would be glad to hear the last about this grave danger both to body and soul of the younger generation.

Moslems in London.

DINNER TO MR. WAZIR HASAN AND MR. MOHAMED ALI.

THE Islamic Society entertained Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and Mr. Mohamed Ali, editor of the *Daily Comrade*, at dinner at the Hotel Cecil on Tuesday, evening last, (November 11). The Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., was in the chair and the company, which numbered about 150, included Lord Headley, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Sir J. D. Rees, M.P., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, Mr. H. G. Wells, Kunwar Amarjit Singh of Kapurthala, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, L.C.C., Mr. S. H. Swamy, Dr. John Pollen, Dr. V. H. Rutherford, Mr. Edwin R. Bayan, Dr. S. Abdul Majid, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. G. M. Elshah (Honorary Secretary of the London All-India Muslim League), Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey, Youssef Kenal Bey (ex-Deputy of the Turkish Parliament), Sami Bey, Mahmoud Bey, Capt. Enver Bey, Cherifuddin Bey, Khwaja Kamal-ud-din (editor of the *Islamic Review*), Mr. Zafar Ali Khan (editor of the *Lahore Zameer*), Mr. J. M. Parikh, Col. Warlikar, I.M.S. (retired), Dr. C. B. Vakil, Dr. J. N. Mehta, Mr. Abdul Haq, "Bedwin Sands" (translator of Pierre Loti's "Turkey in Agony"), M. Felix Valya (editor of the *Revue Politique Internationale* of Paris), Mr. Syed Hossain, Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala, Mr. J. K. Roy, and Mr. Jehal Shah.

A telegram was received from His Highness the Aga Khan, who is in the South of France, regretting his inability to be present.

Mr. Bernard Shaw expressed regrets that he was unable to avail himself of the invitation with which the Committee had honoured him, and hoped the visit of the two distinguished guests might have the effect of stimulating English interest in Islam.

Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, wrote as follows:—

DEAR SIR,

I very much regret not being able to be present at the dinner you are giving to Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan who have all my sympathy with the objects of their mission. I entirely approve of the new line taken by the All-India Muslim Society, which they represent, both as to the common political action it intends to take with the Hindu reform party in India, and as to its insistence with our Government that it should abandon its disastrous policy of complicity with certain of the European Powers, and especially Russia, in their anti-Islamic designs.

Yours very faithfully,
WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

Newbuildings Place,
Southwater, Sussex;

November 5th, 1913.

Sir Guy Fleckenwood Wilson, wrote as follows:—

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It is with very genuine and deep regret that I am obliged to ask you not to expect me at the Banquet on Tuesday next. I contracted influenza in Berlin, whence I have quite recently returned, and my Doctor absolutely refuses to allow me, for the present, to be out of doors after sunset.

In the circumstances, I am reluctantly compelled to renounce

the pleasure of attending the complimentary banquet which you are giving to my friends, Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan, to whom I wish God-speed.

I especially ask you not in any way to connect my absence on Tuesday with the regrettable difficulties which beset the Islamic Society. I have myself not infrequently appealed to Indians to be moderate, patient and self-restrained in trying circumstances and I have never appealed to Indians in vain. Those who love India and the Indians and who have the interests of British Empire in India at heart, should close their association with "Young India," rather than sever it, at a time of special doubt, difficulty or misunderstanding, when counsel and guidance may be helpful.

For that very reason I especially regret not to be able to be with you on Tuesday next.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) GUY FLECKENWOOD WILSON

Chancery House, S.W.

November 9th, 1913.

Letters of apology were also received from Mr. A. G. Gardiner (editor of the *Daily News*), Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Cunningham-Graham, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Mr. D. M. Mason, M.P., Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Sir Mark Sykes, M.P., Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Bang, Mr. H. W. Newson (who sent his best wishes for the success of the dinner), Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Sir William Wedderburn, the Turkish Ambassador, and the Persian Minister.

The toast of "The King" given by Mr. Abdul Haq, and that of "The Sultan" submitted by Dr. John Pollen, were both loyally honoured, to the accompaniment of the British and Turkish National Airs.

THE CHAIRMAN

In proposing the health of the guests of the evening, the Chairman said that one reason for the pleasure he felt in presiding that evening was to be found in the great work done by both gentlemen in connexion with the Red Crescent Society. He was perhaps in a better position than others to appreciate that work. The efficiency of its organisation in Turkey was as admirable as its organisation both in India and in London, and he could tell Mr. Mohamed Ali that his gratitude could make a man happy he ought to be a happy man. (Cheers.) The inmates of the Turkish hospitals had been full of gratitude even for little kindnesses, and the kindness of the Red Crescent had not been small. Another source of pleasure to him in extending his hand to their guests was the fact that they were both of them politicians. In his own country men who differed politically were most rancorous. But with those disadvantages they had also good qualities, and when separated by the sea or divided by continents the mark of human kindness flowed freely and nobly of men more quickly responded to the call of fraternity. Probably, he and the guests would not agree on political questions, but speaking for a great body of Englishmen of diverse opinions he was bound to say that once a Moslem had made a friend of a man that man was his friend for all his life. (Cheers.) He would like to say a few words as to the position of the average Englishman who was a friend of the Mohamedan, and who was also anxious for the prosperity of his own country. One of the difficulties of the past had been that the East and West had known so little of each other. Englishmen did not understand the problems, ideas and facts of the East. But more and more in this country we were getting to realise not only our obligations but also the duties we had incurred in the East, and the most permanent things in this country whether they came from the gentle creed of Christ or the mystic teachings of Buddha, were more permanent than the telephones which would be superseded to-morrow or the railway train which would one day be a curiosity in our museums. The had more vitality and more durability than any mechanical contrivance, Europe had ever invented or America adapted. That night they had met for one purpose—sympathy. He would not weigh in the balance the advantages and the disadvantages that had accrued from the long connexion between the East and the West. All he would say was that to Englishmen like himself to whom the relationship was extremely precious it must be a matter of the utmost regret when any division occurred between them, whether that division came from impatience on the part of the East, or slowness of utterance on the part of the West. The ordinary Englishman did not appreciate what Indian Industry had done for the Empire outside India—which had been hardly recognised and very inadequately rewarded work, but on the other hand, our good intentions had been misinterpreted in the East. With regard to the Balkan War he felt extreme sympathy with the spirit of friendship, kinship, and creed that had been shown in India with regard to Turkey. More wrongs had been done in the name of religion and liberty than with any other cause, and never, perhaps, so many as had been done in the last few months. It was not wonderful that it had raised a storm of feeling among those of the same creed. In the old days when Christian fought Mohamedan there was some chivalry, but though possibly Saladin still lived in the East, Richard Coeur de Lion died a thousand years ago in the West. Where this country had been to blame had been

in its lack of sympathy with the Turks. There was an old Eastern saying, "You do not make the mouth sweet by saying 'Honey, Honey,'" but it should have been remembered that after all the futures of India and England were inseparable. They might as well try to divide twins in the womb as the futures of those two countries; but at the same time it was not possible to imperil a great Empire in a quarrel which was not her own.

SIR HENRY COTTON.

Sir Henry Cotton was received with loud and prolonged cheers on rising to support the toast. He said that the point of view from which he regarded the gathering was naturally somewhat different from that laid before them by the Chairman. He viewed it in the light of an interesting joining together of all classes, races and creeds—Christians, Hindus, Parsees, and, of course, Islam—all assembled to do honour to two distinguished Mohammedan visitors to this country who represented very large sections of Indian opinion. Nor was it often that he found himself on the same platform as Sir J. D. Rees, who was an old friend of his (Sir J. D. Rees: "No, no"). Things had very much changed in India since he was last there, especially in connexion with the Mohammedan community. Twenty years ago men of the character and type of the guests of the evening did not exist in India. He had the honour of friendship with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, their greatest leader. He knew him for a great many years, and he had always admired the large-heartedness with which he contemplated the trend of public affairs. But he lived, he was sure no man would have given him greater pleasure than to witness the spread of education among Mohammedans. Education had led to that mark of development they were witnessing that day. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was not destined to realise in his own life that which had now been realised, and which was a happy augury for the future of India. At one time he (Sir Henry) had regarded the trend of events in India with great depression, and, with others, was very pessimistic of the future of India. But it was no longer so. He was now very hopeful, and he would call upon his young friends present when they returned to India, as most of them would shortly do, to join heartily in the development of India's progress and to work hand in hand for the amelioration of the condition of their fellow-subjects—Hindu and Mohammedan alike. (Cheers.)

MR. SAID WAZIR HASAN.

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, who first replied, said it was no small honour for any Mussalman to receive such a recognition for a society representative of Mussalmans from all parts of the world residing in England. Their purpose in visiting England was perfectly peaceful, though it had been suggested in the Press that they had come like a force of Hot-purs with all the fire and fury of youth, and harbouring secret design of guilty conspirators to exterminate everyone who had a grey hair or a wrinkle, and to attack every Government that was not as lark as their trees and hems. Youth was to crime, and they who were working for their people in India were probably more reverent and more considerate of old age than any people in the West. It seemed to him that true statesmanship and true broad-mindedness was to be found in recognising these inevitable outbreaks of feeling rather than discouraging them. It was absolutely necessary for the Government which had to reckon with a new force and for the older people that they should take the new force into account rather than despise or laugh at it.

THE MOTIVES OF THEIR MISSION.

What were the motives that brought him and his colleague to this country? Events of a far-reaching character vitally affecting Mussalmans had been taking place during the last two or three years both in India and abroad, and a right understanding of the Moslem point of view had become absolutely necessary. Their object was to convince all those concerned of the essential loyalty of the Moslem community in India to His Majesty's person and throne, and of the justice of the Moslem claims. The *Times* had maintained that disloyalty was growing among Indian Mussalmans and had attributed to them ideas of a preposterous character. In particular, the All-India Moslem League had been subjected to a good deal of uninformed and unjust criticism, and its inclusion among its ideals of the attainment of a form of self-government suitable for India had been distorted into a more or less immediate demand of Home Rule for India. The *Times* had refused to publish the other side, and so they had come to have a series of personal interviews with the authorities in this country, to explain clearly the real attitude of Indian Mussalmans towards the Government—an attitude which had never been more loyal than it was to-day. (Hear, hear.) From the first they had desired to deal with the authorities concerned, and had made it clear that until and unless they were finally told the authorities here would have nothing to do with them they would not give publicity to their views and opinions on the subject of their grievances. Hence, they had not availed themselves of the opportunity of public speaking, nor of writing in the Press. They had rambled round and about the India Office, and had spent six weeks in these perambulations. They would stay another three weeks, and were still reluctant to publicly explain their views on questions of current Indian politics before having exhausted every possible resource

in trying to reach those directly responsible for the Government of India in this country. The Cawnpore affair had been partly settled through the courage and wisdom of Lord Hardinge, and the moderation and good sense of the real leaders of the Moslem community out in India. They expressed their grateful thanks to the Viceroy and their admiration for his wise and intrepid statesmanship. He was thankful for the kind words of the Chairman, but the words which would ring in his ears all his life were those of Sir Henry Cotton, whom he was glad to congratulate on having lived to see the dawn of a glorious day, and who, he hoped, would live on to see its consummation. (Loud cheers.) It was an impossible proposition that the Hindus and Mussalmans of their great country should remain divided; they must have one destiny and one goal to work for. Although the new spirit had been associated with a charge of revolutionary movement against the Mussalmans of India, yet it was the result of the culture and education they had received from the English, and it could not be expected that the sons and descendants of those who carried the torch of learning to the East as well as the West should be perpetually involved in the darkness of ignorance, and should never awaken to political consciousness. Therefore, in nothing in the new spirit was there the least ground for embarrassment to the British connexion in India. They, in fact, more appreciated the blessings of British rule than they could have done had they remained steeped in ignorance. Under the new movement their relations with the British Government were as cordial as they ever before. Thirty years ago, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan said he rejoiced he was still alive to see India learning at the hands of Great Britain the lessons of self-government which had made Great Britain so great among the nations of the world, and the All-India Moslem League had simply followed the teachings of that great man by placing on its programme the attainment of a self-government suitable to India under the aegis of the British Crown. As Mussalmans they desired no less than other communities the continuance of the British connexion with India for the peace which it had brought them; they would prove the yeast that would leaven the whole lump of 300 million Mussalmans in the world. (Cheers.)

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Speech.

GENTLEMEN,

I associate myself with my friend Mr. Wazir Hasan in all that he has said about our gratefulness to you for doing us the honour of entertaining us this evening at such a magnificent banquet. He has referred to my unpardonable liberty and to my still more unpardonable and blunt metaphors but even if I was ever capable of offering an apology I find it very difficult to do so because instead of searching for vain excuses I have to discover in some sudden chunk or cranny of my temperament and character even a modicum of modesty to set against the audacity of being one of the two guests at such a complimentary dinner, but believe me if after your experiences of pouring in you can believe anything that a journalist says, that I feel highly honoured by this mode of your affection for one who has never posed as a leader but has always been ready to march shoulder to shoulder with you as a comrade towards the common objective of us all.

A part from my gratefulness to you for the honour I should like to express my thanks to you for giving me an opportunity for removing some of the misconceptions that exist in the minds of people in this country and that have recently been so sedulously created as regards the feelings of Indian Mussalmans about the troubles and travails of their brethren in faith in other parts of the world and their attitude towards their own government as well as their desires as regards the action which government should take with reference to Mussalman kingdoms and empires.

Before I attempt to let me give you as briefly as I can the synopsis of a temporary Mussalman History in recent times. Never before in the entire history of Islam the Mussalmans have had to face such a succession of misfortunes as have overtaken them in recent years. Sooner after Turkey commenced to set her house in order Bulgaria refused to remain even nominally a vassal of the Ottoman and went to the length of incorporating in the new Parliament—Eastern Roudia—at the same time Austria-Hungary annexed two Turkish Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. An experiment in constitutional government was also tried in another part of the Mussalman world with the result that half of Persia is in the iron grip of Russia to-day and a Russian paper published from Printing House square has more than once invited Great Britain to try and hold the other half in a similar grip. This has been the result of an economic convention entered into by Russia and England following on an economic mission sent out from India by Lord Curzon. And yet although we are often reminded that the state of Persia would have been worse than it is to-day—if after death there is any better or worse—were it not for this convention, it is seldom remembered that this convention was designed to safeguard the independence and integrity of Persia. A little before this crisis became acute, Italy raided an outlying portion of the Ottoman Empire and, as a result

of that the annexation of Tripoli by Italy, whatever it may be worth, has been recognised by the Chancelleries of Europe. Another part of Africa the independence of which we were told at the time had been safeguarded by the conference at Algiers, is bound to be divided sooner or later and becomes a protectorate of France and its independence is as much a myth as any other political fiction. Still more recently we have seen that Macedonia and part of Thrace have passed out of Mussalman dominion and what is left of Thrace had all but passed in Christian hands. Albania that cat's paw of the powers interested in the Balkans has practically ceased to be a Mussalman kingdom.

But all these operations which transferred hundreds of thousands of square miles and bartered away millions of people from one rule to another have not been altogether painless. The occupation even of a very small part of Tripoli was attended by such barbarities as even Europe which had been fed for long years on gruesome accounts of alleged Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities found too blood curdling and inhuman. But the blood lust which made the oasis of Tripoli a human abattoir was but a mild sensation easily justified by one friend of the Mussalmans who is making the Moloch of war quite a presentable deity in this country—I refer to Lord Roberts—on the score of the exigencies of war when compared with the fiendish passions that prompted the Balkan atrocities.

While all this was going on, the press of Europe was not by any means a silent spectator. What I now wish to express are not my ideas nor of Indian Mussalmans, but the ideas of Europeans and Christians themselves and they are by no means ideas of isolated individuals for a reference to the files of the majority of newspapers even in England would corroborate and confirm them. It was said at the time that Europe was at last definitely retaliating on Asia for the alarm into which the Mohamedan Arms had thrown the West from the seventh to the end of the seventeenth century. It was stated that after ejecting the Moors from her soil in the South West at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Europe was now finally grouping out the power of Islam from Northern Africa, and having checked the rush of the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century and steadily weakened the Mohamedan grip on South Eastern Europe ever since, she was now battering one branch of Mohammedanism in Persia and another branch in Turkey, and threatening the Mussalman Empire in Asia itself with isolation and ultimate annihilation. And the West, having beaten back the ancient attack of the East, was now carrying on a counter attack into the enemies' quarters. At all points the independent dominion of the Mussalmans was hemmed in and threatened, and the future seemed dark for its continuance in any part of the world.

These ideas were published in newspapers and proclaimed from pulpits and political platforms. But no less sinister were the whispers overheard by Mussalmans in the premises of European Chancelleries. In December 1911 shortly after Italy's raid on Tripoli I was informed by one of the most eminent Mohamedans whom even the *Times* cannot but acknowledge to be such a personage, told me that he had heard from the most reliable source that in one of his expansive and communicative moods Sir Fairfax Cartwright, the British Ambassador at Vienna had told a lady a few weeks before Italy declared war that they would soon be witnessing the first of a series of military and naval tests demarches that were designed to lead to the extinction of Islam as a temporal power. About the same time, was commenced a campaign against the religious beliefs of the Mussalmans and one distinguished officer of our own Empire went to the extent of the calling the Prophet of Islam a "Bandit Mystic." I have recently been informed by a newspaper here that the recent attacks of European and Christian nations against Mussalman states have not been actuated by a religious zeal, that it was not God but greed that led them on. Whatever may have been the motives of these nations, the facts at least are beyond question and whether Islamic, spiritual expansion was to be prevented or its temporal power to be curtailed, no one can deny that Mussalman kingdoms and empires received blow after blow from different quarters and in rapid succession in recent years.

This led to the resentment of all Mussalman nations and Indian Mohamedans were no less incensed than Mussalmans in Egypt or in any other country. The British public has been asked to believe that Indian Muslim agitators discovered in these happenings abroad a veritable gold mine and religious passions were inflamed racial antagonisms were promoted and no opportunity was lost of abusing British rule and vilifying the Christian religion. Gentlemen, no greater libel has ever been published in a responsible newspaper and none has never been perverted more deliberately than in this case. The fact is that constituted as the Mohamedans are, those in India felt the injuries caused by the blows aimed at their co-religionists abroad and a succession of events of the same character, led them to generalise and not without reason but abuse of the British Government in India there was none and vilification of the Christian religion was no more indulgent in India than the vilification of the Mohammedan religion in England and no more, latest than what is unavoidable in religious controversies carried on duly to which religious colour

was lent by the proclamations of the Balkan allies and even the speeches of their own Ministers. Indian Mussalmans have passed through successive seasons of misery and wretchedness, but no greater proof can be given of the essential loyalty of Indian Mussalmans to the British Connection and of their self restraint than the incontestable fact that throughout the last three years there was hardly a single incident of rioting or even rowdy behaviour on the part of Mohamedans in India in the least connected with the miseries of Mussalmans abroad. But it is equally undeniable that for many days food was not cooked in Mussalman households in India and the daily routine not only of men but of women and even children was disturbed by the events happening in the Balkans in Tripoli and in Persia. Food did not taste well in our mouths and sleep and rest of nights was gone—all this we felt and the rich and poor alike felt it though the rich were sometimes afraid of confessing their wretchedness. Young and old alike felt it and even the old could not repress their feelings. As for incitement of angry resentment I ask you was there any need of it when so much was happening which we could not but resent if we were mere models and Oriental models at that. The fact is those who are now considered leaders of the Mussalman community, people who are supposed to have captured the political machinery of Indian Mohamedans, instead of leading the Mussalmans were themselves being pushed forward from behind by their followers and even if they had themselves felt differently from the mass of the people they could not have controlled them for the passions excited by the miseries of innocent women and children were not easily controllable. But how could we dry the tears of others when our own eyes were wet from weeping. Unmanly as all this emotion may appear in this country it cannot be denied that it was there and it could not be repressed. No religion condemns self slaughter more than Islam and you will find that so small is the percentage of morbid people among the followers of the Prophet of Arabia that I shall not be surprised to find the proportion of suicides least among the Mussalmans of all the people in the world. But not one or two but many of us came as near the brink of suicide as possible without giving way to such unmanly decisions and even if we had not felt all this what logic could we use to convince the Mussalmans that all was for the best in the best possible of all worlds when those atrocities were going on in the Balkans and the sympathies of Europe and Christendom were either hushed or only heard in whispers in the babel of some of the most un-Christian passions that ever moved humanity. Do not imagine that Indian Mussalmans were as ignorant about the foreign policies of the powers or about the events in the Balkans as the majority of Englishmen are about the concerns of India and the feelings of Indian people. I happened to be in England during Boer War and comparing the man in the street in England, in London in the days of the Boer War with the man in the street in the heart of India during the last two years I have no hesitation in saying that the one was no whit less well informed than the other and no less interested, of course making allowances for the much higher percentage of literacy in England and the larger number and greater bulk of newspapers in this country. Under these circumstances it is idle to talk of incitement of Mussalman passions by young mischief makers for young and old rich and poor educated and ignorant, all were tarred with the same brush and each was as black as the others. I have in a very general way described the feelings of Indian Mussalmans during the last two or three years and more particularly during the Balkan War. But you may ask me and knowing your conceptions of nationality as I do I am sure you must need ask me why the Mohamedans of India should have felt so much of the sufferings of a people not of their own race or country nor sharing with them the common language. The Western school of statecraft rests on the axiom that the primary division of mankind is determined by racial and geographical considerations but I must tell you that these ideas are not accepted as axiomatic in the East. There the inhabitants of the world as a recent writer has pointed out are classified according to their religious beliefs. The unit is no longer the nation or state but the "milat." Yet in spite of the fact that for at least a century and a half the British have ruled a daily increasing portion of India, an Englishman whose duties as a teacher of the young brought him in daily contact with Indians, asked me why I had any sympathies with the Turks in their misfortunes. The Turks were not of the same blood as Indian Mussalmans and it could not enter into his philosophy that some three hundred million people constituting a fifth of the world's entire population were united together by a bond which was not that of blood and similar ethnic origin nor yet of physical contiguity and territorial patriotism. Some, however, have begun to realise this in Europe but seek for its existence an explanation in the past history of Europe. They regard the bond of religion which unites Mussalmans in the 20th century a stage of social and political evolution which they have themselves left far behind them in the Middle Ages. Alas, how little they understand the meaning of religion as it is understood by a Mussalman. They forget that Islam is not only a religion but also a social polity, a culture and a nationality. If patriotism has a rationale, surely it can be nothing else but the similarity of culture and social institutions whether due to a common

ethnic origin, or a geographical unity or identity of historical association expressing itself in similar laws and institutions. Now the rationale of the brotherhood of Islam or Pan-Islamism if you chose to call it, is exactly the same as the rationale of patriotism, with this difference however, that the Islamic Fraternity has not achieved an identity of laws and institutions through a common race or country or history but has received it according to Mussalman beliefs as a direct gift from God. Customs in India may and do differ from customs in Turkey or Morocco, and the laws governing the Afghans may not tally in every particular with the laws governing the Egyptians, but in the main the principles underlying the social synthesis are the same throughout the Islamic World, while they are not so and have never been in Christendom. It is not only one God, one Prophet and one K'aba that the Mussalmans of the world have in common, but in every degree of longitude and latitude they hold the same views of the relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, of master and slave and of neighbour and neighbour. They observe in every country the same sumptuary laws and the same rules for physical purification. They follow among all races, whether Arab or 'Ajami, Turk or Tajik, the same laws of marriage and divorce and of succession and endowments. And they do this in the twentieth century of the Christian era exactly as they did in the sixth and hope to do so to the last syllable of recorded time. Baghdad may be sacked, the Moors may be driven out of Spain, or the Turk may turn again home to Asia Minor, the Afghan may be ruled by one of his own faith, the Central Asian may be subjected to a ruler of an alien creed, and the Chinese Moslem may own allegiance to a Manchu King or to a Republic composed of four other elements besides his own, but there is still the one God to worship and the one Prophet to follow, and through calm or storm there is always the one unaltered and unalterable book to soothe and to stimulate, and the one K'aba to act as the magnetic Pole for all True Believers from all points of the compass. But this spiritual unity would have been of no avail if it did not provide a social unity, and so it has been decreed that in all essentials the Mussalmans of all ages and all countries will have a common social polity. Thus the code of Christ, as understood by Christians, did not provide even in the middle ages, with the result that in spite of the advance of civilization the hand of every Christian nation is against its neighbour, and each recurring Christmas sees not the dawn of peace on earth and goodwill of mankind but an armed camp, and the substance of man is devoted year after year not so much to the uplifting of his soul as to perfecting the instruments of his own destruction. And yet a common civilization such as this which Europe boasts of, can unite it against the Moslem interloper in Christian Europe, but it is incomprehensible to Europe how these can share each other's sorrows and miseries who share the common heritage of Islam and all that it signified in this world and the next.

One at least among the ministers of England to-day at one time seemed to understand the spirit of Islam aright. It was Mr. Montague, the Under Secretary of State for India who recognised the extra territorial patriotism of Islam which laughed at material distance and scorned the limits imposed by race or geography. Let us hope it will not take long for the ministers to understand what Islam means to a Mussalman and how long before the policy of Pan-Islamism was created to provide an excuse for despising Mussalman states, the commandment of God was revealed to Mohammed: "Verily all Mussalmans are brothers."

Well, being constituted as we are, what do we in India ask our Government to do for us and what do we desire it to refrain from doing? In this connection I would like to refer to three more or less recent pronouncements of responsible ministers.

Speaking in the House of Commons about the middle of August Sir Edward Grey said that he would like to declare that no minister could speak of our relations with Mohamedan powers without remembering that the King had many millions of Mohamedan subjects. But he added that "we had absolute and entire responsibility only so far as seeing that inside the British Dominions the real sentiments and feelings of the Mohamedan subjects were respected and had full scope. We have fulfilled and will fulfil that duty. Moreover, I hold that our policy should never be one of intolerance or of wanton and unprovoked aggression against the Mussalman powers but we cannot undertake to protect the Mussalman powers outside the British dominions from the consequences of their own actions. More recently speaking at Newcastle Sir Edward Grey explained the different functions of a foreign secretary and tried to justify himself by saying that the foreign secretary has not yet been found and perhaps never would be found who can satisfy the extreme aspirations of any section of public opinion which has concentrated upon one of these objects with-out, if he satisfies it, sacrificing something, at least, of the other objects, and he said that no foreign secretary could satisfy everybody because he must keep a general perspective of the whole, and because in the pursuit of one of these objects with which personally very likely he is in thorough sympathy, he must set limits because he cannot pursue them to the length which would endanger other interests for which also he is the Trustee on behalf of the nation. Still more recently the

Prime Minister himself has spoken for a second time at Guildhall in connection with Turkey and he said that "it is the desire of His Majesty's Government that the integrity of those dominions, meaning the Asiatic provinces of Turkey should not be infringed. In them are to be found the holy places of the Mohamedan religion held sacred by the whole body of Mussalmans, millions of whom are loyal and devoted subjects of the British Crown. We could not see without lively concern anything that threatened the holy places or their possible transfer from Mussalmans possession."

Now these pronouncements are exceedingly gratifying to Indian Mussalmans and I venture to think that they would not fail to increase the capital of good will which had for long been accumulating in Mussalman countries to the credit of Great Britain. They go much further than anything previously said and although we would have wished them to have been made earlier by British Ministers but better late than never. But I hope we shall be excused of inordinate greed if we say that they do not go far enough and if we wish to point out that these good intentions have not always been consistently carried out in the last few years.

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that we desire to dominate British Foreign Policy. Do not think that we wish Great Britain to go on protecting Mussalman powers against the consequences of their own actions. Do not believe that we desire England to go to war with everyone who goes to war with Turkey when it does not coincide with her imperial interests. What is it then that we desire? In the first place we desire that the foreign policy of the empire must in reality be imperial and Sir Edward Grey should regard himself not only as the Trustee of a nation of 45,000,000 Britons but also of 70 million Indian Mussalmans who form part of the British Empire. At one time the colonies were not consulted in the formation of British Foreign policies. But recently the conception of the Empire's foreign policy has grown beyond those early limits in conformity with the growth of the imperial idea. We who do not dominate the internal policy of our country cannot with any hope of success ask that we should dominate the foreign policy of this vast and varied Empire. But we must cease to be a negligible quantity and although we are not a self-governing colony our desire for self government should not be whetted on the tombstones of half a million innocent Mussalmans that have perished at the hands of barbarians in the Balkan Peninsula. If you cannot consult us directly can you not consult us through the Government that is still in a preponderating degree British and Christian? That is the recognition which we desire from our government for when you accord to the Governor General in Council such a position in the councils of the Empire we would then have a regular channel through which our prayers and even our tears could flow right up to the throne of the King Emperor. Do you call this an immoderate demand characteristic of firebrands and sedition mongers? In the next place it is not enough that you should adopt a policy of intolerance or of wanton and unprovoked aggression against a Mussalman power. You should also use your undoubted influence and prestige of your Empire to prevent other European powers from such a policy of intolerance and wanton and unprovoked aggression, and in the case of your friends at least it must be clearly understood that your friend should not be the wretched enemies of our friends as they cannot be your friends.

As regards Mr. Asquith's assurances about the holy places of Islam I hope he will not consider ungracious of Indian Mussalmans if they desire to adopt measures for themselves for the safety of their sacred places and the prevention of sacrilege which is by no means an untended apprehension. These are matters to us not of Temporal importance but of the very essence of our Faith and we would not defend our holy places against every non-Moslem assailant as we would like to defend any other portion of the Turkish Empire or of Persia or Morocco because they constitute part of the Temporal power of Islam, but because there is a direct commandment in our Scriptures that these places must be kept free from the contiguity and control of every non-Moslem. For this purpose and for this purpose only has been founded in India the "Society of the Servants of the K'aba" and although we cannot be so foolish as to think we may not occasionally be suspected of sinister designs we have established this Society under the very eyes of the Government of India so that our activities may be carried on in the light of the day and absolutely over-board.

As regards the recent past it is well within the remembrance of all of us and it will not be a great feat of memory if you recall the words of Mr. Masterman or Mr. Lloyd George, or Mr. Winston Churchill and last but not least almost exactly a year ago the words of Mr. Asquith himself. Gentlemen, Mr. Lloyd George had only prayed for "the extension of the area of freedom and good Government" and now Macedonia and Albania and part of Thrace are enjoying freedom and good Government for nothing can stay the wishes of Mr. Lloyd George and God Almighty Himself has bowed to the dictation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and even in the heat of resentment at the barbarities that heralded the "extension of the area of freedom and good Government" no infuriated Mussalman could have wished Mr. Lloyd George the enjoyment of "greater freedom or a better

Government" than that to which men of his own blood and faith had reluctantly borne ample testimony. To Mr. Churchill's mind there was clear case for war against the Turk but providence in its inscrutable wisdom, decrees that war should be carried on among the allies themselves whether a clear case existed or not. In the remote part a Greek patriarch wrote to the Valvode of Wallachia that "the power of Islam is drawing to an end, the Christian faith will soon be supreme and the Lords of the Cross and the Church will be the Lords of the Empire. Between this ancient prophecy of a partisan led by religious zeal and last year's memorable prophecy of the Prime Minister of the largest Mussalman power—what a strange analogy and a still more strange contrast. Are we then to believe that British Ministers can speak of these matters without remembering that the King had many millions of Mohamedans subjects?"

I shall not say a word about the assertion of Sir Edward Grey—that the British Government had fulfilled the absolute and entire responsibilities for seeing that inside the British Dominions the religious sentiments and feelings of the Mohamedan subjects were respected and had full scope. But let me say that if our religion insists on an extra territorial patriotism without wishing is to abate one jot of our territorial loyalty can we accept as sufficient the declaration that this duty will be fulfilled only so far as our sentiments relate to things happening in India. However, I cannot say anything about the distressing eloquence of Sir Edward Grey's colleagues and of no less distressing silence of Sir Edward Grey. But for the future at least let him revise the values that he had hitherto placed on the gratification of the extra territorial sentiment of Indian Mussalmans and on the demand of humanity. Too strict a regard for the peace of Europe will not bring righteousness to Europe nor even peace for the Lord God of war is also the God of righteousness. This is our recession and with better justice we would remind Sir Edward Grey of those memorable words "lest we forget," "lest we forget."

At this point, Mr. Herbert was compelled to leave in order to catch a train, and the chair was taken by Sir Henry Cotton.

MR. DILLON.

Responding to the toast of "The Visitors," proposed by Mr. Jela! Shah, Mr. Dillon, M.P., said he had been deeply humiliated and disgusted by the treatment which the great Mussalmans kingdoms of the world had received in recent years at the hands of the Christian nations of Europe. It was deplorable that the International morale of the Concert of Europe should appear in the light of shameful aggression and wholesale public robbery. Touching on the Indian Press Laws, Mr. Dillon said that if similar laws obtained in England there was not a single editor of a great Opposition newspaper who would not find himself in jail to-morrow, including the editor of the *Times* and the *Daily Mail*, while as to the editor of the *Daily Express*, he would probably get twenty years' penal servitude. (Laughter.) No Government could govern decently and properly as long as they maintained such laws. They were tried without success in Ireland, and they must equally fail in India. India's trouble was that their case was not understood by the British people, and he urged those present to do all they could to dissipate the existing ignorance.

Time did not permit of further toasts, but Sir Henry Cotton said a few words in appreciation of the efforts of the Islamic Society in organising a very successful function.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Explanation.

We take the following extracts from a letter, sent by Mr. Mohamed Ali, to the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, for publication, only a few passages of which however were published:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH."

Sir,

You published in your issue of the 3rd November a lengthy article on "The Moslem League of India" contributed by a correspondent to which I feel a reply is required not only to do justice to ourselves but also to The All-India Moslem League and in fact to the large bulk of the Moslem community.

Your correspondent states that His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali "have tendered their resignations as the result of the demands for official recognition in London of two representatives of the extreme or 'Nationalist' section of the League in India."

This statement is wholly untrue as would appear from the following passages in the letter, addressed by Mr. Wazir Hasan to Mr. Ameer Ali, on the 29th October, which your correspondent has entirely ignored.

What His Highness the Aga Khan has said about the development and progress of the Moslem League, makes it unnecessary for me to repudiate the aspersions cast on that body or on those who hold positions of authority therein. But I should like to quote for the benefit of your readers remarks addressed by Mr. Wazir Hasan and myself at two public meetings since our coming to England. Mr. Wazir Hasan referring to what he called "chimerical dangers pointed out the needless warnings indulged in by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian Press, which have found an echo in the correspondence columns of an important journal here," said that, "the

unity of Hindus and Mussalmans is not to be a unity in opposition to the British Government. . . . Is it sane to imagine for a moment that Indian Mussalmans mean to exterminate the British and oust the British Government from India simply because, following slowly in the wake of the Government of India, they have now come to cherish the ideal of self-government, to which such a clear reference was made in the now memorable despatch of that Government on the 25th August 1911? Is it wise, is it even in the interests of the continuance of the British connection with India, to distort for the ultimate rulers of India (the British public) the legitimate hopes and aspirations of educated Mussalmans into a movement of anarchical character?"

Addressing another audience I said:—

"Far from being disloyal to the British Government we regard it as a dispensation of Providence because it provides for 70,000,000 of us the peace that the Turks and the Persians and the Moroccans lack, and introduces a factor in our education which is not shared with us by our co-religionists abroad. We have a chance of combining the best in the East with the best in the West, and while abating not a jot of our Islamic and extra-territorial fervour we are determined to take advantage of all the facilities which British Rule in India provides for our self-improvement."

If you would like to satisfy yourself that these are not our views manufactured for British consumption alone, I would quote the concluding paragraph of a leading article which appeared in an issue of my paper, dated 4th January last, dealing with the recently evolved creed of the Moslem League. It runs thus:—

"We also offer him (Mr. Wazir Hasan) here as Mr. Mohamed Ali did in the course of discussion at Lucknow, our cordial support in maintaining that loyalty should be placed on the forefront of the objects of every political organisation in the country. . . . A few calculating men have no doubt harped on loyalty too often just as they have made much personal capital out of the protection of communal interests. But that is no more reason for giving up the profession of loyalty than for discarding the declaration that the League shall advance and protect communal interests. The loyalty of the Mussalmans is a well established fact and we shall not pause to make invidious comparisons, for we have no desire that other communities should lag behind them in this respect. We trust that in course of time the loyalty of the whole of India would become so real and well-grounded that a declaration of loyalty in the political creed of any association will merely pass for a polite convention not unlike the oath of allegiance which the Members of Parliament in England and our own Councillors in India are required to take. So long as the political relationship of England to India is unique among the nations it is necessary to keep the loyalty of India to the British Crown in the forefront of India's political creed, but even when this unique character ceases to exist we trust the dignity of the Indian nation would not be so delicate as to be unable to bear the weight of the convention of loyalty. And dignity should not be proclaimed from the housetops any more than loyalty. To-day it is necessary to work for the creation of a nation by promoting unity between the various communities of the country and fostering a public spirit and it is our firm belief that whatever may be the policy of this or that ruler of India it is the connection of India with Great Britain which has made it possible for an Indian nation to come into being. A nation would be the greatest blessing that England would confer on India, and those who work for it and hasten its advent, whether Indian or English, are deserving of our eternal gratitude."

As regards your correspondent's classification of Indian Mohamedans the less said the better. Anyone who knows India would at once tell you that it is absurd to the verge of puerility. Mr. Wazir Hasan has as noble a pedigree as the Aga Khan or Mr. Ameer Ali for he is also a Syed, that is, a direct descendant of the Prophet of Islam. I may be forgiven the egotism if I say for myself that I trace my pedigree to the first man in Arabia outside the Prophet's family who embraced Islam. I refer to the first Caliph. Both of us have only too numerous relations serving Government, and although not a Pathan myself, my family bears the honorific title of Khan as an indication of having for several generations identified itself with the Rohillas over whom His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, of whom I am a devoted subject, rules. In that State my family has a very large number of officers in the army. But if it pleases your correspondent to call us "Moslem Babus" and "of the same blood as the worshippers at Benares and Puri" we have no objection. It is the glory of Islam that it is the greatest solvent of races and colours and if in spite of being recent converts we are acknowledged by our co-religionists to be their representatives that only proves the merit of Islam. The India Office as well as the Government of India that have received numerous telegrams accrediting us as the agents of Indian Mussalmans know only too well what we are well in spite of your correspondent's calling us "two representatives of the extreme or 'Nationalist' section of the League in India" and among "a few unrepresentative members of the League."

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMED ALI.

The Relations Between Islam and the West.

Conference at Essex Hall.

(SPECIAL REPORT FOR "INDIA")

Mr. S. H. Swinny (President of the London Positivist Society) presided on Sunday evening last (October 26) over a conference at Essex Hall on "Events in the Near East and the Future of the Moslem World." In spite of the inclement weather, there was a good attendance.

A LETTER FROM MR. WILFRID BLUNT.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings read a letter from Mr. Wilfrid S. Blunt, expressing regret at his inability to be present. In the course of the letter Mr. Blunt wrote—

I have had the advantage of receiving a visit from the Indian Moslem gentlemen, Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, who are to address you, and of discussing with them the whole question of the relations between the British Imperial Government and the Islamic world: and I am glad to find them worthy representatives of the new spirit of courage with which the events of the past few years have inspired the Indian Mohamedan community to insist with our Government that it should discharge its full duty to Islam as responsible head of the largest body of Mohamedans now existing under any government in the world.

I rejoice to learn from them that the All-India Moslem League which they represent has now adopted as its settled programme to act in cordial concert with the progressive Hindu and other communities in India in the patriotic work of obtaining at our hands some measure of Home Rule. This is a new departure of the very highest significance, and I trust that its full meaning will be understood at the India Office. Until it is brought home to the official understanding that the old system of administration through an alien bureaucracy is out of date, nothing will ever begin to be accomplished in the direction of progressive liberty.

So far the reforms introduced in India as progressive have resulted in a more open adoption than before of the arbitrary methods of Russian despotism. A striking example of what these are in their dealings with the liberty of the Press Mr. Mohamed Ali will be able to tell you in narrating how they have recently been applied in his own case under Lord Morley's Press Act of 1910—one of the most cynical pieces of despotic legislation ever associated with the name of a Liberal English Minister. The change of attitude adopted now by the Indian Mohamedan body will, we may hope, be a warning against such excesses in future which the India Office will take to heart. It will understand that it can no longer count on Moslem support in introducing its reactionary measures.

A matter of even more importance is the necessity there is—if the loyalty of Mohamedan India is to be permanently retained—of ending the insensate foreign policy of the last few years connected with the name of Sir Edward Grey. The secret agreements and at times open complicity of our diplomacy with Russia, France, Italy, and the other anti-Mohamedan States of Europe in their recent oppressions on Persia, Morocco, and Tripoli, have been deeply resented in India and are perfectly understood for what they are—a treacherous sacrifice of the interests of our Oriental Empire to a panic fear of invasion at home. . . . Plain speaking was never more needed than now if it is to convince our Foreign Office that a policy of European intrigue is a dangerous one to indulge in by a Government charged as ours is with the enormous responsibilities of an Asiatic Empire.

APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE.

Apologies for absence were also received from Mr. A. Symonds of the Balkan Committee, and Mr. T. Anneria Williams, formerly M. P. for Plymouth. Sir Henry Cotton was unavoidably prevented from attending by a sudden attack of indisposition.

MR. S. H. SWINNY.

The Chairman observed that Mr. Blunt's letter would serve as a good introduction to the speeches which would follow. He quite agreed that English foreign policy had been most injurious in Morocco and Tripoli. In the Balkans they had witnessed a hatred of the Turk in quarters where it was not to be expected. The principle appeared to be that where injustice was inflicted, it was never to be righted if the Turk was involved. The characteristic of Ottoman rule was not its severity, but its laxity. Subject-races under its domination were enabled to develop a nationality of their own. The opportunity of the overthrow of Abdul Hamid had been seized for a series of aggressive actions: and the result had been to establish military ascendancy at Constantinople. The late war had been hailed at the beginning as a war for national freedom, but it had developed into a war for stripping Turkey. Happily Adrianople had been retained: and the question now was as to the policy which should be pursued in India and in other parts of the Moslem world. For Indian Moslems he believed the war had resulted in the abandonment of all

idea of cherishment as a loyal minority to be used against their fellow-Indians, and its replacement by a determination to unite with the rest of India for the good of the country as a whole. (Cheers.) Independent Moslem powers such as Turkey would find more incentive to retain and develop what was left to them. He held the view that the existence of Moslem powers was a distinct advantage to the world at large. (Hear, hear.)

(Mr. Mohamed Ali, then, delivered his address, which has already been published.)

MR. NEVINSON.

Mr. H. W. Nevinsin supposed that as a member of the Balkan Committee he had been invited to curse but he thought he would be able to bless. He had no prejudices on the point of religion, but there were, in his view, three possible objections to Islam. The first was that, in common with Christianity, it was founded on a book. It was difficult to make progress, either in knowledge or in conduct, if final authority were conceded to a collection of Scriptures. (Cries of "No, no.") It was of course true that progress could be made in spite of the dominating influence of one book. They had made some progress in England. (Laughter.) The Mohamedan system of education which consisted in committing to memory whole passages of the Koran, was good up to a certain point, but so long as it remained the main education, Islam had much progress to make before it became an advanced and educated religion. On the other hand, in West Africa he had found the Mohamedan negro distinctly superior to the fetish worshippers around him. Difference of race was partly responsible but it was also the case that Islam was a simple religion as compared with the hideous complexity of a pantheon of evil deities. The next objection was based on the treatment of women. In the sayings of Mohamed, woman was described as the twin of man, but man had taken more than his share. He had been told by Hindus that the purdah system had been imposed upon them by the Mohamedan conquerors of Northern India. Women were shut off from the outer world and made wholly dependent on the man who owned them. He was bound to say however that the Moslem law was fairer to women than the English law. The Bishop of Lewes had said at the Church Congress that the idea of divorce never entered the head of the Almighty. But it had entered Mohamed's: and Islam was all the better for it. England had no reason to throw stones at the condition of women in other countries: but, so long as the harem system existed there was not much hope of social advance in Islam or of intellectual freedom for women. He now came to the charge of cruelty commonly brought against Islam. He had seen a good deal of that in Macedonia ten years ago and had supposed it was a Turkish peculiarity, which was passed on to Islam as a whole. But since then he had realised that cruelty and atrocity were not the monopoly of the Mohamedan. The horrors of which Montenegrins and Serbs and Greeks and Bulgarians had been guilty far surpassed anything he had seen done by the Turks. The condition of the Balkans was awful but Islam as a result of the war stood more firm both as regards its religion and its strategic position: and there was a wide sphere for reform in Asiatic Turkey. Mohamed had in another of his sayings advised his followers to "trust in God and tie your camel." Islam had failed because it had not tied its camel. (Hear, hear.)

MR. SYED WAZIR HASAN.

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, deprecated Mr. Nevinsin's references to the Koran as irrelevant. They had not met to discuss the comparative merits of any religion. Discussing the new movement among Mohamedans in India, he said that it bore grave political significance and he was surprised that it had not been recognised earlier. They had been leading a life of isolation—perhaps not willingly—for it was forced upon them by circumstances. The sooner they forgot that the better: for they had come to realise that the destinies of Islam in India could not be different from the destinies of the other communities in the country. (Loud cheers.) The more they freed themselves from their attitude of isolation the better they would be able to fulfil their obligation to their religion and also to India. Almost every head of a local administration had told them that their attitude towards the Turkish disasters was politically dangerous—that they were dictating the foreign policy of England. They had resented that misrepresentation of their feelings and motives. Was it not natural for them to be affected by the misfortunes of Moslems in other parts of the world? If they were as subjects of Britain the possessors of obligations, they had also certain rights: and they were claiming fulfilment of those rights. It should be the keynote of British policy to recognise Moslem feeling. In relation to all political events outside which affected them. He regretted to find that efforts had been made to stifle the voice they wished to raise in England.

MR. ZAFAR ALI KHAN.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the Lahore *Zamindar*, said that like Mr. Mohamed Ali, he was a victim of the Indian Press Act. He had been rather frank in his criticisms of a certain section of Anglo-Indian officialdom: and he had felt impelled to do so because from what he had seen and knew, this section was doing more

harm than any body of 'seditionists.' He had entered into the spirit of the Hindus: and he could say that all of them were devoted to the supremacy of Great Britain in India. But things were being done which were utterly repugnant to all the principles upon which that supremacy was based. There was a time when England stood forth as the policeman of the world and the protector of all subject-races. But in India to-day they were debarred from giving expression to facts and realities. He had pointed out in moderate and even cringing tones that a mosque had been demolished at Agra. This was the actual fact but the Government had, without previous warning, forfeited his security of Rs 2,000 and ordered him to find a fresh security of Rs. 10,000. His crime was that he had given publicity to an admitted fact. He had also defended his friend Mr Mohamed Ali, and had asked why action had not been taken against an Anglo-Indian newspaper the *Pioneer*, which had done exactly what Mr. Mohamed Ali had done. That was another item in his indictment. If Imperialism meant anything, it meant surely that Hindus and Mussalmans formed part of the Empire and had as much right to express their views on internal and foreign policy as any Englishman. (Hear, hear) They were as devoted to King George as any Englishman. Then again public meetings were suppressed and their mosques watched by police. He had drawn attention to it, and that was another ground for taking action against him. They had lived a life of misery since the Cawnpore affair. Nor was this an isolated instance of interference with religious susceptibilities. He could cite a score of cases in which mosques had been demolished. The people of Great Britain must take a closer interest in India if they desired their Empire to continue. In South Africa the Mohammedan marriage law was being disallowed. Indians were being excluded from Canada and Australia because of their race and colour. But Islam had settled thirteen years ago that in such differentiation could be tolerated. (Hear, hear) Universal brotherhood was the basis of their religion, and that was one of the reasons why it would never die. It had always been the friend of Christianity: was it not wise of Christianity to be its friend also?

The Indian Government and the Moslems.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

For seven or eight years before the Balkan War the Government in India pursued towards the Moslem community a policy of unmistakable, often avowed, preference. The higher officials everywhere, it appeared, were acting upon the assumption that Mohammedans' loyalty, encouraged by special concessions, could be relied upon as an offset to the aggressive Nationalism of Hindu politicians, and that in consequence the burden upon the Executive would be materially lightened.

During the past twelve months events have occurred to overturn this assumption, and it would be true to say that Lord Hardinge's Government is confronted with a situation hardly less grave than that of the Hindu unrest between 1905 and 1909. The chief disturbing influence, needless to say, has been the successive disasters in the Moslem world, and the chaos in the Balkans following the defeat of Turkey. Wide currency was given in India to stories of atrocities perpetrated by Bulgarians and Greeks, and in every province the Government was made to realise that the Mohammedan temper was becoming inflamed.

THE CAWNPORE CONTROVERSY.

In the summer a local dispute at Cawnpore brought the trouble to a head. A projected street improvement in the city involved the demolition of a building attached to a mosque. The negotiations between the Government of the United Provinces and the Moslem leaders were badly managed. Sir James Meeson, the Lieutenant-Governor, acted, it is clear, with ignorance or imperfect knowledge, and a wild riot on the first Sunday in August was attended with serious loss of life.

In the controversy which ensued the Moslem leaders stuck to their guns, insisting that the Government had broken faith in the matter of the mosque, and the country rang with recriminations. Thereupon the Viceroy intervened. The men accused of complicity in the riot were discharged, the case was stopped, the demolished building is to be restored. The incident amounts to a grave censure of Sir James Meeson, whose reputation in the Civil Service has hitherto stood not far below that of his predecessor in the United Provinces, Sir John Hewart.

THE RISE OF THE MOHAMMEDAN PRESS

Meanwhile, a new power has been arising in India—the Moslem Press. Less than three years have gone by since Mohammedan journalism made its first serious bid for public attention. It is not sufficiently realised that until yesterday the immense Mohammedan population of India (over sixty millions) was to all intents and purposes inarticulate, practically every one of the influential Indian journals in the country being controlled by either Hindus or Parsees.

The recent upheavals in the Islamic world have changed all that. Moslem weeklies and monthlies have multiplied, and there is now published for the first time at Delhi, a Mohammedan daily—a little sheet printed in Urdu. And the Government is troubled by the presence of this new factor. On no other theory can its recent action be explained.

PRESS ACT PROSECUTIONS.

For the coercive Press Act of 1910, by which the Hindu press has been terrified into submission, is being applied to the Moslem papers with singular severity. Under this Act the local Government is empowered to demand financial security from the proprietors of any press upon which a newspaper is printed. Should the paper offend against the provisions (very wisely drawn) of the Press Act, the security is declared forfeit and a fresh sum of money demanded. A short time ago security to the amount of Rs. 3,000 (£200) was demanded from a Moslem Monthly at Aligarh. The press, being unable to pay it closed down. A Moslem religious weekly at Meerut—*Tawheed*, i.e., Unity—had its security forfeited on account of its articles on the Cawnpore troubles, and was ordered to furnish the maximum for a second security, Rs 10,000 (£666). At Lahore, a well-established Moslem weekly, the *Zunbilar*, has been similarly treated. Its first security has been confiscated because of articles criticising Sir James Meeson, and the maximum (Rs. 10,000) demanded as second security.

THE DELHI "COMRADE" CASE.

The foregoing instances are all noteworthy, but they are of a less striking importance than the case of Mr. Mohamed Ali, lately decided in the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Mohamed Ali, a Moslem from the North-West with a university education, is now in England. He is editor of the *Comrade*, a weekly journal first published in Calcutta, and now published at Delhi, and of *Hamdard*, the little Urdu daily already mentioned. In May and June of this year Mr. Mohamed Ali reproduced, in successive issues, a pamphlet on the Balkan atrocities, bearing the title, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." The pamphlet, which was prepared in Constantinople, was an appeal to the Christian Powers to stop the abominations which were disgracing the Christian name. It was proscribed in India under the Press Act, the issues of Mr. Mohamed Ali's papers in which the pamphlet had been reproduced were confiscated, and security was demanded from his press. Fortunately, prescription by the Government of Bengal brought the affair within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court, and on September 2 a special bench of that court, presided over by the Chief Justice (Sir Lawrence Jenkins), pronounced a judgment which is by far the most important so far delivered under the Press Acts.

Mr. Mohamed Ali lost his case, despite the admission of the Crown prosecutor that he had acted from the highest motives, and that the pamphlet contained nothing of a seditious character. The Chief Justice, in a careful analysis of the law, showed that the absence of seditious language was not sufficient to clear the petitioner. He must go further and show that it was impossible for any words printed in the paper to have any tendency to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in India—"directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication, or otherwise." That is, absolute proof of a negative is required if the provisions of the Act are to be complied with. "Comprehensive words were used," said the Chief Justice, by the framers of the Act, "to catch crime and the incitement to crime." But, he added—

It is difficult to see what lengths the operation of this section might not be plausibly extended to by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. . . Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.

Lord Crewe, speaking last week to a gathering of new members of the Indian Civil Service, said: "It is no easy matter in India to draw the line between what is inadmissible and what, however, little one may like it, ought not to be suppressed." But the Indian Executive appears to have resolved that the expression of Mohammedan opinion and feeling, religious and political, must be stopped decisively at the source.

"Distinctively British."

WHAT an inexhaustible fund of humor is found in the questions, the interpretations, and the judgments which children, peasants, and other unsophisticated persons direct against the doings of their elders and their "betters"! The print and penetration of this naive criticism is often such that we stress its humor in order to avert or to conceal the wounds otherwise inflicted on our self-esteem. So we deal with the *enfant terrible* who unmasks by some sudden revelation the falsehood of our social amenities, or pierces by a single straight demand the hollow case of our theology. So with the yokel's artless commentary on the painter's art, or with the housemaid's musings on the intellectual life as she dusts the library. So long as we can

take it as merely humorous, we can defend our self-complacency (the most valued property of each of us), and we have doctored the very meaning of the word humor for this service. But there are persons with sufficient honesty and intelligence to recognize that there is something important to be learned from the wisdom of the ignorant. Such persons follow schoolboys or East-end workers round picture galleries, recording their judgment of Post-Impressionism, or preserve the strictly natural philosophy of those who till the soil. For they find in the simplicity and innocence two qualities of value, an appreciation of the elemental, and some quality of intuitive judgment which is apt to disappear with education.

Tolstoy, of course, carried this so far as to regard the direct opinion of the *mosaik* as the only sure fount of inspired truth, and to repudiate all specialism and technique as a poisoning of the wells. Though few will go so far as this, holding rather that the founts of natural inspiration can be profitably canalized and directed by reflection and study, they will still do well to listen with some respect to the words of babes and sucklings. These remarks are preface to the repetition of a humorous story told the other day by Lord Crewe to a gathering of young officers of the India Civil Service, just leaving to enter on their official duties:—

"I remember hearing years ago in India a story of a young subaltern who went alone on a shooting expedition away into the wild country of the Malabar Coast. The poor fellow was attacked by fever in the jungle, died, and was buried, and the people where he died felt themselves in no little difficulty as to how his spirit might be pacified and not haunt them. It was necessary, therefore, to place upon his grave something distinctively British which would keep the spirit quiet. They were a hundred miles from any cantonment, but it was told that a small party of these simple folk went down to this cantonment and purchased a bottle of whisky, two bottles of soda-water, and a paper of cheroots, which they placed on the grave; and I was told that, in spite of difficulties, every year a party of them trotted down for the same purpose."

Lord Crewe, we may add, appended the wish that "the concrete expression of our national genius had been in some respects different."

But how natural and proper was the play of feeling and reflection which led the Malabari to this action! What a wealth of clear observation and of instinctive induction underlay it! Their mind must have worked along some such line as this: "In order to allay the white man's spirit in another world we must find what white man's actually value most in this world, what comforts them most here, and give it here. Now, what is the really central religious rite which appeases the white spirit in this world? We do not discover it in the white man's Christianity, or in any of its emblems. The consolations of religion or of philosophy, such as prevail among the pious worshippers of the Buddha or of Brahma, we perceive to have no hold upon the spirit of these white masters. A cross, therefore, will not keep down the white ghost. Though they concern themselves much, nay, over much, with fighting and with government, their hearts are not in these things, so far as they are shown to us. We cannot therefore trust that the flag of the great White Father across the seas will secure us. What, then, shall we do? Must we not take counsel with those who have been brought into most intimate communion with these strangers as servants and soldiers, and learn from them how these great ones behave when they lay aside the prescribed forms and duties of their position and are most themselves? What do they most enjoy then and regard as most important? If we can get these things and offer them to the white man's spirit, it will best appease him."

No doubt they were mistaken in thinking that to a British officer whisky and soda is really the most valuable thing in life, but how natural the error, and how instructive! Is it possible they could reach any other conclusion, and is it possible that we can really govern successfully peoples whose contacts with us are such that they must reason so? Nor is it wholly a matter of contacts that are so unfortunately contrived as to lead a simple-minded people to attribute to us the souls of sensualists and materialists. Surely there is enough of truth in Lord Crewe's story to give some bitterness and shame to the humor of it. Though it may not be a true saying, that "the Empire is run on whisky and soda," it is true that this drink is one of the most evident of our Imperial institutions, and the accompanying instrument of many of the detailed, determinative acts of Imperial policy throughout our dominions and possessions. This will only be contradicted by untravelled folk, to whom the Empire remains distinctively a moral trust and a great civilizing mission. Of course, whisky and soda only concentrates and symbolizes the exuberant animalism and materialism which so heavily impair that civilizing mission, particularly in Asia, where four-fifths of the persons whom we seek to elevate are living. No doubt a great part of the higher arts of civilization, its ethics, art, literature, religion, law, and polity, consists in endeavors to conceal, to decorate, and to sophisticate our ultimately animal desires, instincts, and valuations. This is not a cynical criticism, but a declaration of an inherent contradiction which civilized Western men, and perhaps Britons most of all, exhibit in their standards of valuation of life. We do

value as of higher intrinsic worth the things of the spirit and the intellect, and the duties and activities that apportion to them, when our valuation is based upon sober reflection. But to hold consistently and operatively this ideal standard is given to few. Everywhere the pressure of the material needs and desires forces the claims of the sophisticated animalism, which is the powerful, perverting influence in civilization. Anyone can test the issue for himself who enjoys opportunities of familiar intercourse with men of spiritual and intellectual eminence. The great feminine discovery expressed in "Feed the brute!" applies with only a moderate reduction of intensity to the man of intellectual or spiritual vocation and proclivities. It is a commonplace of policy that genuine philanthropy, intellectual communion, the most urgent sense of public duty, cannot safely be gathered into an effective co-operative force without an appeal to "creature comforts."

Philanthropy, as of course, the notorious case. In certain of its more retiring modes, it can only be floated upon dinners. But hardly less convincing is the testimony of those who organize the countless Congresses and other solemn gatherings which consume the summers of so many earnest and cultivated people to-day. We will not, indeed, drive down to whisky and soda for the true sources of interest, but feasting, picnicking, and other modes of largely animal enjoyment are known to be indispensable to the "success" of such gatherings. "But what of all this?" it may be said. "Of course, we are animals as well as persons, and the lower life is not clearly separable from the higher." So we retort, in the cunning of defence, when we are pinned to instances. But there remains something not far removed from hypocrisy in the normal valuations we profess. We do formally assert a degree and kind of supremacy for the spiritual and the intellectual which is in grave excess of the actual facts. The inherent moral failure of imperialism, carrying ultimately a political failure, is simply the most extended application of this error. The life and status of a conquering and governing caste in an exotic environment inevitably lead to an over-elaboration of the apparatus of physical comforts, and, what is worse, to a belief that such luxury and display conduce to a prestige that is serviceable to the civilizing mission. Among a people whose own life is simple, and whose ways of thinking and of feeling are correspondingly direct, this must disclose, as the strangest and most interesting feature in the white man's civilization, this sharp contrast between the professions and the practices of the imperial beings with whom he comes in contact.—*The Nation*.

"[Advt.]."

Who that has ever worked in Fleet Street could forget the delight of handling bundles of proofs? The profane multitude for whom a newspaper is a finished product knows nothing of its surprises and its charms. It is given only to the worker in its office to watch it growing amid the clamor of its machines and the hum of its creators. We recollect the almost paralyzing awe with which as a novice we used to await those little batches of proofs which went perambulating round the building at intervals of half-an-hour. We can still hear the footsteps of the messenger along the corridor. He was lame, like Retribution, and, indifferent to what he bore, he carried with him *pede claudo* the fates of Empires and the destinies of kings. They came without those headlines that too promptly assuage your curiosity. One never knew, when one began to scan these limp slips of wet paper, which of the mighty had been cast down from his seat, or who had flung a winged word at the ear of mankind. In those days one expected great events, at least once in every evening; it was many years ago. In a week he would bring more terrors and hurricanes, more deaths and pestilences, than all Job's messengers—that quiet little man with the lame leg and the endless bundles of proofs. They were enigmatic as life itself. They would break off in the midst of a sentence, sometimes with the promising intimation, "more to follow." The hurry and wonder of all the world was in those sheets, and they came fragmentary and unfinished as experience. It was in another office, some years later, that the proofs acquired another species of interest. The newspaper in question exists no longer; the ideal of its editor was to display "the London touch." Its proofs used to arrive on thick luxurious paper, costly, like everything around us. They developed another singularity, and this oddity increased as its span of life drew near its end. In every bundle of proofs, but chiefly among the early batches which lay already on your table when you came to your work, there were some which bore the mysterious label "Must." A "must" appeared next morning whatever else was crowded out. We recollect a phase of innocence during which we used to endeavor by a process of induction to discover what merit it was which won, for these proofs this proud distinction, and made them the one indispensable feature of the paper. We were new to the "London touch." These "musts" were singularly like other duties. They were what the natural man would omit. They were rarely interesting; they were never well written. It was only gradually as the increase of the "musts" offered an ever-growing field for observation, that we began

to notice a connection between them and the advertisement columns. An advertisement which bore some relation to the imperative paragraph was clearly what scientists call its "invariable concomitant." A "must," in short, was a paragraph which had practically been paid for and instead of the label familiar to journalists, it ought to have carried the warning which the public knows better, an honest "[Advt.]"

It is this mischief which the *Times* has this week exposed, and done thereby a notable service to the morals and prestige of journalism. Reuter's Agency has recently added what it calls a Financial Publicity Department to its other activities, and in a circular it assured promoters and financiers, that, owing to the connection which it already had with newspapers as a purveyor of news, it was in a position to secure editorial references to the new ventures which its clients were anxious to advertise. A sentence suffices to state the fact, but only a volume could exhaust all the degradation which this practice promises. There are many ways of sapping the honesty of journalism, and, on the whole, this method is the worst. It has happened before now that a City editor has been exposed in the Courts for accepting plain, downright bribes in money or shares to praise some unsound venture in his columns. That is a risky iniquity, and the man who indulges in it will sooner or later be ruined, if only because he injures the interests of the newspaper to which he belongs. Plain, frank corruption of that type, common in French journalism, is luckily, still so rare in this country as to be practically unknown in decent newspapers. The insidious corruption which is latent in the method which the *Times* has exposed, is already so widespread that there are probably few newspapers which, in some mild form, are wholly free from it. What begins in a comparatively innocent species of commercialism will presently end in blackmail, and spread for outside the City columns. The descent is commonly smooth. The Advertisement Department is always separate from the Editorial, and the demoralizing hint is conveyed indirectly and with some of the disguises of decency. But the advertiser who, as an old and respectable client, will feel obliged by a friendly notice in the editorial columns is not very far removed from the advertiser who will withdraw his custom unless he can have what he wants. It is a special aggravation of this practice which the *Times* is attacking. It is manifestly undesirable that an agency which collects news from all the world should also embark on the enterprise of advertising financial ventures. But the larger and graver evil is the gradual domination of the daily newspaper by its business side.

Where that happens, no region of policy or criticism is quite secure. The reviewer is made to remember that the publisher is a valuable advertiser, and the dramatic critic goes in fear of a reminder that his independence is an expensive luxury. The leader-writer who has spoken his mind about a Russian *coup d'état* may one day be informed that one of his articles has cost his newspaper some hundreds of pounds in advertisements of official or semi-official loans. We have heard of a case in which a powerful group of advertisers withdrew their custom from a daily newspaper in consequence of its articles against an increase of naval armaments.

The grosser and more obvious forms of this system of intimidation could be combated with comparative ease, if self-respecting newspapers would stand together in resisting it. There are still several which would no more think of considering a request or a threat from an advertiser, than they would think of pocketing a bribe. A general agreement to boycott agents who endeavored to secure editorial notice is obviously the first step, and the *Times* has done well to make a beginning. A few years of this insidious penetration would end by bringing our press perilously near to the level of those French papers in which nothing appears affecting a financial interest which has not been paid for. The destruction of independent financial criticism in the press would be a sufficiently serious evil, but the mischief would not end there. The next stage is already sufficiently obvious in several French newspapers. The Bank or the Trust which can buy a favorable comment in the City article when it issues a loan or finances a concession, goes on to purchase a leading article when the politics, let us say of Turkey or of Mexico, directly concern its interests. In a broad and general way, usually silent, often unconscious the big advertising interests already exert their massive pressure. A newspaper which thrives by auctioneers' advertisements is commonly not the newspaper which advocates direct taxation or attacks the land monopoly. A newspaper which does well by advertising the steel trade is rarely found to advocate economy in armaments, and the interests which are concerned in foreign investments show a preference for newspapers which affect a "realistic" foreign policy.

These elective affinities are inevitable and automatic. They are part of the whole association between "business" interests and political opinions. The modern development of the daily newspaper which has made it financially dependent rather on its advertisers than on its readers has crystallized the connection and made it an unbreakable bond. The press has tended to become the organ of capital rather than the organ of the democracy, as the revenue from advertisements steadily dwarfed the revenue from sales. There is

not in this connection a suspicion of impropriety. It has come about by the necessary operation of economic factors. But it is none the less the heaviest handicap which democracy has to face. It is the most formidable of all the weapons by which wealth defends itself against the majority. The interests which maintain the daily press in the long run control it, and it does their work for them in making the thinking of the uncritical masses. It should be easy, if the proprietors of daily papers have a care for their own self-respect, to put an end to the improper pressure which single advertisers can exert. But it is less easy to hope for the daily newspaper which can thrive by the advocacy of democratic opinions, and speak the whole mind of its writers and its readers with a total disregard of the whole mass of advertisers on whom it must depend. There lies the problem of the future, and the spirited experiments of Labor newspapers in England and France have only begun to grapple with it.—*The Nation*.

The Resurrectionist.

Some make books by going to and fro upon the earth, which is the way of the devil; some by living on the books of others, which is the way of the worm; others by grubbing among churchyard bones, which is the body-snatcher's way. It is of the last we wish to speak, for in the dissecting-rooms of gossip the demand for their labor continues, and one trembles to think to what experiment it may drive them next, since even the Burke of evil memory began his career as a simple and innocent Resurrectionist. The field of their labor is enormously large. God's acres almost equal a Duke's and many of the clouds that stuck to a sportsman's gaiters once drew breath. As Sir Thomas Browne says, "The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The night of time far surpasseth the day, and who knows when was the equinox?" Into the night of time that covers those innumerable dead the literary Resurrectionist thrusts his shovel. There is no tomb, no unremembered grave or parish register, from which he may not hope to scratch a bone. An ancient bundle of receipted bills may yield him a skeleton almost complete, and as he peruses the births, deaths, and marriages of a last century's *Times*, the forgotten generations of mankind rise around him like a Last Judgment.

But in those interminable fields of possible excavation one discovers certain regions marked out with ring fences of barbed wire, like the game preserves in Eastern Africa, wherein none may go shooting without a license, or like the pheasant preserves of England; for, indeed, the licenses are held by people who claim a proprietary and established right, and woe to any humble Resurrectionist who unwittingly goes poaching dead within their precincts! Like a laborer charged with trespassing in pursuit of game, he is brought before the magistrates of criticism, and what mercy may be expected? For the magistrates are the owners of the coverts whose sacred corpses are preserved. Thus we have the Shelley wood, the Brontë moors, and the George Borrow heath, within which unlicensed persons are strictly prohibited from digging bones or pursuing ghosts, and if an intruder is caught therein offending, the squire of more pheasants could not equal the incoherent and agitated wrath of those who have staked the precincts out for their own exhumatory profit and troglodyte enjoyment.

Chatter about Harriet, investigations into the affections of Charlotte Brontë's heart, discourses on the Brownings' love-letters, controversies raging through the modest bedchambers of the Carlyles—what a universal curse they have all become! To say that, like the biographer, they have added a new terror to death, does not express the full hideousness of their malignity. The souls of the dead (God rest them!) are either unconscious of the body snatcher's pick, or are raised far beyond the reach of his torture. Could we think otherwise, we should establish a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to the Departed. But the curse of the Resurrectionist falls with blasting power upon the living. He fills our thoughts with mortal dust, and promotes insane dissertations upon an empty skull. Think of all the time that is now spent upon these volumes of sepulchral chit-chat! Think of the Resurrectionist's own time, which might be spent in fertilizing an allotment! Think of the publisher's time (who might be turning a honest penny in Parliament), the paper-maker's time, the printer's, the proof-reader's, the binder's (who might be betting on a football match)! And, then, think of the critics and others who are obliged to read the Resurrectionist books, either in the beaten path of business, or to defend the memory of the dead whom greatness has sanctified to their minds!

Add the heavy load of backstairs reminiscences, and smoking-room ineptitudes piled upon us by Countesses with a past and politicians without a future; does it not seem as though "literature" were becoming one vast scrap-heap of unco-ordinated atoms, or the gleanings of scavenger buckets? Perceiving this, as a more serious substitute for "Snippy Bits," the ignorant suppose that they are thereby waddling after "culture," or obtaining some

insight into the under-world of political history. But for culture they might just as well stick to "Snippy Bits," and for history to "Town Chatter." Take the method at what we will call its very best; is it not terrible to observe how infection the plague of it is disseminated? On opening Mr. Clement Shorter's new book on "George Borrow and his Circle" (Hodder & Stoughton), for instance, we read in the first lines of the Introduction:—

"It is now exactly seventeen years ago since I published a volume not dissimilar in form to this under the title of 'Charlotte Brontë and her Circle.' The title had then an element of novelty, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's 'Dante and his Circle,' at the time the only book of this particular character, having quite another aim. There are now some twenty or more biographies based upon a similar plan."

Mr. Shorter quotes some of the titles of these biographies, and we take his word for it that for seventeen years they have been produced at a rate of at least one and three-sevenths a year. To be sure, that is not a very high rate, but then, as Mr. Shorter proceeds to observe, "in these days of the multiplication of books, every book, at least other than a work of imagination, requires ample apology." Yes, it requires ample apology, and the apology must depend on the value of the book itself, and on the public need for it.

As to the need for this particular book, one must remember that there are four large biographies of Borrow already, two of them published only last year. In Germany, when a professor was in doubt how to justify his existence, he used to sit down for ten years and write a "Life of Goethe." Nothing has so much obscured Goethe's genius as his biographies, but then Goethe was at times a poet, and always a conspicuous man. There are thousands of Germans and other Europeans who really want to know a good deal about him, though they have been told far too much, and "Goethe and his Circle," "Goethe and his Love Affairs," &c., have been written and written till one is sick of the sight of them. But Borrow stands on a different level. He is made a pet by a little clique of professional *littérateurs*. They hold him up as a model of "style." Mr. Shorter says that "Lavengro" is "the touchstone of taste in English prose literature." He also says that four of Borrow's books are "immortal." That is pretty high praise for books that, after about half a century, remain generally unknown outside England, and outside a smallish circle even here. But we do not wish to dispute about Borrow. Like many others, the present writer was allowed to read him in boyhood, because he posed as an enemy of the Pope. And he owes him a good deal of enjoyment, though even then he was oppressed in reading him by a pervading sense of 'ality in narration, and an artificial prettiness or affectation in language. It seemed that he might have written something true and interesting about the byways of England and Spain, but, without possessing creative imagination, he chose to write chiefly lies; and though a neighbor, who knew him, describes him as "a splendid liar," we cannot allow so fine a word as "splendid" to his mendacity.

Nor can we agree with Mr. Shorter, who repeatedly calls him a "word-master," as Borrow liked to call himself. He seems to us to have had little sense of the value of words. As Dr. Jessopp said, "To talk of Borrow as a scholar is absurd." He got a smattering of several languages, but we doubt if he knew any of them well. As to his Spanish, for instance, in his letters he always addresses his wife as "carreta," which means "carthorse," instead of "carita," which means "my dear"; and though this might be a typical example of his lumbering humor, it is more likely a typical error in words. As to his supposed knowledge of the gipsy language, it appears to have been of a sketchy and skimpy kind, fit to match the news at a recent banquet of some Gipsy Club, which consisted, we are informed, of three snails and the photograph of a hedgehog.

In such a writer we recognize hardly any splendor of thought, imagination, or personality. Let us, however, grant that one or two of his books are "immortal," in the sense that a few people will continue to read them for a few years longer, just as a few still read Hazlitt, immeasurably his superior in charm, knowledge, and observation. About such a man we want to know something. Mr. Speccombe's twenty pages of introduction to his edition of "Lavengro" appear to us to be just as much as we want, given in the right way. But five full biographies, with this one of Mr. Shorter's snatching from the tomb all manner of unknown and insignificant figures that Watts had graciously whelmed in oblivion! All the poor bones of friends, relations, cousins, and aunts are pitilessly dragged into the light and jostled together in a heap, as though a pyramid of skeletons were the most fitting memorial to a literary man of second or third-rate significance. And Mr. Shorter has done it all for sport! He tells us it has taken him ten years and it has been a labor of love. That is a comfort to him, no doubt, for it shows he is an amateur Resurrectionist, and does not suffer the constraint of the poor fellows who delve for their King. But let us take a sample or two of his luring industry, one page being almost as rich in the output of fragmentary ramparts as another. We open at page 84, and discover

"Kerrison was grandson of Sir Roger Kerrison, Mayor of Norwich in 1778, as his son Thomas was after him in 1806. Roger was articled, as was Borrow, to the firm of Simpson and Rackham, while his brother Allday was in a drapery store in Norwich, but with mind bent on commercial life in Mexico. George was teaching him Spanish in these years as a preparation for his great adventure. Roger had gone to London to continue his professional experience. He finally became a Norwich solicitor, and died in 1882."

Turning on in despair, we alight at page 217:—

"The Rev. Francis Cunningham was Rector of Pakefield near Lowestoft, from 1814 to 1830. He married Richenda, a sister of the distinguished Joseph John Gurney and of Elizabeth Fry, in 1816. In 1830, he became Vicar of St. Margaret's Lowestoft. His brother, John William Cunningham, was Vicar of Harrow, and married a Verney of the famous Buckinghamshire family. This John William Cunningham was a great light in the Evangelical Churches of his time, and was for many years editor of the *Christian Observer*. His daughter Mary Richenda married Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, the well-known judge, and the brother of Sir Leslie Stephen. But to return to Francis Cunningham—"

"Sweet friend, for Jesu's sake!" Have we not enough poor bones in our own memories that you should thus rake out upon us a very charnel-house of mortality long crumbled into dust? The dead have years ago buried their dead, asking only to be left in peace, and if a casual spade now and then accidentally turns up a skull, we will say, "Alas, poor Yorick!" and, quickly burying it again, pass on—*The Nation*

The Turkish Army in the Balkan War.

[FROM THE "PIONEER'S" LATE CORRESPONDENT IN THE NEAR EAST.]

THIS morning I had the pleasure of encountering in the streets of Wiesbaden an old friend, an officer in the Turkish cavalry who went through the last campaign on the staff of the General Commanding the Cavalry Division in what was officially designated as the Army of the East, in order to differentiate it from the Army of the west, the latter relating to the army operating in Macedonia, whilst the Army of the East included all troops acting in Thrace.

My friend is here suffering from a severe wound received in one of the last reconnaissance sances from the Lines of Tchataldja and has suffered grievously not merely from the wound, but from what was pronounced to be an attack of cholera contracted in the pestilential marshes near the Derkos Lake on the extreme right of the Turkish line of defence. A dinner at the famous old world hotel "Four Seasons" and a bottle of Henckel's sparkling Moselle combined with other delicacies soon induced my old friend to unbosom himself, and I was glad indeed that my neighbours were ignorant of the language in which we were able to conduct our conversation. Otherwise I fear we should have both been haled off to the police station for *lèse majesté*. Some eight years ago when we were went to meet at Tokatlian's Restaurant in the Grande Rue de Paris, my friend was an ardent Germanophile, and von der Goltz was his deity. Now all traces of that fetish have vanished, and to von der Goltz and the Germans he ascribes all the misfortunes of his country.

Let me try to give my Turkish friend's own account of his experiences in the war, as nearly as I can in his own words:—

"You remember that my regiment was the 1st Lancers, one of the regiments which paraded every Saturday for the ceremony of the Selâuk. We were supposed to be one of the smartest, if not the smartest regiment in the Turkish army and were selected by von der Goltz to be what he was pleased to term the model regiment for the First Army Corps. Now you will also remember that von der Goltz had been for many years the Chief Instructor of the Turkish army, and in reality had the whole instruction of officers and men in his own hands from the year 1883 when he was sent to Constantinople until 1896 when he returned to Germany as General of Division. Many of us were sent to Berlin to undergo military training, and some few of the many did derive benefit from their stay. When von der Goltz left us he was succeeded by a certain Kamphoevner Pasha, but he did not busy himself with any details of instruction. From time to time von der Goltz used to visit Germany during his annual leave and received the modest salary of £1,000 annually for the advice given on these occasions.

"On one of his visits he conceived the idea of forming what he was pleased to call 'model regiments' in each Army Corps, a regiment of each arm. The poor devils in those regiments led the life of dogs, it was drill, drill, drill all day long, they were followed about by a couple of German officers, regular Sergeant-Majors, who strove to convert the Osmanli into Uhlans. Drill was their one aim and

object, and you may imagine that service in these corps was not popular. No attempt was made to teach officers or men anything outside the parade-ground. So long as the men could march down the hill at Yildiz the Germans were content. As for allowing the men to go into the country to practice outpost work or reconnoitring, that was unheard of. In the days of the old Sultan Abdul Hamid, of course, it would have been useless to have broached such a proposition, but when the Constitution was declared and Abdul Hamid deposed we hoped that we should have been allowed to teach our men some details beyond mere drill, and I for one ventured as an old pupil of the German Field Marshal to urge upon him the advisability of letting officers and men learn that the soldier had other duties than those prescribed in the drill book. I received a snub for my pains and was told that until the Turkish troops had mastered their drill they were unfit to learn other duties.

"After the manoeuvres of 1910 I again approached Shekret Pasha who had been on the staff of my father and pointed out to him what folly it was to waste all our time and all the energies of the German officers on drill. I urged that the 'model regiments' should be abolished and schools of instruction started in every Army Corps to which a certain number of officers, non-commissioned officers and men should be sent from every regiment and battery so that a uniform system of instruction might obtain throughout the army. I insisted that to have one superlatively drilled regiment in each corps did not make that corps perfect, that the strength of a chain lay in its weakest link and that if we had one inefficient unit in a corps that corps was a failure. Under the existing system there was but one good unit in each corps; the others were muddling along as best they might."

WHEN VON DER GOLTZ FAILED.

"Von der Goltz was all for drill and mobilisation. Not that he took any steps to see that any means were adopted to secure mobilisation. He merely issued orders and never seemed to care whether they were carried out or not. I suppose he thought that he was in Prussia where orders are carried out with celerity, but with us it must not suffice to give the order; the officer who gives it is bound to see that it is carried out. His duty ceases when he has issued the order. Let me give a case in point. When von der Goltz came to Turkey in 1910 to supervise our first army manoeuvres he made a careful study of our staff map of Thrace and the idea underlying those manoeuvres was that Turkey had been invaded by an army marching parallel to the railway from Sofia towards Adrianople. Von der Goltz assumed that the Bulgarians would adopt his strategy and he issued his orders accordingly. Adrianople was to be the centre of our position and it was to be strengthened with a number of additional works, some of a permanent nature, some furnished with guns mounted in cupolas. Our right and left flanks at Kirk Kiliseh and Kirjali were to be held by defensive works, and the Prussian Engineer officers attached to our staff drew up plans for these works. Indents were passed on Krupp for heavy guns for their armament and the usual backsheesh passed. Then arose the question of the invasion of Macedonia by the Bulgarians—a most likely contingency. All this was provided for—on paper—we were told of a famous 'quadrilateral' against which the Bulgars would break their heads in vain—Uskub and Kumanovo, Ishtip and Voles were to be strongly fortified, and to maintain communications along the Constantinople-Salonica Railway and bar an advance down the valley of the Struma. A fortified camp was to be established at or near Demir Hisar. Von der Goltz approved of these plans—I mean the designs of the forts. The scheme was his alone. He returned to Turkey in 1911 and again in 1912, but took no steps to see that his plans had been carried out, and when the Bulgarians declared war there were no fortifications at Kirk Kiliseh, none at Kirjali. The famous quadrilateral was there it is true, but unfortified, and the entrenched camp at Demir Hisar was still pigeon-holed in the Ministry of War!"

HOW THE CAVALRY FARED.

"Now let me turn to my own arm, the cavalry. Our regiments as you know were supposed to consist of five squadrons and to take the field with four full squadrons of 160 sabres or lancers each, leaving one depot squadron at headquarters. The five squadrons, it is true, were there, but we had sent down a number of horses to the Syrian corps fearing a landing of Italians, so that when war broke out we, the 'model regiment,' were able only to muster four weak squadrons of 60 lancers. We were without any animals for our baggage or ammunition; we were without a spare shoe in the stores or a spare saddle; our swords were carried on the waist in an old-fashioned belt; and there were no means of attaching them to the saddle. We had applied times without number for all these deficiencies to be made good, but when war broke out after some weeks' warning

we were still unprepared. We had no signallers, and though there was a wireless telegraphic instalment attached to the Cavalry Division of the First Army Corps it was still unpacked and we had not a single officer or man who had the faintest notion how to work it! The regiment had never been instructed in embarking on a train, and when we reached the station at Stamboul, which we did at 11 a.m. on the 5th October, it took us exactly 14 hours to get our 240 horses on board and another 13 hours were occupied in covering the 97 miles to Baba Eski, where we were to dismount. A nice beginning for a campaign! A regiment one-fourth its war strength and horses of a most inferior type. One squadron, it is true, was composed of Syrians, excellent hardy animals, never sick or sorry, but the other three were mounted on Hungarian remounts, soft and in poor condition quite unfit to stand the hardships of a campaign.

"We were more than six hours getting our horses and baggage disembarked from the train, and then we found that the wagon containing the baggage of the First Squadron has been left behind en route. I had seen it secure in the rear of the train at Stamboul. I remember thinking that if all other corps worked as well as we did the mobilisation would be complete in twelve months. However there was no use in crying over spilt milk. Our duty was to push on and watch the frontier. We knew that the Bulgarians and Serbs were mobilising and that war might be declared at any moment. We were perfectly convinced of our ability to deal with our opponents, for we had been taught to despise them as beneath contempt. How bitterly were we to be undeceived!"

"At Baba Eski we found orders to push on at once to Sul Oglou, where the first Cavalry Division was to be massed, and we reached that village late on the evening of the 6th October. The following evening the division was complete. Complete as to the number of regiments, but sadly incomplete as to strength. It was composed of three brigades each of two regiments and to each brigade was attached two sections of Maxim guns (four to the brigade). There were also two batteries of Horse Artillery quick firing Krupp of 75 m/m calibre; these were very badly horsed and proved of but little assistance, for owing to the miserable condition of the roads they were always well in the rear and rarely an hour elapsed without our being compelled to lend them assistance to get them out of some quagmire.

"On the 8th we learnt that Montenegro had declared war, but that caused us little anxiety, for we all remembered that Moukhtar Pasha had soon disposed of Montenegro in 1878. At least we had been taught so in the Military College. We remained at Sul Oglou a whole week and during that time we never had one brigade or divisional drill. We officers passed a very happy time, for many of us had been fellow students at Berlin or Saumur and we eagerly discussed the different methods of tactics in the French and German armies.

"I must here tell you that the first Lancers were suffering from a change of commanders. For the past four years we had been under a Prussian Colonel, but his contract had expired on the 1st of October and he had been replaced by a brave old Turk. One of the old school, he was personally unacquainted with any of our officers and had little sympathy with German tactics. Colonel Veit rejoined the division shortly after the declaration of war, but he never took any active part in affairs beyond repeated advice to retire, retire, retire, retire. Perhaps he was right, but it is a little disheartening to men to be always on the move rearwards, more especially as we were all longing to test our mettle with the Bulgars.

"On the 15th October we received orders to push still further North and to throw forward a squadron per regiment so as to cover the whole ground from Kirk Kiliseh to Adrianople. To our left stretching from Kirk Kiliseh to the Black Sea the cavalry of Mahmud Moukhtar Pasha's Third Corps formed the screen, and to our left was an independent division of cavalry keeping connection with the Adrianople Corps and prolonging its left to the sea below Demotika. If you care to study a map you will see exactly how we were situated at the outbreak of the war. The 1st Brigade of cavalry was at Vaisal, the second at Sari Talichman with both Field Batteries, the third at Hadji Talichman, whilst the head-quarters of the division was with the 2nd Brigade."

OLD WORN-OUT HORSES.

"Our advanced squadron was pushed on to the actual frontier, and on the evening of the 16th we found ourselves opposite a Bulgarian block-house at a little place called Babalik. Here we

once noted the inferiority of our defences. The Bulgarian block-house was a substantially built work of masonry with excellent accommodation for a half company. Ours were of wood with room for half a dozen men. On the 18th we learnt that war was declared. Notwithstanding that we had been now more than a fortnight absent from Constantinople with the absolute certainty of almost immediate war no steps had been taken to render our division more efficient. We were by no means the weakest regiment, indeed the total strength of the Division on the 18th was 1,247 of all ranks instead of the 3,800 which it ought to have mustered. With such a weak cavalry force it was practically impossible for Abdullah Pasha to cover his whole front. For the mere bald statement of numbers does not convey the actual condition of the division. I much doubt if even one half of the horses were fit to take the field. Our Commandant, the Prussian Colonel, under whose care we had been for upwards of three years, had played into the hands of the economists. He knew that he would not be called upon to lead the regiment into action, and so long as a horse could keep its place in a march past he was satisfied. We had a number of worn out old animals of 12 and even 14 years, and a few half-trained remounts which had been recently purchased in Hungary.

"Our first exploit was to attack and destroy a Bulgarian block-house in our immediate front. This was on the 18th of October. I don't know why we did this, for although we were unsuccessful, as indeed we were bound to be, for our whole brigade took part in this senseless affair, we lost in our regiment alone 16 killed and wounded, and we learnt by bitter experience how unsuited our sling belt was for cavalry working dismounted. I was sent in by the Brigadier to convey the report of our success to Abdullah Pasha and was at once appointed to the staff of the Divisional General and went through the campaign with comparative comfort.

"I may as well tell you that the army of the east on the outbreak of war occupied the following positions. On our extreme right stood Mahmoud Monkhhtar Pasha with the 3rd Army Corps at Petra about six miles north-west of Kirk Kiliseh. He was supported by the 2nd Corps at Khoyoun Ghyaour some five miles to the south. The 1st Corps was echeloned between Sul Oglou and Guechkinli and in its support was the 4th Corps between Haskewi and Tchiflik. We formed the extreme left of the army connecting with the army of Adrianople, on the right of which stood the independent cavalry brigade commanded by Ibrahim Pasha. It had been a part of the strategy of von der Goltz Pasha to hold Kirk Kiliseh and Adrianople in force and to concentrate the main force of the army on the line of the Erghezi river until the arrival of the troops from Asia; and in deference to the experience of the famous Prussian, Abdullah Pasha at once gave orders for a general retirement to the chosen position. The Bulgarians, however, did not play quite into von der Goltz' hands, and on the morning of the 22nd attacked us along our whole front."

FAULTY MAPS.

Mahmond Monkhhtar Pasha was badly served by his cavalry, and despite his own personal gallantry was unable to keep his men in order. They fell back rapidly, and as Kirk Kiliseh was still unfortified he was compelled to leave that place and to take up a position considerably in the rear. There was danger of the Bulgarians cutting in between him and Constantinople, but Mahmond Monkhhtar realising this danger made the most gallant efforts to rally his men, and as we on the left were more than holding our own he was able to draw off with less loss than at first we anticipated. Had we been led by a competent General we might, indeed we should have retrieved the day, but Abdullah Pasha made no effort to support his left and although our guns and the steady front displayed by our cavalry held the Bulgarians at bay throughout the whole day, towards nightfall our men heard with disgust that we were to retire. The reason for this retirement was unknown as I have told you. The division had a complete wireless signalling apparatus, but no men to use it. We had no signalling section, all orders had to be conveyed by orderlies and it was as difficult to find general officers as to find the proverbial needle in the bundle of hay. Our maps were most faulty, I was despatched on some scores of messages but the staff map was absolutely useless. Generals moved from spot to spot like will-o-the-wisps, and corps commanders were quite unable to give me any information as to the whereabouts of their own troops.

"At the Military College at Constantinople we had a charming Frenchman as Instructor of surveying, and he certainly was a beautiful draughtsman. He was handicapped in the days of Abdul Hamid, for he was forbidden to take the classes into the field for practical work; the consequence was that our military surveyors were never called upon to make an actual survey in the field. Where they obtained the information on which their maps were based I can only

conjecture. The maps were utterly unreliable: Nothing was in its place. Villages were marked which never had existed, those which did exist were left unnoticed, roads took the place of streams and streams of roads, I threw my map away in disgust on the 23rd and got on much better without it, for I did not lose time nor my temper in endeavouring to harmonise its many discrepancies. The 23rd and 24th were spent in vain endeavours by the cavalry division to ascertain the whereabouts of our army. We knew that the Bulgars had isolated Adrianople and that the 1st and 4th Corps were in full retreat, but of the 2nd and 3rd we could learn nothing. I was sent hither and thither groping blindly in the dark for news. More than once I blundered upon Bulgarian reconnaissance parties evidently furnished with better maps than mine, but as they were not so well mounted I shook them off. On the morning of the 25th October an old Saumur comrade rode into our bivouac with the intelligence that Mahmond had been badly beaten and that our whole army was in full retreat to Baba Eski on the main line of Railway and that we were to fall back without delay covering the left of the army. On reaching Baba Eski we found it deserted; the Infantry had passed through without making even a pretence of a halt and what was even more disgraceful they had abandoned the whole of their wounded. For this there was no excuse, the Bulgars made no attempt to follow up their advantage and gave us ample time had we possessed ourselves into safety as best they might. Thousands perished who an able commander to rally at more than one convenient spot. Our ambulances were well in the rear and the wounded were left to drag ought with care and forethought to have been saved.

"We passed through Baba Eski without halting and continued our route to Luleh Burgas. Such an appalling sight I never hope to see again,—guns with their limbers overturned the harness out in order that the gunners might escape with their lives, ammunition waggons filled with priceless ammunition, dead bodies of horses, half starved wretches enfeebled by long months of semi-starvation that had been unable to drag their loads through the bottomless mud of Thrace, the bodies too of many a brave comrade, men whose wounds had prevented them keeping up with their corps and who had died from exposure during the night. It was with a heavy heart that I rode past these silent witnesses of our military ineptitude. At Luleh Burgas we learnt more details of our disasters,—disasters all along the line, and learnt too that all four corps were to mass at Luleh Burgas, where indeed we found the cavalry of the 3rd Corps already installed. They had made no attempt to cover the retirement of their corps, but had fled incontinently from the field despite the endeavour of Mahmond Monkhhtar Pasha and his staff to rally them.

"Fortunately for us the Bulgarians had no cavalry, and we were allowed time to reorganise our forces during our short stay at Luleh Burgas. Abdullah Pasha now made the following disposition. The 3rd Corps under Mahmond Monkhhtar Pasha was ordered to take post at Visa on our extreme right. In the centre was 2nd Corps at Kara Agatch, the 1st at Turk Bey Tchiflik and the 4th at Luleh Burgas. This corps had been under Prince Aziz Pasha, but his conduct under fire had not escaped notice, and he was replaced by Ahmed Abouk Pasha, a fire-eater of the old school. The cavalry division was ordered to stand fast at Luleh Burgas; its strength on the morning of the 29th, ten days after the declaration of war, was 678 of all ranks, just one half the numbers with which it opened the campaign. Our losses at the hands of the enemy did not amount to 100, but the waste of horse flesh had been enormous.

"On bidding us adieu at Luleh Burgas with instructions to hold the place as long as possible Abdullah Pasha gave us the cheering news that he would not be able to supply us with any more rations or with ammunition. We were told to live on the country and to replenish our waggons from any we found on the road! Our hold of the place was not of long duration, for towards noon two strong columns of the enemy made a determined attack on our front. Our six guns were soon overpowered and under a heavy artillery fire, which caused us considerable loss, we withdrew to Karichedaran. That night I slept with my old squadron, now reduced to 17 lances! We took but a minor part in the battles which raged on the 29th, 30th and 31st of October and I can say nothing about them except that we seemed to have been beaten everywhere, and only made good our retreat on Tchoru because the Bulgars possessed no cavalry or did not know how to use the little they had. The retreat was not conducted with any semblance of order, and it was exceedingly fortunate for us that the Bulgars did not follow up their advantage with rapidity. The whole road was strewn with impedimenta; accoutrements, weapons, guns, maxims, howitzers, ammunition waggons, ambulances, all bearing the mark of some German firm all were made in Germany, all of the latest pattern and all destined to fall into the hands of our foes. Hard indeed it was for us to feel that day by day the Bulgars were collecting ammunition for the many guns they had already taken from us.

"On the 6th of November we arrived at Tchortu, and the cavalry division, now the strength of a couple of squadrons, was detached to the south to prevent the Bulgars forestalling us in the race for the lines of Tchataldja, which we reached after a continuous engagement on the 10th of November to find a more formidable foe than the Bulgars in our midst. Cholera had been imported into the army by some men from Asia and we were destined to lose far more from this scourge than from the fire of the enemy. I was unfortunately wounded in one of the reconnaissances on the 16th of November, and whilst lying ill in hospital was taken with the Asiatic disease. As you see I pulled through, but the disease on the top of the wound caused intense suffering. The notification of the armistice enable me to apply for sick leave without impropriety and after three months, sojourn on the Bosphorus I was allowed to come here in order to place myself under a famous German physician. Ah, you smile at my placing my coming to Germany, but you see we are in a sense bound to obey the orders of our superiors and the Seraskeriat in Stamboul would only give me leave to come here, and that is why I am in Wiesbaden and not in France, where all my predilections lie.

CHIEF CAUSE OF TURKISH DEFEAT.

"You ask me as to the causes of our defeat in the first war. Well frankly I put them all down to our insensate love for all things German. In the first place German tactics are not suited to the temperament of the Osmanli. Some nations fight as well under adverse as under favourable circumstances. Some are only good in an attack, others better when on the defensive. The French *elan* so conspicuous when attacking is sadly wanting when retiring. We can fight well enough in an attack and also behind breast works, but we are no good when retiring in the open. The idea that we were to fall back from our own frontier and rally behind the river Ergenei was a fatal one. If our concentration had taken place in the rear of that river and then an advance made when our complements were full the campaign would have taken a different direction. But the initial mistake was in pushing up to the frontier with an inefficient cavalry force and then immediately falling back the moment the enemy appeared in strength. Our men could not understand the reason for that retreat and at once lost heart. But our disasters began on the parade ground. The confidence of our men in their officers was lost when they saw those officers placed under the tuition of Prussians. How could they believe in officers who were being taught by foreigners? Again the Redif regiments which in all former wars had been the mainstay of our army had been ruined. In olden days even so lately as the Greek war which was fought and won by Redifs, the Redif regiments were commanded by men of the old school. The officers were old, I admit, but they were hard men capable of undergoing the greatest fatigue and hardships, and having served in the regiments all their lives were looked up on by their men as their parents. Whatever they asked of their men was performed. After the revolution it was discovered that the officers of the Redif regiments were too old and were ignorant of the art of war as taught in our Military Schools; so they were replaced by young officers new to their men well up in all Napoleonic and von Moltke campaigns, with a taste for wine and strong drinks, who considered themselves the superiors of those who had not a certificate from Paucaldi (our Military College) and rarely were seen inside a mosque. The men did not trust to them and when the hour of trial came the Redif as newly organised broke down utterly and for the first time in our history Redif regiments refused to follow leaders. Though the men themselves say it was the lack of leaders and not their disinclination to follow which was the real cause of their failure.

"What is the use of rehearsing the tactics of our grand fathers? Every nation must adopt its own. The stiff drill of the Prussian is unsuited for our men. In the cavalry the drill we learnt was absolutely useless. Our men could do the lance exercise perfectly at the walk or even at a slow canter, but when we tried them at the gallop our sword stings were over our horses' flanks, and the men needed both hands to keep their horses in check or both feet to keep them at the gallop with their spurs. We had never practised a charge, and when we did endeavour on two occasions to try conclusions with the Bulgars we never succeeded. Both charges failed ignominiously. Then our organisation was absolutely lacking in all essentials. Napoleon is stated to have said, that an army marched on its belly and that the first, second and third things a soldier wanted was a pair of boots, a second pair of boots and a third pair of boots. Well, we failed to march because no arrangements had been made to feed either horses or men, and neither horses nor men had boots or shoes. When we left our barracks few of our men had spare shoes, and we left Baba Esli for the front with empty haversacks for the men and empty nose-bags for the horses. What is essential in my mind is that every squadron should have a small portable forge, and that in the motor-car which carries the forge should also

be carried at least one complete square set of shoes for each horse; and that every horse should carry two day's forage in the shape of corn and every man three day's rations. Our horses died from hunger and our men could not fight for the same cause. Why in ten days we lost seventy-five per cent. of our horses; of course, this was exceptional, owing in a large measure to the state of the roads, but this was the fault of our staff. Von der Goltz had been present at manoeuvres over this same ground, he had seen the wretched condition of the roads, the miserable condition of the people, the broken down bridges. Why did he not depute some Prussian staff officers to see that these deficiencies were remedied, that proper maps were prepared, instead of wasting their time drilling our hearts out? These officers would have been far better employed in doing this all important work. Then again the means of communicating orders or information was faulty, reminding one of Napoleonic days. All was done by mounted orderlies. Our field telephones were not even packed. Indeed, I do not think that the one belonging to the 1st Lancers left Stamboul. The 50 kilometers of telephone wire attached to the staff of the division was never used. I never saw it. We had left behind the heliographs which had been used in Greece under the impression that the telephone would supersede it, but our Prussian Colonel, who had been in command for four years, was far too busy teaching us to march past so that he might gain the praise on a Selamluk day from his Field Marshal to think of such trivialities as telephones or shoes or remounts, or nose-bags or saddlery."

TRAINED vs. UNTRAINED GUNNERS.

"In fact we were never taught the practical duties of our profession. It was the aim of every officer to stay at the capital, and whilst there was a plethora of officers in regiments of the first Army Corps those in the provinces had to be content with two or more, often one per squadron. As we in the cavalry had never been instructed in the details of regimental work, so it was with other arms. The artillery, which in olden days was so efficient, was now practically useless. It had never been taught the intricacies of modern weapons. No co-operation was to be seen between the three arms. The two batteries attached to the Cavalry division never opened fire at a range longer than perhaps a couple of thousand metres though the shell ranged to 6,000. The observation ladders were never used, telephones were conspicuous by their absence. Few of the officers even used the Zeiss glasses and I never saw a telescope during the campaign. Over and over again we came under a heavy fire from the enemy's artillery and were unable to locate the spot from which we were being fired at, so that our guns could make no response. This demoralised the men. It was not that the French guns were so far superior to ours, but it was the superiority of the enemy's gunners; they had been trained, ours were untrained; that was the secret. So it was all through we had never been taught, they had. We had lost our old grip of war and had failed to learn any new lessons. I went so far as to say that our mentors were unable to teach us. They did not do so. And until the Prussians realise that the tactics of the Uhlan and the Picklehaube are absolutely unsuited to the oriental, so long will their assistance be worse than valueless. It will be an ever fruitful source of harm.

"Our men are good enough, and we have plenty of good material on which to draw for our officers, but we need a grasp of detail. We want to fall back on our loose style of fighting and our loose style of dress. Stiff drill, stiff uniforms are not adapted for the Osmanli. Give us good organisation, good trains well equipped, to supply our men with a plentiful supply of ammunition, sound young horses and experienced old officers to whom the men will look up, and we shall do as well as we were used to do in days gone by."

THE GREAT LESSON OF THE WAR.

"Von der Goltz was good enough in his way as a Professor. He knew what was wanted, and told us many useful things, but he never attempted to see that his instructions were carried out, except in the matter of armaments. He was careful enough to see that all orders for arms and ammunition were placed in Germany, and that these orders were carried out with punctuality and despatch. The Bulgars must have profited to the extent of some millions of pounds by the Krupp guns and Mauser rifles and other German implements which fell into their hands in our headlong flight from Luleh Burgas to Tchataldja. The one great lesson I learnt from the war was that drill is of secondary consideration. The first thing is to see that your men are well equipped. Organise, organise, organise should be our aim. If men and horses are well fed and well led, all will go right. That is my opinion in spite of what all Prussian drill instructors may think; they have not seen war for three and forty years. It will be interesting to see how Prussia emerges from her next trial. I for one anticipate complete disaster, unless they pay less attention to drill and more to individual action. Their army is a machine and machines are apt to go wrong at critical moments."

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A Weekly Journal

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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The truth thou hast, that all may share
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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estimates the number of students now in the United Kingdom at between 1,600 and 1,700. Of these, 144 are under the guardianship of his department. One of the chief difficulties is to provide for the increasing number of engineering students facilities for practical work. He points out that many English students have to seek such facilities abroad, and says it is unfortunate students desiring ultimately to make railways, bridges and roads, leave India, where opportunities exists for England, where opportunities are more rarely found. It would be a great assistance, adds Mr Mallet, if the Railways and Public Works Department in India would afford Indian students such facilities, which are so difficult to obtain here. The expenses of the year chargeable to Indian revenues amount to £5,973, which, Mr. Mallet says, is not a heavy price to pay if it results in sending back to India, as leaders of the younger generations, a body of well equipped, well-educated men, with many friendships in England, and every reason to recall their experiences here with gratitude and pleasure.

Shevket's Assassin.

Constantinople, Nov. 26.

Kavakly Mustapha, one of the assassins of Mahmud Shevket, and condemned to death in *contumaciam* has been arrested on board a Russian steamer with the consent of the Russian Consular authorities. The Russian Ambassador personally protested to the Grand Vizier against the misrepresentation that the prisoner was an ordinary criminal, and demanded the prisoner's return, also the dismissal of Azim Bey, prefect of Police.

Constantinople, Dec. 1.

The man Mustapha, one of the assassins of Mahmud Shevket Pasha, is officially stated to have committed suicide in prison. It is generally believed, however, that he succumbed to police methods used to extort information regarding the doings of Prince Sabaudin and other opponents of the Government. Mustapha's death gravely complicates the international difficulty.

Delhi, Nov. 28

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from Mr. Ritchie dated Johannesburg, 27th November 1913:—"West's arrest for harbouring deserters under indenture. Facts are, that number of terrified labourers from estate near fled to Phoenix for refuge. I advised West allow them to remain. Reports of assaults on estates pouring in. Also that food supplied not distributed. Practically impossible now to gain access to labourers on estates."

Mr. Gokhale has also received the following cablegram from the Natal Indian Association, dated 27th November 1913:—"Position intensely precarious. Military Police using arms, object forcing strikers to work. Press reports Blackburn Estate to-day suppression, methods resulted in four being killed, twelve seriously wounded, and fifty minor injuries. Understand more casualties. Impossible to ascertain facts. Though repeatedly requested, Government facilities not granted. Rank and file being compelled to surrender to brute force. Labour employers demand that free Indians liable to pay tax and others return to work. Upon refusal victimization. Leaders helpless against Government, owing to Magistrates, presumably, having instructions and acting in concert with employers. Thirteen leaders reported arrested. Case adjourned fortnight. Strike will be forcibly killed if situation not immediately relieved. Trust Imperial Indian Government's immediate intervention."

The Week.

Home Rule.

London, Dec. 5.

Speaking at Birmingham, Lord Haldane denied that Mr. Asquith's tones had hardened on the subject of Home Rule. The Premier, he said, was still ready to discuss amendments to the Bill. Lord Haldane appealed to the Opposition to co-operate with a view to settlement, but not to enter into negotiations with minds made up not to make concessions.

Greece and Bulgaria.

London, Nov. 30.

M. Poincare has accepted Bulgaria's proposal to arbitrate in the case of Bulgarian soldiers still retained by Greece. The latter has not yet replied to the proposal.

President Poincare has accepted Bulgaria's proposal that he should arbitrate in the case of prisoners still detained by Greece. The latter has not yet replied to the proposal.

Turkey.

Constantinople, Dec. 3.

A contract has been signed with the Armstrong-Vickers Group for the reorganisation of the Turkish naval dockyard including the construction of a naval base and floating dock in the Gulf of Ismid, which will mark a new era in Turkish naval development. It is stipulated that Turkish labour shall be employed as far as possible, and so foreigners, except British, may be engaged.

Indian Students.

London, Dec. 2.

Mr. O. E. Mallet's annual report gives details of the increasing activities of the Indian Students Department in manifold ways. He

Delhi, Nov. 30

Mr. Gokhale has received the following telegram from Mr. West, dated Durban, 29th instant:—"Facts about my arrest are that a number of strikers arrived at Phoenix on Saturday last, stating that they feared for their lives and asking for food and protection. I immediately telegraphed facts to the Magistrate, adding that the strikers were willing to be arrested. To this I received no reply. On Tuesday I communicated with the Minister and Chief Magistrate suggesting that strikers should be allowed to remain on Phoenix until disturbances were over and Government took charge of them. The Minister replied that the fear of ill-treatment was unfounded and that if strikers returned to work they need fear no discomfort. That same afternoon I was arrested and charged with harbouring strikers under the indenture law. I am now on bail. Case coming off on Tuesday next. The strikers were removed from Phoenix by the police. Others came reporting brutal assaults. I personally investigated matter and we are laying charge against manager. So far two Indians have been shot dead at Esapungo and six at Blackburn. Several others dangerously injured. Official report states that Indians furiously assaulted Police. I am investigating."

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegrams from Mr. Ritch, dated Johannesburg, 1st December:—"Mass meeting of Indians held here yesterday. Adopted six resolutions: (1) Conveying to passive resisters message of deep sympathy and exhorting them to stand firm to fundamental principles of passive resistance in spite of all provocations. (2) Expressing profound gratitude to Viceroy of India for his outspoken statement regarding present position of British Indians in South Africa. (3) Placing on record indignant protest of the meeting against the use of violence towards Indian strikers. (4) Affirming loyalty to leader of Indian community Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants too, numerous to mention, who were suffering imprisonment for conscience sake, also expressing reverence for Mrs. Gandhi and other brave women who had shown that India's daughters were not behind India's sons in their devotion to the welfare of India's children. (5) Giving unqualified support to the demand for the fullest impartial inquiry, and (6) Expressing heartfelt gratitude to the people of India for the assistance in the present struggle."

Lucknow, Dec. 1.

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and wired to the Viceroy:—"That this emergency meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep gratitude for the sympathy shown by His Excellency, Lord Hardinge, for the sufferings of Indians in South Africa, and begs to assure His Excellency that his statesmanlike pronouncement at Madras in this connection has considerably allayed the growing feeling of discontent in India, and that in thus nobly championing the cause of helpless Indians His Excellency has rendered signal service to India and the British Empire."

That this emergency meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League places on record its most emphatic protest against the unjust and inhuman treatment to which Indians are subjected in the Union of South Africa, and expresses its deep indignation at the savage persecution that the strikers are reported to have met with at the hands of the Union Government.

That this emergency meeting requests the Government of India to put an end to the present indentures and adopt retentory measures until the rights of Indians have been recognised by the South African Union.

Delhi, Dec. 3.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from the Natal Indian Association, dated Durban, 1st December:—"Simultaneous mass meetings held in Natal expressing loyalty to leaders in jail, supporting demand for immediate inquiry into allegations by a body including Indian representatives and urging repeal of £3 tax. Merciless assaults by military force continued. Three leaders, Maritzburg, arrested. General Smuts refused to grant interview at Durban, urging that that he had no time."

Delhi, Dec. 1.

The Secretary of State for India is receiving to-day a deputation of Indians in London, including Sir M. Bhownagsee and Mr. Ameer Ali in connection with the position of Indians in South Africa.

London, Dec. 1.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownagsee to-day introduced the deputation of Indians to Lord Crewe. He said Lord Hardinge's speech had pacified to some extent the intense indignation of the people of India. The deputation contended that it was the Imperial Government's duty to mediate at this critical time. They asked for the release of the strikers and passive resisters, the removal of the racial bar, the abolition of the poll-tax, the institution of a thorough enquiry into the responsibility resting with both the parties, and the adoption of such measures by the Crown as would secure to British Indians throughout the Empire, the rights of citizenship, guaranteed them by the solemn pledges of the Crown. Lord Crewe replied that he need not assure them that events in South Africa were the subject of the

Imperial Government's deep concern. India had been deeply stirred by the reports reaching her, though every statement need not be adopted as proved facts, yet it was evident that grounds existed for serious disquiet, also there was material for close enquiry into the occurrences themselves and the causes which led to them. Lord Crewe emphasised that as he had been both Secretary for the Colonies and Secretary for India, he was deeply immersed in this question. He had discussed it with General Botha, Mr. Smuts, and Mr. Fischer, also with Messrs Gandhi, Polak and Gokhale. He had warmly encouraged Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa, hoping that it would lead to a settlement. He recognised in Mr. Gandhi a man of high ideals. At the same time, the South African Ministers were honestly anxious to deal out fair treatment to Indians and see the laws humanely administered. He was bound, however, to add that the leaders had been often hampered by the existence in South Africa of a public opinion less enlightened than their own, and a degree of racial prejudice from which they themselves were largely free. The South African Government contended Lord Crewe said, that though the laws were restrictive owing to the demand of South African opinion, yet they had been so easily put into operation that no practical grievance existed. Though he was certain that the Ministers desired that the administration of the law should not be unduly burdensome to individuals, he asked if it could be said that this wish was always carried out. The laws were administered by a number of different officials and surely it was dangerous to depend, as seemed to be done, on rational and sympathetic administration of the law to protect individuals from the operation of severe enactments in such circumstances as existed among the communities in South Africa. Some minor officials might be stupid and addicted to methods of red tape, others might have such racial prejudices that they would not wish to administer the law leniently. Lord Crewe referred to the question of polygamy. He said it was not claimed that South Africa ought to legalise polygamy, but polygamous communities demanded reasonable consideration. The Indians recognised that they could not enjoy unrestricted movement from province to province. He declared that there was a regrettable obscurity with regard to what really occurred when the matter was last before the Union Parliament. He asked, was the Government willing to drop the tax, but maintained it in consequence of the views of Natal?

Was the abolition of the tax actually foretold or promised? There again there seemed to be a difference of opinion. Continuing, Lord Crewe said it would be great misfortune if the Indians considered themselves played with in such important matter. The tax did not bring in a large revenue. It did not seem to serve any useful purpose. Many South Africans were opposed to it, yet it was the main source of trouble. The greatest indignation in India had been due to stories of flogging. These statements demanded an enquiry. He was glad to see Mr. Smuts had gone to Natal to make an enquiry in person. He need not say that the Imperial Government would accept, and everyone ought to accept, statements made by a responsible Minister like Mr. Smuts. It was altogether wrong for anyone to adopt a tone of menace to South Africa. He believed that if South Africa agreed that the solidarity of the Empire was to be sustained by a form of enquiry which was not solely official, no sentiment of national or personal amour propre ought to stand in the way of such an investigation. Such investigation ought to be directed not only to the circumstances of the last few days but to the substance of the complaints which were causing restlessness among the Indians in South Africa. Lord Crewe concluded: "Not only the India Office but the whole Government are giving unremitting attention to the subject. The Colonial Office also is anxious that complete justice shall be done to the Indian subjects of the King in South Africa." Replying to questions, Lord Crewe said: "In stating my conviction that some enquiry, not merely official, was desirable, I was expressing my own view. I have no reason to suppose that that view is opposed by my colleagues."

Sir Mancherjee Bhownagsee demurred that the South Africans were restricting Indian immigration. Indians claimed entry into every part of the Empire. He considered that Indian should participate in any enquiry. Lord Crewe replied that he did not quarrel with the Indians desiring entry into every part of the Empire. He pointed out, however, that communities held strong views against free access to their countries. He thought that the South African Government was not likely to agree to the participation of South African Indians in the enquiry. Mr. Ameer Ali did not attend deputation, which was composed of eleven Indians. He, however, sent a message of sympathy. Lord Crewe was accompanied by Mr. Montague and other Departmental officials.

The South African Crisis

The Struggle.

Nov. 22. A serious affray took place yesterday between the Indians from the Hillhead and Blackburn estates and the

cumbe district. The official report says four Indians were killed and twenty-nine wounded, some dangerously. Three policemen were severely wounded. The force consisted of an officer and twelve men of the South African Mounted Rifles, and a few native constables.

It appears that there were two affrays, one on the Hillhead Estate, and one on the Blackburn Estate. Half of the Hillhead Indians had agreed to return to work, but the other half refused. Policemen were consequently despatched to the Estate for the purpose of arresting the ringleaders and the recalcitrants. While the posse was proceeding through the canefields, Indians bombarded them with sticks and stones. Men proceeding to work joined the other assailants. A fight ensued in which the police fired their revolvers over the heads of their assailants but without effect. The Indians killed the horse of a mounted policeman, who had been despatched to Mount Edgecombe for assistance, and the rider who fell, was attacked by the coolies. The police went to the assistance of their comrade, who escaped. Revolvers were then fired in earnest, resulting in the casualties mentioned. On the conclusion of the fight, the police secured several prisoners, and were proceeding to Mount Edgecombe when they were waylaid by Indians from the Blackburn Estate, who had previously agreed to return to work. The assistant manager of the Estate endeavoured to stop them, but was stunned by an Indian. This encounter was not serious, and no revolvers were fired.

Pretoria, Nov. 28.

General Smuts has gone to Durban to enquire into the Indian trouble.

Pietermaritzburg, Nov. 30.

The hearing of the case against Sir Duncan Mackenzie was most exhaustive and lasted a week. Sir Duncan was found not guilty on all the counts, which were framed under the Indian Immigration Act, and discharged. The Magistrate was unable to accept the evidence of the six complainants and their witnesses as they had been proved in cross-examination, and by the documentary and oral evidence of the defence, to be prevaricating on all the material points of the allegations. The Crown was supported on behalf of several complainants by twenty or more witnesses, but in every instance the defence had proved to the satisfaction of the Court that the charges were false. In addition to coloured witnesses the defence called several well-known farmers.

The Magistrate complimented counsel on the painstaking way the case had been conducted on both sides. He said it was perfectly apparent that the charges were not founded on fact. He had not the slightest hesitation in finding that the serious charges of flogging and neglecting to provide full rations were entirely false. On two out of the three occasions when it was alleged that Sir Duncan Mackenzie had compelled complainants to work on Sundays it was proved beyond doubt that Sir Duncan was away from home and that his house was locked up. Never once had Sunday work been performed by them, with the exception of two hours milking, to which they had never demurred, and which was necessary work. The Magistrate advised the Indians that if they were ordered back to the service of Sir Duncan Mackenzie they should go without demur and not in future make such charges unless they were true.

London, Dec. 1.

Meetings of Indians were held in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, yesterday, each attended by a thousand persons.

Resolutions were passed supporting the demand for enquiry into the cases of alleged shooting and assaulting Indians on which Indians should be represented, and affirming determination to continue the movement. A number of women addressed the meeting at Pietermaritzburg.

The *Morning Post* prints an article critically examining the demands for Imperial intervention on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, which is voiced by the *Daily News*, Lord Ampthill and in other quarters. The article shows that the consequences would be that the Union Government would resign like the Natal Government did in 1906. As Sir Thomas Smartt has made it clear that he will support General Botha no other Government would be obtainable, and the Imperial Government would be compelled to take over the Government of South Africa, risk a rebellion, or give way as it did in 1906. "The talk of the intervention," the article continues, "is foolish. It is also foolish to scold and abuse. The Imperial Government and the Government of India must make the best terms they can by friendly representations, but with a view to a balance of parties in South Africa. Racial feeling has been aroused by the Indians' methods of agitation, and there is little hope of obtaining a really satisfactory settlement. The Imperial Government might, however, provide a refuge for Indians who refuse to submit to the conditions, and who regard them as intolerable, by framing a colonisation scheme in, say, the Sudan, where magnificent land is coming under irrigation, and urgently requires cultivators. A generous scheme on such lines would both benefit the Sudan, and would show the Indians that the Imperial Government is still deeply interested in their welfare.

TETE À TETE



We are informed that Lord Headley and Khawaja Kamal-ud-din would be coming out to India this cold weather on a short visit. We need not say how very cordially they would be received by the Mussalmans everywhere.

Khawaja Sahab and his great work deserve the support of all, and we are sure before he left again for England, he would be put in a position to carry on his work without any monetary difficulties. This is the least that we could do for him.

We wish we were free to publish the letters in *toto* which we receive from Mr Mohamed Ali by each mail.

Mr Mohamed Ali. But we have to be discreet, ask no questions and obey orders. Discipline must be maintained. When Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali come back, we will hear all they had to go through. We believe in "never say die until you were dead" kind of people, and we are glad that our two representatives, have been persistent and have put up a very plucky fight in the face of great odds. One should not expect results too soon but in this case, we see that the sporting instinct of the Britisher has come to recognize in them "real men" who would not give up a just cause simply for the reason that there were obstacles thrown in their way. We will snatch extracts from the letter which we received this week:—"This is the last letter but one that you will get from us, for after that we hope to meet you ourselves. His Highness the Aga Khan has sent us the letter which he had promised Wazir Hasan and has made our position quite clear. What is more he has stood by the younger generation of Mussalmans in India in clearing the stigma of disloyalty from their character. Renter wired of this to you I believe, and so I only content myself with sending you a copy of his last letter (which we publish elsewhere). Immediately on getting this, we prepared a short letter to the press, clearly explaining the points on which evidence was needed and the way that evidence was forthcoming in the letters of the Aga Khan. The *Morning Post* has written a magnificent leading article at very short notice for which we were certainly not prepared. I send the leader and the copy of our letter. I do not think it is necessary to waste time over Mr. Amir Ali any further as the "*Morning Post*" leader has simply crushed him. We are giving a lunch on the 27th Nov. at the Walford Hotel when we bid good-bye to all our kind friends and those whom we wish to work for our cause. This lunch would not be political in the sense of the controversial but merely a means of improving the relations of India and England, and Islam and Christianity, and that we would make an appeal to Englishmen and Englishwomen to be less incurious about our country and our religion than they have been in the past, and to learn at first hand our aims and ambitions and our grievances. I have met H. G. Wells, the famous novelist. Mr. and Mrs. Wells have asked me to dine with them next Friday and have purposely delayed the dinner till 8-15 to enable me to finish the Indian Mail without inconvenience. Wells would come out to India next cold weather. I had an appointment with Mr. R. B. Cunningham Graham who has been in Morocco and has written many books on that country, which unfortunately I missed, being detained at the "*Morning Post*" Office. I hope to see him on our return from Scotland and Newcastle where I go tonight with Wazir Hasan. The Islamic Society of Edinburgh are giving us a complimentary dinner, and the Indian Union also wants to hear us. At Newcastle we are only going on a social visit though we may get an opportunity of addressing a meeting.

WELL, I shall say no more now beyond the fact that I only wish we had another month of stay in England for although Mr. Ameer Ali made us waste several weeks through that wretched episode of his resignation, and we could

not even go to Constantinople, his resignation has, however, given us a large advertisement, and now that episode has turned to our advantage. But this makes it necessary for us to come again next year, and I hope it would be possible for me to leave India next May and go to Turkey for a fortnight at least, and thence to England for about eight weeks, and to return to India after a short Continental tour of a fortnight, thus spending altogether about four months. England is ready to understand us, but is not prepared to make any sacrifice to go out to India and learn anything. It is, therefore, necessary for us to come here and educate public opinion, and if we fail in doing so, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, which is of the same faith and the same blood as the people of this country, would prejudice the case for all time against us and the entire case will go by default. A national fund should be provided for this purpose and relays of public men sent out year after year and practically one man at least should be here at all times of the year. Now the Cawnpore affair was wholly unknown to the people, in fact they thought it was an awful riot on the part of fanatics in which the police were the only human beings. When the photographs of the boys arrested were shown to some of the people here, they realised for the first time how the authorities had blundered, and the English public deceived about the humanity of the police.

I forgot to state that Lord Headley of whom I believe I wrote to you before, has become a Mohammedan, in fact he was a Mussalman for some years, but only announced it now. His full title is The Right Hon. Sir Rowland George Allanson Allanson-Winn Baron

Headley and Baron Allanson and Winn, (created 1797), 11th Baronet of Nostell, York, Yorkshire, (created 1660), and 5th Baronet of Little Warney, Essex, J. P. B. A., Cantab., M. Inst. C. I. E., Fellow Soc. Engineers, Civil Engineer. He was born in 1855 and has four sons. He is an Irish peer, but not one of the representative peers, who alone sit in the House of Lords. He is a robust man of very fine education and intellectual vigour and not at all the kind of morbid man that one often associates with people who are generally converted from one faith into another, often through intellectual caprice. Since the announcement of his conversion, which the papers have commented upon favourably, Khwaja Kamal-ud-din has received many letters from people who are likely to announce their conversion shortly. Had I write to you about Lady Evelyn Cobbold whom I met several times and who has for long been a confirmed Mussalman? She knows the Koran very well and has studied many books in Arabic, and often goes to Egypt for the study of Islam. She has taught his daughter the prayer in Arabic and is one of the keenest Mussalmans I have ever met. I believe she is the niece of Lord Ester. She amused me a great deal by telling me that when invited to go to Church by a friend with whom she was staying, she told her that she was a Mussalman, and heard in reply "Oh, none of our class are that sort of thing." She told me there must be something peculiar in our faith, for although she never knew the Turks at all and had lived all her life with Christians and Europeans, her sympathies went out to the Turks, and she was miserable during the last war and almost hated the sight of her own people. By the way I met Dr. Addison, M. P., Ansari's friend and he is going to help me a great deal. It is a hopeful sign that we are being asked to lecture or speak at various meetings, and that at the least desire on our part some writers put us in the papers, for instance here is a cutting from the "New Witness" in which the Jews have been attacked horribly, and somehow or other we are brought in, in spite of our sympathies with some Jews and hatred of these Jewish financiers of Europe who have been instrumental in ruining some of the Moslem States, particularly Morocco, Cecil Chesterton is the Editor of this paper, and he is the brother of the famous G. K., who is about to organise a meeting to protest against the action of the colonies in South Africa at which Mr. Hugh O'Donnell, the writer of this article, is speaking on the colour line and the maltreatment of Indians. We have been invited to suggest the date and time for this meeting and to address the audience. The "Vanity Fair," "The New Age" and the "New Witness," rather unnecessarily brought in the Hindu question. We do not agree with the writers on these points. Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali are both well and thriving in spite of the misrepresentations and abuse, of the Anglo-Indian Press.

We request all our readers to peruse carefully, the cuttings from the English Papers, received by this mail. The Official Boycott. We had suspected from the very beginning that the British Press had adopted this attitude

under instructions from the India Office. A writer in the "New Age," an independent paper, lets the cat out of the bag. The following makes very instructive and amusing reading.—"I have been at some pains to verify the account I heard of the reception of these two gentlemen in London; and the reception they received certainly does not do credit to our hospitality. Two or three letters sent to Lord Morley brought the intimation at last that he could not see them. Neither, strange to say, could Mr. Mantagu, the Under Secretary of State for India. Only in a few cases did the editors of important newspapers see them; and with the exception of two important Liberal dailies (one in London and one in Manchester), and one important Liberal weekly (six-penny), no newspaper would offer to publish even a moderately condensed account of their grievances. The Times, and I think also the "Telegraph," inserted correspondence between the visitors and Mr. Ameer Ali; but in an abridged form. An ironical feature of the whole thing is this; I have myself when investigating certain facts put before me, spoken to prominent newspaper editors and even newspaper proprietors. One and all they admit the justice of the Moslem claims, one and all they admit that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan have every possible reason for feeling dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of men like Lord Morley and Mr. Mantagu, who should have been among the first to make them welcome. And one and all these prominent newspaper men made use of an almost identical expression when I commented on their curious attitude. "We daren't publish a word about it, my boy. The Press has had the tip from the India Office, and they wouldn't like it." I gather—from inquiries at the India Office—that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, where Cawnpore happens to be situated, seems to have made rather a fool of himself. The same remark applies to one of his subordinates. English officials, being human, sometimes do and say foolish things. Unfortunately, an Englishman in India can do no wrong. The theory seems to be that a manly withdrawal, a courteous acknowledgment of error, is something that an official in India cannot permit himself. The consequence is that two influential Moslems, who are sincerely anxious to put the opinions of their co-religionists before the authorities, have been boycotted in London and run the risk of being arrested on trumped-up charges on their return to India some time next month."



Our English Letter.

THE public dinner given to Mrs. Naidu by her admirers in England was a successful function. Mr. Mohamed Ali proposed the toast of the visitors and apart from making them laugh very heartily, he pitched into them for making not the least sacrifices and taking no trouble whatever to understand the heart and soul of India, for although Mrs. Naidu had kept the soul of India in an English body in her verses, and for that rather than for good English poetry we liked her, everybody could not write English verse, and they should not expect that after giving up our costume, our food, our household arrangements, and many of our Eastern customs and institutions, we should also give up our language for all literary purposes so that they may appreciate a Tagore or a Sarojini or a Toru Datta. He then referred to Hali and Iqbal, and what they had done and were doing for millions of people in India. He related the story of recommending Hali for a Khan Sahabship and the difficulty his nephew had in having it exchanged with the title of Shams-ul-Ulama. Mr. Mohamed Ali's speech was very well received though a thousand such speeches are required to make the British people realise that they possess a vast Empire in India. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bt. replied for the visitors. The best speech was that of the Chairman W. B. Yeats, the Irish poet. As a matter of fact he proposed the toast of Mrs. Naidu and then responded to the toast of his own health. Both speeches were good, but the second better still.

You must have received a detailed account of the dinner given to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali by the Islamic Society. Covers were laid for 189 persons. Among those who came were the Honourable Aubrey Herbert, M.P., (in the chair), Dr. Rutherford, Mr. H. S. Swinny, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Headley, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Mr. John Stand, Editor of

The Comrade.

The Moslem League Crisis.

We think the Mussalmans in India are in a better position now to form a correct idea about the unfortunate crisis forced on the League by Mr. Ameer Ali, the President of the London Branch. We have received by the last mail, the full text of H. H. the Aga Khan's letter written to Mr. Wazir Hasan in which he clears the whole position, and gives the history of the "Wretched Dinner" of which so much was made by Mr. Ameer Ali and his supporters in the Anglo-Indian Press. Lectures were given, abuses were heaped on the heads of Messrs Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali who were shown to have huge and inordinate appetites for complimentary dinners and recognition, and the finger of scorn was openly pointed at the Mussalmans of India for having such men as prominent workers. A fine little storm was raised by the *Times* and *Reuter's* garbled accounts of the affair in which the words of Mr. Wazir Hasan were deliberately changed and twisted about to discredit them in the eyes of their friends and the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, the *Statesman* and even the *I D T* which ought to have known better added their own comments and could not hide their pleasure at the split in the Moslem Camp. We in India who knew well both Messrs Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali and also Mr. Ameer Ali, could not believe all this against our Agents, but realized only too clearly that the difficulties that some of us had anticipated, crowded in with greater force than what we had made allowances for.

We would here like to say very plainly how we regard Mr. Ameer Ali. We have the greatest respect for him for the services he has rendered to Islam through his writings, and we agree with His Highness the Aga Khan when he quoted in his letter to Mr. Ameer Ali, "as Mr. Mohamed Ali himself said the other night at the meeting, it was your book that taught younger generation what Islam truly meant." Mr. Ameer Ali also took a bold position in connection with the Itanin raid on Tripoly for which he was abused by the *Pioneer*, who has now suddenly become a great admirer of him. We admit all this but he must remember that we cannot allow his London Branch to work independently of the Parent League. The policy of the League must be formulated in India and the community shall never delegate its power to one man, however eminent he may be. The All-India Moslem League, while adopting or changing its political programme, would certainly consult all its branches and especially its London Branch, which has a position of unique importance. But once when that programme was adopted, all the branches whether in England or at Lahore would have loyally to carry it out.

If there were any workers in any of the branches, who could not accept it, they had the clear course open to them to do all they could to influence the Parent League to amend it, but it will be preposterous to suppose that the All-India Moslem League had one programme and its branch another. If the office bearers of any of the branches conscientiously believed that they could not work on these lines, they should resign their offices and their resignation shall have to be accepted whether they happen to be Mr. Ameer Ali and Mr. Shah or His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Wazir Hasan. We cannot change our programme to suit the convictions of individuals.

The All-India Moslem League last year made a very important change in their policy and which was accepted by the community, i.e. to prepare the country for the introduction of a suitable form of self-government. Now all the Branch Leagues whether in England or in India must accept this and work loyally. We do not know if Mr. Ameer Ali has accepted this or not, as he has been in sulks for about a year. If he cannot accept it, we are afraid his resignation will have to be accepted though it may be difficult to fill his place.

There is the further question now whether Mr. Ameer Ali even if he accepts the programme and works loyally for it, is qualified to hold the great office of the President of the London Branch. There is in the background the lurid and ominous shadow of the Lord Chancellor. We hope we are wrong but we feel that Indian Moslem questions will be prominent in the near future, as in spite of His Excellency the Viceroy, there are officials who would not afford them that peace, of which after 3 years of travel, they are sorely in need of for quiet, steady hard work for their regeneration. If the Lord Chancellor does not give permission for attending a political dinner, how could Mr. Ameer be sure to represent our case and fight our battles in England?

Let us now turn towards the two "villains of the piece" and see if they are really such villains and deserve swinging from the highest tree in the country. We know Messrs Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan for two honest, brave, enthusiastic and capable workers, who whatever their other faults may be, will stand by their people through fair or foul weather. It was a critical and troublous time, when they left India for England, being entrusted with a difficult task. There were many difficulties in their way, as the

the *Review of Reviews*, the Chief Editor of *Reuter*, Mahmud Bey, with many influential men from the City who have dealings with Turkey, Sir J. D. Rees, M.P., Mr. S. K. Ratchiffe, M. Saaby Bey, the correspondent of the *Iqdam*, the London Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mr. Leitner, Prince Amarjit Singh of Kapurthala, Sir M. M. Bhownggree, Dr. Kapadia, Jousuf Kamel Bey, ex M.P., of the Turkish Parliament, Ali Hikmat Nahid Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Mr. H. G. Wells, the great author, Mr. Allen F. Miller, Secretary to the Imperial Ottoman Consulate "Bedwin Sands," Mr. Charles Rocher, Mr. F. Dupré, the Hon. W. G. Walder, Head of the Statistics Department of the London Chamber of Commerce, the Hon. Fox Pitt, Mr. Bevan, M. Felix Valyi, Editor of *La Revue Politique Internationale*, Mr. Mohamed Easemoff, Captain Enver Bey, (not the great hero), M. Charfeddine Bey, Dr. Pollen, Lieutenant Sales Murad, Sir Bampfelde Fuller, Mr. Francis Unnsburg, Mr. Cecil Sanders, Dr. Abdul Majid, and of course our Indian friends. The Press was very well represented, and so were the Agencies, though, it appears the English newspapers have been unable to give anything more than a few lines to the Dinner, (so prepared are they by their own piffle fair space) except to announce the discovery, after more than 1800 years, that Islam forbids the drinking of wine. Of course two or three papers of which the representatives left rather early published extracts from the speeches that were never delivered, because the prospective speakers had to get early trains. After the toast of His Majesty proposed by Mr. Abdul Hay, the Secretary, and of the Sultan by Dr. Pollen, the Hon. Aubrey Herbert made a fine speech in proposing the toast of the guests. Sir Henry Cotton supported him. A very interesting feature of the Dinner was the face of Sir John Rees, who was muttering all sorts of things to himself and covering his face with the menu, even in the photograph that was taken. He left the Dinner after Mr. Wazir Hasan's speech as it was too much for him to bear. We wonder why he came at all. Mr. Wazir Hasan's speech as well as Mr. Mohamed Ali's you must have received in full by this time. After this Aga Jalal Shah, who is the Treasurer of the Society, and the son of Aga Moolool Shah and Haji Bibi Salieba, and the life and soul of the Society, proposed the toast of the visitors, to which Mr. John Dillon, M.P., replied. He referred to Messrs Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan in complimentary terms and then went on to deal with the Press Act, and the High Court judgment about the proscribed pamphlet. He said if the same law existed here, every opposition paper would find its Editor in jail and the *Daily Mail* editor would get a very long sentence, while twenty years' penal servitude would be too short for the editor of the *Daily Express*. He said they had a similar Act in Ireland, and what was the result? It did not check sedition, but only made it sink underground and the Act was repealed. If this too was left unrepealed, it would produce the same result in India. For a Government like the British the free expression of public opinion was indispensable for its very existence, as it was a foreign Government and its Officers knew nothing or next to nothing about India even after thirty years' stay in the country. He had not been to India, but he knew how little they knew about Ireland, which was after all not so far removed from England in distance or type of civilisation. Its soul and spirit have seldom been understood by Englishmen although they always want things to be left to the man on the spot. In this connection he said that it was interesting to note that the Anglo-Indian Press and the *Times*, and other Tory papers were now throwing the man on the spot overboard, for although Lord Hardinge is the Viceroy who has had the greatest influence with Ministers of both parties, even he is being denounced because he did justice to the Mussalmans when the local officers had wantonly destroyed their Mosque and shot down unarmed crowds of boys and old men who were only piling loose bricks on the site of the Mosque. He said they knew something about India because they knew the English Government in Ireland. Only the condition of India was much worse. He publicly announced that whatever assistance was needed for the repeal of the Press Act he and men of his party would freely place at our disposal both in Parliament and outside it. His was a capital speech and one would have given anything to see Sir John Rees' face as Mr. Dillon was speaking, but as it was, this political mountebank had vanished about an hour before. Lord Easdaley could not speak because he, too, had to catch a train to the county, and on that account the response could not be made by Dr. Majid. As the Honourable Aubrey Herbert had also gone earlier, the toast of his health was not formally proposed, and we could not hear Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.



Mussalmans had trusted a great deal too much on the support of the officials in India and had neglected to keep in touch with the public in England, who after all have a big voice in the affairs of the Empire.

They were strangers in England, being not known there. They also knew that they were not loved by the Indian bureaucratic world, especially in the United Provinces, where the conduct of some officials was on trial. The only assistance they could look up to was from the Moslem leaders in England, and from Mr Gokhale and their other fellow countrymen there. His Highness the Aga Khan, who lives mostly on the continent, could not do more than what he did. It was Mr Ameer Ali from whom they expected constant help and advice. It is not likely that circumstances as were Messrs Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, they would be mad enough to go and pick up a quarrel with a powerful and influential man like Mr Ameer Ali. In fact we know on the best of authority that they did all they could to conciliate him. And what did they get in return? Mr Ameer Ali ganging nicely their weak position and backed up with influences that were Anti Moslem, took advantage of it to wipe off old scores against both, Mr Wazir Hasan for daring to introduce a policy though approved by H. H. the Aga Khan and the country but not approved by Mr Ameer Ali, and Mr Mohamed Ali for sending the Great Ansari Medical Mission instead of handing the money over to him. Supposing even Messrs Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali had slighted and insulted him, that was not the time to create a crisis. At his age, Mr Ameer Ali was expected to have controlled his temper for a few weeks and when visiting India, he should have put the case before the Mussalmans and they would certainly have given him not only a fair and courteous but also a favourable hearing. Now they feel indignant and rightly that their own man went and joined those who were damaging the Mussalmans and they have a right to demand an explanation from him.

His Highness the Aga Khan did his best to soothe matters and we think his frank letters will be appreciated by all. But as His Highness says in his letter to Mr Wazir Hasan, which we publish elsewhere "I was not there on the spot, and even if I had been, in looking back I doubt very much if I could have done anything to avoid them." We have no desire to be hard on Mr Ameer Ali, but it is well-known that he is narrow and obstinate, and when once he sets his heart on a thing, no consideration however high and noble would weigh with him. We know at one time he was jealous even of H. H. the Aga Khan who is himself the least jealous of all men we have met. We know how he dealt with Mr Ali suami Mr Kaderbhoy of Bombay, who worked with him in London, sized him correctly. Nearly all those who have returned from England and have had dealings with him, complain of him. An eminent Mussalman who was for ten years in England and who himself has a most angelic and sweet temper, said that "Mr Ameer Ali always carried a loaded six chambered revolver in each of his pockets in the shape of resignation, which he flourished half-a-dozen times in every meeting which he attended." "Good-bye Gentlemen I am off; choose another president," this not on any important question but on most trivial things, season tickets, cab hire for the President, etc. People were prepared to put up with all this but the present case is quite different.

The Anglo-Indian Press is gleefully expecting another 'Surat' at Agra this Xmas. We know, the Mussalmans, better and have confidence that the community in spite of the few reactionaries energetically prompted by interested officials, would exercise the usual good sense and carry its programme through. But if there does happen another Surat, it will be the reactionaries who would go out.



His Highness the Aga Khan's Letter to Mr. Wazir Hasan.

DEAR MR. WAZIR HASAN,

You demanded from me in Paris that I should write out the bare history of the now notorious dinner, and I must do so from memory, for of course I did not keep any notes, and I never thought that the matter would ever become important.

Mr. Mohamed Ali and yourself were having a conversation with me, and I remember not which of you suggested giving a dinner party to me, and I think, but am not quite certain, Mr. Ameer Ali also, as the guests of the evening, though my memory is not quite certain as to Mr. Ameer Ali's name having been mentioned by either of you. I at once thought it was too absurd and too childish for Mr. Ameer Ali and myself who live in England a great deal to accept hospitality from you two gentlemen who had only come for a short time, and that the thing would appear not only ridiculous to others, but that we could not possibly take such advantage of your hospitality. I then suggested that it would be a good thing all the same if a dinner was held and you two gentlemen had a chance of publicly declaring your undoubted loyalty to the Government, and of removing the absurd but none the less mischievous theory that has got abroad,

that the growing class that you represent amongst the Mohamedans of India have sympathy or something in common with the extremists of the Tilak school or with the mad political pan-Islamists, and that whatever difference existed between your school and what is called the old Aligarh party was as to the method of improving the community educationally, commercially and otherwise, rather than any question of loyalty and disloyalty: and as false charges had been brought against the community generally I thought it would be a good thing for Mr. Ameer Ali and myself as well as you two gentlemen to give a combined dinner party, and that then you should clearly explain the point of view and loyalty of the younger Moslems of India.

When next I saw you I told you that such a dinner party might appear rather a round-about way of doing it, and that it would be better perhaps if you two came simply as guests and spoke out what you had to say, and removed any possibility of misunderstanding about your point of view that might remain in England.

That is all that I can say about the dinner party. With the disastrous complications that arose I had nothing to do. I was not there on the spot, and even if I had been, in looking back I doubt very much if I could have done anything to avoid them.

You have demanded from me a history of the first steps with which I was directly connected, and I send it to you with pleasure, as in duty bound. May I once more repeat that the only object of the dinner was that you, who had just come from India, should publicly express what I sincerely believe to be the fact, the absolute loyalty of the vast majority, the overwhelming majority of the younger Moslem community in India.

Marseilles,

14th November 1918.

Yours truly,
(Sd) AGA KHAN.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Letter to Lord Morley.

Shortly after my arrival in England in the last week of September, I had the honour of writing to Your Lordship requesting an interview in connection with certain matters agitating the minds of the Moslem community in India and enclosing a letter of introduction very kindly given to me for Your Lordship by the Honourable Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of Bengal. In reply to that I was informed that Your Lordship was generally very busy and could not accede to my request.

May I hope that Your Lordship will now be able to accord an interview to my friend, Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary of the All India Moslem League, and myself?

I wonder whether Your Lordship's attention has been called to the campaign of vilification, not only against ourselves but also against a very large bulk of the Moslem community in India. We have tried repeatedly but without success, or at the best with partial success, to get rejoinders from us published in these newspapers and this makes it all the more necessary that we should approach some minister in England of sufficiently large sympathies, and with an open mind to whom we could explain the views which we share with our co-religionists and our fellow-countrymen on some very important questions rightly affecting the interest of the Mussalmans and of all India, and in fact the interest of the Empire. We are not unaware of the fact that Your Lordship is not directly connected with the governance of India and that at your time of life it would be want of consideration on our part if we troubled you needlessly. Had we been able to avoid this and to approach any other minister, we should certainly have done so. But we regret to find that even in the brilliant ministry to-day, so little is known about India, and in fact throughout the Empire, there are not a dozen men whose knowledge of India can be considered in any measure satisfactory, or whose knowledge when combined together, can equal Your Lordship. This compels us, without any desire to flatter you, to trouble you once more with our humble request for an interview at an early date.

We could have communicated our ideas through a section at least of the liberal press which has very kindly invited us to do so, but there are certain matters which it is better to deal direct with the authorities than through the press or the public platform, and should Your Lordship be graciously pleased to grant us an interview, not only we, but millions of our fellow-countrymen and co-religionists would feel grateful.

An early reply is humbly solicited.

Lord Morley's Reply.

DEAR SIR,

I am desired by Lord Morley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th of November.

In reply, His Lordship desires me to say that he is informed that in view of certain considerations with which he is not now directly concerned as a Minister, but which he understands have been

communicated to you on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe has not found it possible to comply with your request that he should receive from you a personal representation in regard to the subjects mentioned in your letter.

In view of these facts, of which Lord Morley has been apprised since he last communicated with you, he feels that no useful purpose could be served by his receiving you, and that he is precluded from complying with your present request.

Privy Council Office,
Whitehall, S W,
18th November 1913.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) GEORGE CUNNINGHAM.



Mr. Ameer Ali's Circular Letter.

A correspondent forwards to us the following very ingenious letter which has been addressed to the Anjuman-i-Islam and other leading Mussalmans of Bombay by the Rt Hon Mr Ameer Ali.—

I feel it incumbent upon me to address you in reference to the crisis which has arisen in the progress and well-being of our great community, the details of which have no doubt been made known to you through the medium of the newspapers. Deeply as we may regret communal discussions reaching an acute stage and attracting public attention, we must face the fact that a crisis of this kind was bound to arise sooner or later, owing to the differences that have recently appeared among our people not merely on matters of detail, but on the basic principles connected with their development.

Considering the position in which the Mussalmans of India stand, it is clear that the constitutional line which has been so long pursued by the most thoughtful and helpful men of our community is the one best adapted to our requirements and welfare. Whilst claiming proper recognition of our legitimate interests and due consideration of our feelings, our policy should be that of working in a true spirit of accord with each other and with the Government, on the justice and good will of which we have hitherto relied and must in the best interests of our people, continue to rely. It is obvious to any careful student of the history of British India that by the assiduous work and anxious thought of our leading men, the Moslem community has within the last twenty years or so been placed in a position of confidence and good will in a relation to the British Government. It is equally clear that any inconsiderate, precipitate or vehement action in which our men of standing should acquiesce or even seem to assent by their silence would put back the cause of Mussalman development for another generation.

The London League has kept these guiding considerations in view, and its action has, therefore, been largely of an educative character. Located at the centre of the British Empire it has been in constant touch with, and has had considerable influence upon public opinion in this country. To retain any real influence it must continue to occupy an independent and co-ordinate position in relation to the League in India—once its views and policy are subordinated to that of any other communal organization, it would be unable to pursue a steadfast and consistent policy, and the results would indeed be disastrous to the community. In this connexion I may be permitted to quote the estimate of *The Times* (October 31st, 1913) as to the work the London League has been able to accomplish on the lines hitherto pursued.—“Its relations with the League at Lucknow have been those of co-operation and co-ordination, and, by the sober, well-reasoned, and detailed representations it has made to the India Office, the Colonial Office and other Whitehall departments, it has taken the acknowledged lead in formulating and giving expression to Indian Moslem opinion. “Indeed, on such matters as the treatment of Indians in South Africa and the East Africa protectorate, the claim of Indians to positions of real responsibility in the commissioned ranks of the Army, and questions affecting the welfare of Indian students here it has spoken for sober educated Indian opinion generally.”

The attitude of dictation which certain members of the Indian League have adopted toward us would, if submitted to, have the result of destroying the influence for good the London League has hitherto exercised. I have, therefore, felt it my duty to tender my resignation of the Presidentship subject to the affairs of the League being wound up by the Treasurer. But it has been urged by influential friends in sympathy with our people that the direction of the League is a sacred trust reposed in me by the community in India and as Mr. Latif, the Vice-President, and Mr. Anik, the Treasurer, have also decided to leave with me, the Indian Moslem Leaders should have an opportunity to express an opinion into whose hands the direction of this responsible organisation should pass.

It is not desirable that the London League should be left a derelict in inexperienced hands. I am, therefore, writing to ask you to be good enough, in view of the great importance of the matter, to communicate your opinion to me at the earliest opportunity, and if possible by return of mail, stating whether you consider that

the London League should act in subordination to the Indian League or be maintained on the co-ordinate lines hitherto pursued? If you favour subordination I would beg you to suggest some one to whom Presidency could be made over, for I would not myself retain it under conditions so destructive of its real use and influence.

Mr. Ameer Ali in spite of the Lord Chancellor, desires to keep the London Branch in his own hands and his arguments amount to this—

“I know you are a very nice man, very thoughtful, very moderate and very sober!”

You must support me and keep me at the head of this rabid political body, though I cannot join political dinners!”

Further you have got to pay me the trifling sum of 27,000 every year and give absolute authority to do exactly as I liked with it!”

Mixed no questions should be asked and I am not to be hustled!! You seven crores in India may howl and dance with pain or die, but if I choose I am not to be disturbed in my well earned Slumbers.

But if through some misfortune you dare to differ from me, then remember you are an extremist, a Sedition-monger, a Bomb-thrower, and I will see that you will be official boycotted.

Here is my resignation!

Find out another man to take my place!!

You can't!”



Dacca.

1

Dacca has always possessed the reputation of a shifting capital. Many a Governor has come and gone out of Dacca and left it to eschew the end of reflection on its glorious past. But none of his predecessors were ever compelled to leave the place with such feelings of disgust and distress as did its last Governor. He was almost in tears and spoke in a husky voice at the last farewell party given in his honour by the prominent citizens of Dacca, headed by the great Nawab. He said “Nawab Bahadur if you really ask my feelings, I shall emphatically say that I don't want to go,” such a turbulent spirit in a Governor against the wishes of the Gods in Olympus or to put it broadly against the declaration of His Imperial Majesty, may smack a little of disloyalty but is nevertheless deserving of sympathy. Imagine the disgust and the outraged feelings of a tenant ejected out of his tenement by a process of law of which he had no previous notice—a process which took very little notice of subsisting equities—and then picture to yourself the disappointment and vexation of the Provincial God to be oppressed with a double injury, one to be balked in one's expectations of occupying the new Government House and the other to be ejected from the occupancy of a lent Garden house—a case of real borrowed feathers!

Let us draw the curtain on the last tragic scene of Dacca History to be elaborated by a future Historian as the last “immigration of the Great Aryan Race in search of fresh fields and pastures new, being forced to retire by a Hill tribe of gigantic limbs and stature.”

The rule of Commissioners, Collectors and “Jants” has succeeded to the rule of the Secretariat for ten months in the year, the remaining two months are still given over to the Secretaries to let people remain accustomed to the “Secretariat Bow,” brushing of the dusty clothes and the manner of compartment on an evening party at the Government House. This is also the time to receive balm for one's wounded feelings and interests jeopardized during the ten months of stern rule. The sympathetic attitude of the Secretaries and the superior urbanity of manners displayed by the members of Council are genuine nectar to the people accustomed to swallow bitter pills. Even a little frown or a smile has its sinister meaning or prize! Thus many a fortune is lost and won like those won and lost on the London Stock Exchange!

But let it be said to the credit of Government selection that Dacca has not been allowed to starve or yearn for the good old days that are past, by the appointment of a succession of able and sympathetic local officials. All the same the Indian has acquired a critical faculty and he is determined to make the best use of it. He closely follows the career of a civilian from the moment of his arrival as a *Chota Sahab*, all through the intermediate stages of his transfers and promotions up to the time of his transmutation into a *Bura Sahab* and the consequent departure. At the end of the career of this fitting personality, he takes stock of all his experiences whether bad, good or indifferent and finds it full of contradictions and insolvable puzzles. As a *Chota Sahab*, when he is busy learning the rudiments of knowledge in Law and the solution of knotty problems of administration, his angelic presence and gentle manners have nothing to be desired. But after the completion of the probationary period, a distinct change becomes noticeable in his manners and deportment, to the great disillusionment of the people who had the privilege of knowing him before as an Assistant. Gradually under the baneful influence of the Club and the *Collector Sahab*—his guide,

friend and philosopher, a frown or two make their appearance in his otherwise frank and manly face which unfortunately instead of enhancing the effect and giving it a touch of "prestige," mar the angelic expression and despoil him of all his good breeding and politeness cultivated at Oxford or Cambridge. His intervening years up to his elevation to the responsible position of a Commissioner of a division are generally seen to be under the influence of Saturn or Mars, when a slight incident is enough to upset him. As a Commissioner, generally, with a few isolated instances, he settles down to a normal state of mind and his occasional smiles bordering on familiarity, dispel people's fears and make him look attractive. While a step further brings a profusion of smiles and makes him see things which he did not do before. In some the transformation is so complete and abrupt that it is nothing short of a revelation. As a judge confirmed in the last grade, he acquires the reputation of being fair; but while waiting to be picked up as a High Court Judge, he begins to assume an air of great sobriety and gravity. All his peevishness and impatience at a lengthy cross-examination or argument disappear. He adopts a more reasonable attitude and is occasionally prone to give a little bit of his mind to the public prosecutor rather than allow him a *corte-blauche*. His abusive language and insolent attitude in court undergo a decided change for the better and the usual phrases "wasting court's time," "imputations of dishonesty to the Counsel for defence" and reference "to contempt proceedings" come to escape his lips. Such is the change wrought by higher salary and better position! The Public Service Commission may well cogitate on increasing the emoluments and attractions of the Service, but can this unsatisfactory state of things be improved by external reforms without commencing the work from within? The Club, that great seminary of breeding mock ideas of "prestige" and shallow conventions, ought to be a subject of a close enquiry and reform, and then alone we may see a glimpse of reunited and contented India under the benign rule of the British Raj.

Many apologies for this digression on a question which though thorny, is none the less a daily subject of discussion in a cultivated Indian House, and hence is more important than all the topics put together. Besides, this is not absolutely irrelevant to our present surroundings. You must have read about the committee which has been appointed to enquire into the causes of discontent in Bengal and the allied subjects. We may wait for the infliction of another voluminous report, most ably compiled with a mountainous staggering imagination but dealing only with superficial and transitory causes, and hence deserving the fate of many such reports rotting in the pigeon-holes of Imperial Secretariat. Are these people ready to apply the lancet and cleanse their hearts of all the prejudices naturally or unnaturally acquired against the Indian? Are they willing to condemn the idiosyncracies of their own men, start the account afresh and take the necessary reforms immediately in hand? We doubt if any member of the Heaven-born service will ever condescend to give up a particle of his so-called privileges for the sake of a friendly understanding with the Indian or even for a right cause, the peace and contentment of the country. Let these very same members of the committee take a solemn oath that as far as they are individually concerned, they will carry out the resolve of settling amicably as far as possible, this social estrangement between the rulers and the ruled and admonish their fellow officers to be also of good behaviour, if this social problem is conclusively proved to be the root of all evil. Then alone we can be made to believe in the genuineness of the committee and give it every possible support; otherwise the enquiry genuineness will be as futile as it has ever been the case. Mr. Hallward's utterance at the dinner given by Sir Charles Bayley on the eve of his departure, is too fresh in the minds of the Indians to give them any hope of securing better terms from that quarter. For a man who cannot even claim to be a member of the Heaven-born service and whose passport is only his selection by the India Office, to assume such airs of mock haughtiness would be a subject of supreme contempt and not worth commenting, if it did not also possess a touch of inevitable seriousness. Imagine the position of the Indian public to listen to such puffery from the Head of the Education Department of a Province to whose supreme care the Indian parent had entrusted the education of his children! How do we know that every second man in the Indian Educational Service or the Indian Civil Service is free from such convictions formed within the precincts of the Club? After these utterances of great wisdom, an Indian may just as well turn his belief into conviction, that an Englishman out in India is only a time-server and not imbued with a genuine desire for doing good. What fair prospects for Residential Universities to have men of Mr. Hallward's type ruling their destinies!!!

P. C.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Rajputana-Malwa Railway.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The Rajputana-Malwa Railway has ever since its first train started been the source of trouble and inconvenience to the passengers and the public. The Traffic Superintendents has been many a times approached with complaints but no radical change has been effected to uproot the causes of the trouble and inconvenience.

Some years ago there was Inter-class system by which the middle classes used to get some comfort at the expense of just 50 p. c. more than the third-class fare. Now the company has discontinued this system even and the Inter-class is changed into third by mail.

Passengers buy their inconvenience at nearly double the rate of the third-class ordinary in travelling by the mail trains.

They are not only literally thrust into the compartments, but are packed up like so many bundles huddled up together, practically leaving no space to move.

Other railway companies charge a little over the third-class for the Inter-class and give more comfort, cushions, broad seats and a smaller number of passengers in each compartment.

Again every railway system in India gives some concessions to the public on occasions of large gatherings, but the Rajputana-Malwa Railway without any reduction in the fares heaps much more trouble on such occasions, limiting its generosity to the few first and second class passengers. People who have attended the Ajmer Urs would be well aware of the truth that the people who pay Inter class fares are sometimes compelled to travel by open goods vans, and exposed to the mercy of rain and sun. The Rolling-stock of the company is insufficient for the pressing demands of the public. Unfortunately there is no journal in Rajputana through which public could express its feelings.

The general behaviour of the Railway servants is also most deplorable. It is perhaps due to the close touch which they seem to have with autocratic Chiefs of Rajputana and also to the reason that the public is more illiterate than the people of other provinces.

MOHAMMED UMAR

The Moslem League Crisis.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Now that you have published the full correspondence that passed between Messrs. Ameer Ali and Wazir Hasan, the public will have the fullest opportunity of forming its judgment upon the cause of what is delightfully called in the Anglo-Indian circle—the "Moslem split." Apart from the merits of the questions raised in the controversy, let every Mussalman put himself in the position of being addressed in terms of Mr. Ameer Ali's letter of the 27th October and let him decide whether as a member of a community claiming to be a self-respecting section of the Indian people, he would like to be addressed by any person of even a higher position than Mr. Ameer Ali's, that such person ('I' is used in the letter) "would not allow it to adopt any programme without the fullest consideration of its consequences to our community." The Madras Provincial League has already expressed itself and the coming Christmas week will decide in Agra whether the Mohammedan community of India will declare itself devoid of all capacity for judgment and sense of responsibility and will merge itself in one individual or whether it will continue its own existence as a living and thinking community.

Mark the halo of grace and candour surrounding the expressions of H. H. the Agha Khan in his letter and his cheerful recognition of the manifestation of vigour and self-dependence in the League and compare it with the display of temper in the writing of this claimant of a right to dictate to the whole Moslem world of India and who throws over the whole community by reason of a fancied insult to his personality by another single individual.

S. A. H.

English Press Opinion.

Fascination of Islam for Englishmen in the East.

After a career which has included amateur boxing, civil engineering, the editing of a local newspaper,* and expert advice on coast erosion, Lord Headley, an Irish Peer, aged 59, became a convert to Mohamedanism.

The conversion was announced at a meeting of the Islamic Society, held at Frascati's, Oxford Street, by the Rev Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, who is attached to the Mohamedan mosque at Woking.

"Those who know me will believe I am perfectly sincere in my belief" wrote Lord Headley in a letter read at the meeting.

Lord Headley may be described as a muscular Musselman, for when he was at Cambridge he won both the middle-weight and heavy-weight boxing championships. He has written more than one book on the noble art of self-defence. He writes very well, by the way, and has done a good deal of journalistic work in his time. For a couple of years he was editor of the *Salisbury Journal*.

He has also done a lot of civil engineering in recent years. He superintended some coast defence works at Youghal and similar works on the coast to the north of Bray Harbour. He also did some coast defence works at Glenbeigh his place, in one of the wildest parts of Kerry.

A HAPPY CONVERT.

The problem of coast erosion has particularly interested him. At Dover in 1899 he read a paper before the British Association on the history of the reclamation of Romney Marsh.

Lord Headley is a grey-moustached, handsome man, with a fine, intellectual forehead and good features, while his habit of sailing when he talks gives him a happy appearance. Some time ago he had rather a serious illness.

He has been married fourteen years, and has several children. His wife is a daughter of the late Mr W. H. Johnson, who was Governor of Leh and Junco. Lord Headley was at one time working as a civil engineer in India. It was only in January of this year that he succeeded his cousin in this Irish peerage, which was created in 1797. The family has estates in Yorkshire, as well as in Ireland. They must be pretty extensive, for the late peer owned over 16,000 acres.

Lord Headley is not the first British peer to be converted to Islam, for the late Lord Stanley of Alderley was a devout adherent, having been fascinated by its teachings while serving in the diplomatic service in the East. Another conversion which caused some stir a few years ago was that of Mr Quilham, a Liverpool solicitor, who had embraced the faith of Mohamedanism while in Morocco, and eventually became Sheikh of the British Isles.

MEMBERS ALLOWED FOUR WIVES.

The chief centres of Mohamedanism are in London, Manchester and Liverpool. In the last city there is a Mohamedan community of about 200, but they are most unobtrusive people and hold their meetings very quietly. At one time there was a mosque in Liverpool, but that has now been done away with.

The religion, of course, recognises no form of priesthood, believing in direct communication with the Deity. Mohamedanism was practically first introduced into England by a prominent Liverpool citizen, and its members include prominent Society people and not a few University men. Physically the members of the Mohamedan religion are an extremely fine race, due to the strict laws of vegetarianism and the strict hygienic methods which govern their course of life.

Polygamy is allowed by creed, but no member is allowed to have more than four wives. In England there are very few members of the religion with more than one wife.—*Daily Sketch*.

Twenty years After.

The Imminent Peril of the British Indian Empire—The Judean Vampire and the Indian Victim—The Tyranny in South Africa—"Equality or the Sword."—The Gravest Hour Since the Great Mutiny.

EVEN LIBERAL HOOLIGANISM REQUIRES JEW LEADERSHIP.

At the big meeting of the Clean Government League in the Corn Exchange at Reading, there came an organised band of Liberal Rowdies to interrupt and roar. Their success in their line was not great. They made the vast majority of the meeting more unanimous. That was all. The reason why I mention the pitiful creatures is this. They were led by a sallow Jew boy who boasted that he was a clerk "in the office of the Samuels." That band of Liberal hooligans commanded by a semi-civilised Jew boy! Even in its rowdiness, our official Liberalism must take its orders from the Undesirable Alien. I do not explain, I only observe the curious fact that contemporary Liberalism appears to acknowledge its inferiority to the Judean Asiatic in so many respects. It asks the Judean to direct its justice, as well as its share market, its posts and telegraphs, as well as its Cocoa Press, its Secretaryships of India as well as its silver deals. Let me accept *what appears to be the Liberal contention* that, as compared with Liberal competitors, "the Jew is the better man." I cannot be fairer than that.

But though Liberalism may live and thrive, or at least simmer and slaver, under the rod of Aaron, the lot of the Empire in those alien hands may merit some consideration. I have already expressed my conviction that countries of excessive individualism and blindly competitive divergence of views, interests and standards of life and conduct—such as are modern England and the so-called United States—are the natural pasture and the destined prey of the closely-knit, intensely organised, concurrently rapacious alien tribe, which is the predatory race of history for two thousand years. The fate of the shiftless, divided, puzzled, deserted British denizens of the London East End, when Samuel De Montagu's army of immigrant nomads descended upon them, and within a few years simply displaced them—as the snow-plough removes the snow, or as a heap of sand is displaced by any penetrative solid—is a type and forerunner of what awaits larger and larger multitudes of disaggregated, unassociated, English people all over England. *You have the Ghetto in England, but you have no walls or gates to the Ghetto, to prevent its exfiltrations and inundations.* And there are multitudes of English people who are even taught to accept as a Divine dispensation the Asiatic invasion! Many, many Nonconformist and low Church worthies interpret the elevation of Rufus and the enrichment of Nathan as the pre-appointed fulfilment of Biblical ordinances that Israel is to possess the earth in the latter days. Israel is certainly possessing England and what used to be England's Empire.

One result of the Divine dispensation of the silly text-slingers will most certainly be that England will lose the Empire. What Asquith encourages with "Honours," the Rajput and the Syed will assuredly not tolerate. Nor, indeed, dare they tolerate it, for that way destruction and degradation lie. If England abandon her high trust on behalf of the East, then the East will find again the Eastern sword. With fifty years of intimate knowledge, friendship, comradeship of Eastern men and nations, I declare deliberately that the British Empire is running to more tremendous dangers than the Great Mutiny.

THE RAND LORDS IN INDIA.

We have earned a legacy of eternal hate for what we did in the Transvaal against the Dutch former men, their wives and families, all for the fond, fond love of Bata, and Albu, and Barnato, and Abner, and Wolf, and Pike, and Shonski. Behind all the talk about Racialism and Herzogism in the news from South Africa there are the grim memories of that dark time when we mustered all the fighting blades of the Empire to set the Rand Lords above the Boers; when we swept into the concentration Camps the women and children from ten thousand ruined homesteads, when we hemmed in De Wet with ten thousand miles of barbed wire fences. And we have heaped Knight-hoods on the Flower of Jewburg, and the Boer mothers of 20,000 dead babies will never, never forgive. But we have the gratefulness and the blessing, and the helpfulness of Israel, as—as every fresh wrinkle on the Stock Exchange and every fresh development of the Silver Steal can show.

Has it occurred to anybody that what we have earned by our protection of the Judean Goldbugs of the Rand we are earning now by our protection of the Judean Silver bugs in India? With forty years' knowledge of Indian affairs—I had the honour of being "Member for India" after the death of Professor Fawcett—I have warned the readers of *The New Witness* that the intrusion of Jew

Financial Firms into the Government of British India, or indeed the prominence of any Jew whatever in Indian administration, must be fraught with danger and probably disgrace. *The Jew has no claims whatever to be admitted to circles of government from which Indian princes and statesmen are excluded.* He is not a European and never can be. He is associated with occupations hostile to the public interest and allied with demoralisation and rapacity. Numerically, he is an insignificant handful. Socially he is an outsider, to put the matter as gently as possible, and he is also an outsider by reason of his Racial Separatism which is a confederation against Mankind. *The Indian declines to regard this Man of Mean and Evil Trades as his equal.* Yet English Liberalism insists—for reasons appreciated by the Chief Whip and notorious to the whole world—on making this Unsouled Alien, vowed from Ancient Roman days to the *Odium Humanum Generis*, a Master of Hindu and Moslem, an Incarnation of Britain, an earthly Providence of Imperial supremacy!

What, on earth, has made Edwin Samuel de Montagu de Popshop an Under Secretary for India, as well as real ruler by grace of that semi-Rothschildian man of straw and shekels, Crewe the Complotant? Not Indian Administrative service. Not the choice of Indian opinion. Not princely or dynastic ties. His connection with the rival Sassoon Gang—the Opium Men—cannot add dignity even to the Silver Men, cannot be styled princely. Why, then, is he there? *Ask the Chief Whip.* There is no better explanation.

CHEAP MONEY AT THE INDIA OFFICE AND RUIN IN INDIA.

While the Pals of the India Office revel in the use—at nominal interest—of tens of Millions Sterling of the taxation of India, while even the Bank of England was thrust aside for the financial convenience of the Samuel Silvermen, there is Dear Money, financial panic, commercial ruin at Bombay. There is no adequate intelligence in the London press. *Knighthoods are not granted to London editors for exposing the embarrassments of the men about Downing Street.* Yet the news is grave indeed. To take an isolated message which has come through.

"The financial panic in Western India, which has shown signs of abating, has broken out afresh to-day, when a sugar merchant failed for 300,000 rupees. A big Marwari firm is about to fail with liabilities exceeding 1,000,000 rupees. This will critically affect the Marwari Bazar.

"An Arab pearl merchant's failure has affected the big merchants, and two Swadeshi banks are hard hit. It is expected that four big pearl merchants will file their petitions on Friday, and it is understood that a bank in Bombay has resolved to go into voluntary liquidation.

"Some cotton and grain merchants at Karachi have also failed for big sums. Many brokers are ruined, and it is impossible to foresee the ultimate effect, as the ramifications of the panic are daily extending."

Perhaps the greatest Native firm of cotton-mill owners has fallen, with widespread misery for the operative population. The premier pearl merchant, a Mohamedan, has already smashed, and many a hardy fisherman and many a tenacious diver will miss the hard-won rupees for the humble home. I have heard that in the Punjab a dozen Native banks, unable to find money under 20 per cent, may totter to collapse. Already tens of thousands of Native depositors are beggared.

If financial representatives of Native India controlled the India office, the Indian Taxation might be lent to help Native India over a crisis. Liberalism prefers to enthronise financial representatives of Native Jerusalem, who prefer to lend the Indian Taxation at 8 per cent, to Silver Pals and Kosher cousins in the City of London. *Three per cent in London can be lent again at 20 per cent in Bombay and Lahore!*

I have already, on former occasions, mentioned the suspicions of Native India that Native Commerce is being supplanted by what Guy de Maupassant called "the pestilence, the bleeding ulcer of our Algerian colony." England used to rest upon the trader and the agriculturist to balance the unrest of the martial caste of Hindustan. But the ruin of the Native Trader in every land is the special mission of the Resident Alien; and Native Agriculture must then wear the foreign usurer's fetters and chains.

FROM WHITE SAHIBS TO JUDEAN RINGS.

To gain a Judean Lord Chief Jobber from the Stock Exchange and to lose the loyalty of British India; who can doubt—with a Chief Whip's patent of baronetcy in his pocket—that the gain exceeds the loss? Let Judean reign and perish India!

It is no longer concealed, it can no longer be concealed, even in Official quarters, that disaffection in India has assumed proportions of ominous magnitude. The wholesale resignations of the administration of the All-India Moslem League is only another indication of the gravity of the situation. The Right Honourable Ameer Ali and His Highness the Aga Khan have been avowedly driven to this step by the increasing vehemence of the anger of the Mohamedan rank and file at the policy of the British Government; and they have dissociated themselves from the extremist parties among the Indian Moslem. *The Indian Mohamedans are joining the discontented Hindus.* In all the leading journals of the European Press we find the unpleasant news heralded by headlines in staring letters: "Discontent of the Indian Mussalmans against England!"

We may read, in the crisis news quoted above, that Mohamedan merchants are as hard hit as Hindus by the commercial panic. "The Marwari Bazar," which is said to be seriously affected, represents the greatest banking organisation of the Hindus. Among the insolvent millowners are great Parsi firms. The Mohamedan, the Hindu, the Parsi, are injured as traders, at the same time that a multitude of grievances irritate them as Nationalists.

And discontented India has only a Judean Ring to take the place of the English Sahibs. For all administrative purposes Samuel de Montagu is Vice-Emperor of Hindustan! As I have already mentioned, even the English Financial Member of Council has been supplanted by a Judean! And the Judean Ring helps its City gossip to Tens of Millions Sterling in Indian Taxation in two-and-half and three per cent loans, "just to oblige," while the Commerce of Native India is bled by the Financiers with interest of 10 to 20 per cent.

I maintain that no Englishman even, who is a member or relative of Financial and Speculative Firms, is fit to hold any office in India which affects commerce or trade. I maintain that no Judean, under any circumstances, is fit to hold any financial control in any Government Department especially in India, *because all Judeans are inseparably connected with private and racial financial interests.* Neither should any Judean hold any office of control in any Government Department for the transmission of news, for the similar reason that *priority of news means success of speculation*, and no relative or connection of the Judean Long Firm which habitually and professionally and perpetually rooks the world of Business, should have the official control of the dissemination of intelligence and information.

Nathan Rothschild rooked the British Public after Waterloo by delaying the news of the victory while he was buying in the panic. The Rothschilds have always been, for a century, the very flower of the honour, integrity and sensitive fairplay of the Judean Race. Yet I would not trust even Nathan Rothschild de Waterloo with the control of the British Posts and Telegraphs or the Vice-Emperors of India.

If Englishmen cannot rule India, then India will not stand being ruled by the Beni Shekel.

THE JUDEAN TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA—

THE OUTRAGES ON INDIAN SETTLERS.

The extra-ordinary parochialism and degraded mercantilism, which, thanks to the "knighted press" of this Kingdom, obscure the current opinion about the Hindu and Moslem members of the commerce Empire, are the cause why hardly any attention is paid to the rising passion of resentment throughout India at the abominable outrages heaped upon the Indian settlers in British South Africa by the Judeo-Boer domination. The hands of England, thanks to the Rand influence in English politics, are read with the blood of hundreds of thousands of negro mine slaves sacrificed in the under-ground inferno of the Gold Thugs. But the slaughter of those free children of the field and forest, driven into the choking mines to slave for the wages of death, is accompanied by wholesale ostracism, impoverishment and outrage for the scores of thousands of Indian settlers, whom the Transvaal bosses and the Judean traders want to confine to servile toil or to banish from the land which they have enriched by their skillful industry. In a *Morning Post* of last week it was admitted that "The small traders of the Rand, who are largely Russian and Polish Jews, object to the Indian trader because he can undersell them." So, while the big Jews of the Rand pile up their output of £40,000,000 every year on the heaped corpses of black men and white men, the small Jews of the Rand procure the passage of infamous edicts of proscription and insult in order to drive the British Indian out of the possibility of competing with the Chosen Race of Isaac, and Samuel de Montagu de Silver Steel, and Beit,

and Albu, and Mond, and all the rest of the 'squires and barons of Liberal chivalry

The British Indians have been confined to racial areas, and to Government prisons. In a single district 8,000 out of 8,000 British Indians have been thrown into jail. The British Indians are obliged to pay a poll tax per head. The British Indians are forbidden to travel in South Africa except by special permit. British Indians of the Mohammedan faith have been ordered to leave their wives in India, because "a Moslem wife is not a married woman," according to South African Law Courts. In a British Dominion all British subjects of Indian origin are declared to be pariahs and outcasts by the Boer-Indian Ring which is protected by the Judean-Rings at Whitehall.

I warn my readers that this cannot last. I warn deliberately. I have met the representatives of United India. The Moslem and the Hindu stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder. Equality of right. Equality of loyalty. Or "The Empire will have paid a dear price in order to enrich the Russian and Polish Jews of the Rand who object to the Indian trader because he can undersell them." The Judean always tries to call in force or favour to redress his failure when he is fairly beaten. Will any of his tribes, to the Chief Whip's fund outweigh the united indignation of three hundred and fifty millions of the Indian races? F. HUGH O'DONNEL. — *The New Witness*.

The Morning Post.

The Morning Post writes —

We publish to-day an important correspondence on the subject of the All-India Moslem League between two of its officials, on the one side, and its President or, rather, its late President His Highness the Aga Khan, on the other. Now, this correspondence should be carefully read, for it is not only very important in itself as explaining the policy and aims of the League, but helps to clear up an unfortunate misapprehension which has arisen. If it were indeed true, as has been suggested, that the Aga Khan had resigned his Presidency of the League because of disapproval of its present policy, that would indeed be a blow to all of us who care for the British connection in India. And for two reasons: the first because we know and trust the judgment as well as the loyalty of the Aga Khan, and the second because we have learnt to lean upon the loyalty of the Mohammedan community in India as upon a strong staff. If the Aga Khan were to tell us that the Moslem League is now drifting away from its old policy of loyal and steadfast co-operation with the Government of India, the news would come as a great shock and a great sorrow. As a matter of fact, we have to face no such ill tidings. It is true that the Aga Khan and also the President of the London Branch, Mr. Ameer Ali, have both resigned their offices, but the Aga Khan makes clear that his resignation is rather to help in the development of the League than to express his disapproval. Mr. Ameer Ali's action is not explained in the correspondence, and we leave it to that gentleman to explain his position, if he should care to do so, to our readers. Until then we can say nothing of Mr. Ameer Ali, but we can at least say of His Highness that he does not appear to entertain any apprehensions as to the present policy of the League.

His position seems to be rather that the League has done its first great definite work, the securing of separate representation for Moslems on the legislative bodies which have been added of late years to the Constitution of India. The League was formed at a time when the Moslem community were in danger of being lost, as it were, under the flood of foreign influences and of niggardly political reform. Their general position of loyalty to the Government was not sufficient. They had to organize that loyalty and form themselves into a community, with the power to think and to act together. This being done they secured the great boon of separate representation. They also secured for themselves valuable privileges in the foundation of Aligarh College; but the Aga Khan sees for the League further work to do, in securing for Mohammedans separate representation on municipal and other local governing bodies, and in determining the course of primary education with regard to Urdu and the other languages of India. These are both important matters; but they are obviously only a part of the legitimate activities of the League, which has to protect the interests of the Moslem community in many directions. The Aga Khan thinks he will more useful to the League and to his community if he takes his place as a plain member, so that he can use his influence freely and fairly to shape the policy of the League without appearing to dictate his views. He will not then be accused

of using his position as an autocrat, or of bringing a greater influence to bear on Moslem policy than his wisdom, experience, and position as head of a great branch of the Moslem faith would entitle him to possess. He at the same time vindicates the League against the charge that it is drifting into any dealings with the disloyal faction of the Hindus or with the extravagant ambitions of the Pan-Islamites.

So far so good. But while accepting this vindication, we would venture to say to the Mohammedan community in India that, in spite of doubts which may arise from time to time they will find their best course in the general line of their past policy—that is, in a self-respecting and independent support of the British arm in India. The Moslems have flourished under British rule. They have full religious freedom. They have a large share in shaping the policy of the Government of India; they have a definite and honourable place in the Indian Administration and in the Indian Army. The Englishman and the Mohammedan have certain natural affinities. They have both a ruling tradition, and they have both a certain code of honour, of morals, and of belief that serve as a common interpreter of modes of action and ways of thought. We will say frankly to these two visitors that there have been of late, visible even at this distance, somewhat disquieting symptoms of a tendency among young Mohammedans to forget this traditional relationship and to join in harmful and embittering agitation. It seems to us that these steps may do good if they serve as a warning to the Imperial Government that the loyalty of the Moslem community is not merely to be taken for granted, but to be considered and cherished. If the Mohammedans are our friends we must also be their friends. Where British policy to some extent departs from that excellent tradition in Europe it is found to react disastrously in Asia. Moreover, we shall not take our good Moslem friends with us if we make concessions to disloyalty and appear to grant to fear what we will not give to favour. We have in India created gratuitously most of our present difficulties. Our system of education has been bad, because it has been without inspiration either of morals or religion, because it has been conducted on a bi-lingual basis, and because it has been cheap and nasty in quality. If we had concentrated our educational energies on producing a real Indian culture adapted to modern Indian needs, if we had rooted our system of education in the soil instead of trying to uproot young India from soil, if we had striven to create a national school of philosophy, manners, literature, science, medicine, engineering, designed carefully to meet the actual needs and satisfy the actual aspirations of India, we should not now be faced by a class of men for whom there is no future but in agitation, and who can be of no practical service to their country. Also we have sinned against India in introducing the Western virus of democracy. Our constitutional system is alien and repulsive to all that is best in Eastern thought. When its ideas take hold of the young Asiatic he is rendered discontented and dangerous. Here in England we are, when we consider it frankly, still in doubt if democracy, under the most favourable conditions, is a sound or even possible system of government. Even those who most profess it are convicted of eluding its decrees and evading its judgments. Yet here in England our electorate has an ancient tradition behind it, and our Parliament is the development of a thousand years. We are attempting to force this system upon India, which as Lord Morley suggested, is like forcing a denizen of the Tropics to wear a fur coat. We shall find Constitutionalism in India not only a failure, not only a danger to the stability of the British Government, but a great curse and evil, a source of disappointment, hatred, and discord to the Indian people themselves. Incidentally if we persevere in such courses we shall find that the best people in India, the people whose support is vital to our rule, will be driven from us, and the people that appear in their stead, the demagogues and politicians, will be of no service to us, but rather our enemies and supplanters.

A Sub-Continent Stirs.

MR. AMER ALI has resigned from the presidency of the London All-India Moslem League; and "His Highness the Aga Khan authorises the announcement that he will retire from the headship of the League in India as soon as practicable after his return to the Dependency." Other important retirements are announced—all the fuss being the sequel to a correspondence between Mr. Wazir Hasan, the honorary secretary of the Lucknow League, and Mr. Ameer Ali. The name of Mr. Mohamed Ali, the editor of a Delhi weekly called *The Comrade*, is also mentioned with that of Mr. Wazir Hasan.

There is much more at the back of this than a petty intrigue. It is evident from the published letters that Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali belong to what has been termed—let us not say are expressions for the sake of convenience—the school of Indian extremists. They profess nevertheless that they are here to demonstrate “the essential loyalty of the Mussalmans.” The two things—and this is important—are not necessarily incompatible; a man may be thoroughly loyal and yet an “extremist.” With all due respect to the bureaucracy, it is not difficult for anyone with a sound knowledge of Indian affairs to understand why, though the complexity of the problem makes it difficult to explain why

It was pointed out in last week's *Vanity Fair* that there was a greater diversity of classes in India than the average European in India had come to realise. The trader or the Civil Servant knows in a vague way that there are many creeds and nations, but he will not take the trouble to distinguish between classes. From the practical point of view this latter is a more important factor. It is realised, of course, by the highest grades of Civil Servants, but it has not entered at all into the minds of the middle-class English trading people who have settled in India (for a time) in ever-growing numbers during the last thirty years. The main pre-occupation of these people is the securing of a hundred or so per cent profit on whatever goods they sell.

In times past we sent to India representatives of the very best life of this country—the younger sons of the aristocracy, with a traditional sense of power, tact, and ability, or the sons of our best-known merchant princes. These men, as a rule, took up their residence in India at an early age, came to understand the inhabitants, and paid adequate respect to the higher and more distinguished classes of the Indian population. (The expression “native” is to be avoided like the plague.)

Our earlier Civil Service was quick to recognise one thing—viz., that the Moslems in India, although forming only a quarter of the population, had been masters of the Dependency for centuries, and had in consequence all the prestige attaching to a ruling caste. They were, as a result, respected even by the Hindus whom they dominated, and they were treated with corresponding consideration by the new rulers.

Unfortunately, the rise of the English middle classes checked the system of filling vacancies by nomination and led to the pernicious examination system. The consequence was that young men who had no recommendation but their brains proceeded to India, and a couple of generations of them have left the country in a mess of which we are now beginning to discern the first symptoms. It should be emphasised that an administrator, above all men, must have other qualifications than the brainy cleverness necessary to pass examinations, no matter how stiff they may be. An administrator must have certain hereditary qualities which are to be found only in old families: in aristocrats in the philosophical sense, if you prefer.

The chief of these qualities are discipline, tact, patience, knack (the genius rather) of handling dependant men. Our nobility and county families have, thanks to long training, been able to develop these qualities in a way that has never been surpassed. Our middle classes are to-day too crude as yet to have developed them. And they are qualities which, fortunately or unfortunately, cannot be gauged until they are actually put to the practical test.

It is the new Civil Servant, the product of the examination room, who is so largely responsible for the Indian unrest, and he is responsible simply because he is not provided with the gifts that would have enabled him to understand the Indian. It is this class of official, for example, that has excited the lower types of Hindu at the expense of the fighting Moslem. In a country that we hold by the sword, what could be more idiotic? Only some of the things which shall be referred to in these pages from time to time. A meditation on the inefficiency of examinations will be enough for most people to go on with.—*The Vanity Fair*.

come over for a pleasure trip, but to try to put before the responsible authorities some expression of the grievances of his fellow-Moslems—their under-representation on the National Councils, for example; the attempts of the Hindus to dominate over them, above all, the want of courtesy with which English officials in India have begun to treat them, the continual discrimination, in short, in favour of the Hindu, though Mr. Mohamed Ali would be the last to say an unduly harsh word against his religious and political opponents.

This is hardly a point which needs to be laboured. No one has ever yet heard an Indian Moslem ask for privileges which had not already been granted to the great rival sect. The Moslems are seventy millions strong in our great Asiatic possession, but, knowing themselves to be relatively weak in numbers, they have always refrained from thrusting themselves forward. They possess a large share of that wonderful patience which, as the stories of the Balkan war show, has been granted to their brethren in Turkey. We may be sure, therefore, that our Indian Moslem subjects do not grumble unless there is some good reason why they should do so.

The Moslem grievances have admittedly been brought to a head by the recent affair at Calcutta. To avoid a Hindu temple when making a new road the authorities deflected the road in the direction of a mosque, and powers were sought to destroy part of the mosque. The Mohamedans objected, there was a mild riot, the police did not hesitate to adopt the sternest measures possible to them, and some dozens of schoolboys and young men were arrested. A brilliant idea on the part of the Viceroy (let us presume it was the Viceroy) resulted in the pardon of about seventy “rioters,” and thus averted a trial from which the police would have come out rather badly.

But this is only one of many grievances. It has long been the fixed determination of the Hindus to drive the Moslems out of India altogether; and as the Hindus are in the numerical majority they are able to exercise in many little acts of petty tyranny over the Moslems about which we hear very little in England, and about which, also, the Indian Government wishes to hear less.

Now Mr. Mohamed Ali has not been well received in this country. He and his friend Mr. Wazir Hasan, Secretary in India (Lucknow) of the All India Moslem League, brought many excellent letters of introduction with them. Not in every case would the addressee read the letter, in no case would he see the bearer of it. Both private individuals and the Press seemed to be reticent about something. Apparently some one in India had “explained” matters to some one in England, with the result that two influential Moslems, anxious only to do good to India, to England, and to the Empire, have been ostracised in the capital city of the Empire for several weeks. It may well be that the relations between our India Office here and the Press (like the relations between the Foreign Office and the Press) are closer than the public generally realises. When vital matters are at stake such a relationship has its advantages. When the relationship is used for the purpose of covering up the blunders of ignorant officials its disadvantages are more likely to be emphasised.

Turn to another Indian problem. Several thousand Indians, both Hindu and Moslem, but chiefly Hindu, have recently been very badly treated by the Government of Natal—in fact, all the Indians in South Africa have not been living on beds of roses. Here we have a great Empire, but an Empire which is nevertheless unable to guarantee equality to all its citizens—an Empire which, in practice, seems to be unable to distinguish between a Hottentot and an Indian who may be (and usually is) more cultured than most of the people even in the home country.

This South African business is a question which vitally affects those at home. That is one consequence of it. But there is another. Suppose it affects the people at home to such an extent that both Moslems and Hindus are willing to sink their differences and join force in making things hot for the Indian Government—i.e., for us? We have managed to remain in India a pretty long time by administering justice very strictly and endeavouring to hold an equal balance between the two great religious sects. Well, supposing we don't go on doing that? Supposing we are unjust, as we have been in Calcutta and other places?

These questions are meant to be suggestive, and, like Mr. Mohamed Ali and his friend, they are not here just for fun. No. In view of the information supplied by “special correspondents” they are being asked now in the very newspaper offices that refused to listen to Mr. Mohamed Ali and refused to print his letter. And we shall hear more about them very shortly. The human ostrich is never an inspiring animal.—*The Vanity Fair*.

The Breaking Point.

MR. MOHAMED ALI was referred to in these columns last week. As the editor of the *Dhaka Comrade*, and one of the most influential Moslems in India, he is naturally not here for fun. He did not

Selections.

Notes from Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Prisoners in Greece.

THE Bulgarian Foreign Office is receiving daily the most disquieting reports of the treatment of Bulgarians at Salonika and in Macedonia. The underground cells at Athens and Salonika are stated to be packed with Bulgarians, and it is alleged that the most terrible tortures are perpetrated on them in these places. It would appear that the Greek Government is attempting to Hollenise every Bulgarian. As a natural consequence, the Bulgarian Government has broken the silence which it has long maintained, and on Wednesday last Dr. Radoslavoff, the Prime Minister, who is also acting as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the absence of Dr. Genculieff, during his reception of the French Chargé d'Affaires, who is looking after Greek interests here, pointedly requested him to make the necessary representations to the Greek Government for the cessation of the persecution of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, for the grant of autonomous schools and churches, and for the release of the Bulgarian prisoners still detained in Greece. The French Chargé d'Affaires was also asked to arrange for the return to their homes of the Bulgarian refugees.

In the event of the Greek Government not complying with these eminently reasonable and just demands the Bulgarian Government fears that the pressure of public opinion will compel reprisals against the Greeks in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian officers who have lately returned from captivity have telegraphed the following message to M. Venezelos —

The Bulgarian officers of the garrison of Salonika, captured during the war, who have just returned to their country, strongly protest to Your Excellency against the inhuman manner in which they were treated in Greece. They were robbed of their luggage and most of their money, and were confined in medieval prisons. Some were placed in a tunnel under the fortress of Niphari, where they were deprived of air and light, and were not even permitted to communicate with their relatives. They have, in brief, undergone all the humiliation and suffering that refinement could suggest. From Greece, Your Excellency, these prisoners are carrying away these sad souvenirs of their confinement.

The telegram is signed by Major Lazaroff, the former commander of the garrison of Salonika.

Protest by Bulgarian Women

On Sunday a mass meeting of Bulgarian women was held to protest against the accusations made by Greek women against Bulgaria. The following resolution was adopted —

The women of Bulgaria indignantly protest against the outrages perpetrated on their relatives by the Greek soldiers and also upon the Bulgarian population of Macedonia. They bitterly regret that the Greek women have become accessories in the attempt of the Greek authorities to conceal the Macedonian atrocities. To the whole world they address an appeal for a searching inquiry into the question of the outrages, so that the guilty may receive moral punishment at the hands of every nation.

The Serbo-Bulgarian Frontier Dispute.

A Serbo-Bulgarian military commission is now dealing with the dispute concerning the frontier post of Bayraktar. On Wednesday a lieutenant of the 17th Serbian Regiment, stationed at Palanka, appeared at the Bulgarian post of Tash Tepi, near Bajdaritz, and demanded the surrender of the position. On receiving a negative reply, the lieutenant declared he would take it by force. The Bulgarian Government has protested against this conduct through the Russian Legation, and has asked that the Tash Tepi dispute shall also be considered within the scope of the Frontier Commission.

A special commission appointed by the Bulgarian Government left here yesterday for Delagatch to supervise the distribution of relief among the refugees of Eastern Thrace.

The Minister of the Interior has appointed a commission, consisting of a Bulgarian and two Turks, for the government of the affairs of the municipality of Gümüldjina, pending the election of a mayor and local council, and has nominated a commission of two Bulgarians and one Turk for the government of the district — *The Near East*.

The Lyrics of Rabindranath Tagore.*

THE lyrics here published are English versions by the poet himself of *Lyrics of Love and Life*, written by Mr. Tagore in the earlier days of his career. He tells us that "the translations are not always

literal—the originals being sometimes abridged and sometimes paraphrased." There are, of course, many instances of poets writing in two living tongues, but there are but few cases of a poet capable, in tongues so profoundly dissimilar as Bengali and English, of representing in the subtle nuances of one language the author's philosophic conceptions of, in other cases, in another continent, originally couched in another language. For to be perfectly exact, these lyrics are not merely lyrics of life and love. They contain an entire philosophy of life and death, and Mr. Tagore has achieved a triumph in transmitting the music of philosophy from one race to another.

The charm of these English lyrics is very noticeable, and it is a charm that grows with every re-reading. The poetry is rhythmic, but neither in rhyme or ordered metre. It has a close resemblance to the poetic prose of the Old Testament, and this resemblance—despite the fact that the poet is clearly familiar with the Old Testament, and here and there uses actual Biblical phrases—is generic, and not imitative. The Old Testament poems are, as these poems are, translations from Asiatic poems, and we have in each an atmosphere that is quite different from anything else in Western literature. The genius of our tongue is such that in the hands of a great artist it can reproduce or recast an atmosphere as remote from our world as India or Palestine. No other European tongue can do this, and it is a tribute to the gifts of this poet of Bengal that he can wield our language with a skill not incompatible with that of the great Elizabethan translators. But it must be remembered that India to-day is awakening in a fashion not altogether dissimilar from the awakening of England some four centuries ago, and the movement of the Renaissance in India is not unlikely in its first moves to have certain resemblances to the movement of the Renaissance centuries ago in the West.

These poems are noticeable, first, from the formal side as representing a purely Asiatic school of art. The pictures of Indian life and of Indian love are entirely without perspective, mysteries of colour, of sound, of movement, and are in the place of the mysteries that in Western art are exhausted in depth and height, in distance and shadow, which *chiaroscuro*. Mr. Tagore's garden is a time world, not a space world. The Eastern mind thinks in time, the Western mind thinks in space. The poems are so easily noticeable from the sadness that is necessarily woven into the gladness. Everything is passing away. Time is relentless. These, like, indeed, all poems of flowers and are sad. The poet would have grasped and held the new world that he has found though he at last closes on a note of triumph. The importance of Greek influence on Christian thought was to modify the Asiatic sense of instability, and in the long run the Greek influence gave hope to the European Renaissance. In the same way, English influence will give hope to the Indian Renaissance.

To quote from these poems is almost impossible. The book must be read entire. As we read, the all-gory runs somewhat as follows. The poet comes to the Queen, who is the world, and claims to add pure beauty to her life. Everyone in the world has need of the poet, but some who might seem most to need beauty—unutilitarian beauty—reject it. But the poet dare not leave the world-road, or neglect the people or the things of sense—"Turn them away I cannot"—however restless he may be for eternal things. The eager lord need him. Even if he heeds not the children on the road they yearn for him, though they often dare not tell him so. The common people yearn for beauty. It is, indeed, all around them in dawn and twilight. Love reveals it in the landscape and in the heart. The girl asks herself, "Why do I choose to come to my door?" Beauty and love demand everything, give everything, their demand and their gift are limitless. The eyes of love are "the candle of the morning" "the kingdom of the stars." Beauty and love are spiritual, are eternal, elusive, mystical. Flesh and spirit are ever at issue. We live in a paradoxical world, a world of memory and hope, a world where we find bliss without knowing it, a world where death weaves "perfection into music" and swings us into life. The whole series of poems touches a new note in literature, and suggests the intention of new thought that the East has to give to the West. But unless we are greatly mistaken, England has yet to give to India a literary quality that will deepen and intensify her music, and give structural permanence to her ideals.

Finally, we may note that these poems strike a heavy blow at the conventional poetry of Asia made familiar to us by Fitzgerald, Matthew Arnold, and their many imitators. The convention is full of beauty and has an Asiatic source, but it has lost in transition the real Eastern note. That that is something quite different, the poems of Mr. Tagore simply prove.—*The Contemporary Review*.

Persian Parliament.

Prospects of Election and Reassembly.

AT the instance of the Regent, a meeting of the notables and principal mullahs of Teheran took place to-day at the Palace to discuss means whereby elections to the Majlis might be held as soon as possible. Owing to the almost total lack of political organization and election machinery, and to the difficulties

* *The Gardeners*, by Rabindranath Tagore. Translated by the Author from the original Bengali. Messrs. Macmillan (price 4s. 6d. net).

which intrigue has placed in the way, it is understood that the Regent, who is known to be strongly in favour of a new Mejlis, is unable to hold out a hope that elections will be held before another month at the earliest.

So far very little has been done towards the end in view, and no candidates have yet been chosen. Even without taking into account those actively opposed to elections, there are many who, though favourable in principle to a Mejlis, regard it as unwise to repeat the experiment, and are unwilling to face the great risk entailed by its assembly. Further more, it is unfortunately, to be feared that in the attempt to procure the return of members who shall truthfully represent the interests of the electors the month allotted to may well be lengthened into a month of Sundays.

Indian Moslems and Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF "TIMES"

SIR:—Your article of the 8th inst. very properly reproves the attitude of the Forwards of the Indian Moslems, but it must be remembered that these form but the fringe of that great Indian community who have felt aggrieved at the recent indifferent bearing of Great Britain to Mohammedan reverses.

Not only has sympathy been lacking, but the failure to condemn the shocking barbarities perpetrated by Christians on Mohammedans has made them feel that there are different standards of right and wrong for the two religions.

From time to time I have humbly pointed out how harmful was the neglect of our public men in showing any sympathetic consideration to our old ally Turkey in her misfortunes. Lord Lansdowne was the one exception, and his expression of good feeling had the best effect in India according to my information.

And now we have the Prime Minister's speech at the Guildhall on British interests in Turkey spoken in a helpful vein. It will certainly have a good effect on the Eastern world, and it must be a matter of satisfaction to our Moslem fellow subjects that His Majesty's Government will permit no change in the *status quo* which might affect the possession of the sacred places of Islam by the Sultan.

But as exhortations and warnings are always being addressed to Turkey to reform her administration, surely then it is our duty to assist when she earnestly appeals for the services of experienced officers for revenue and administrative work in Asiatic Turkey.

With their experience of the East there is no doubt that British officials would be most capable for this purpose. Two posts *etc.* those for organizing the Land Registration Department and the Directorship of the Census and Statistical Departments—have already gone out of the hands of British officers, and it is understood that the Foreign Office steadily refuses to sanction the employment of other officers. This refusal to aid Turkey in her desire for reform must have the worst of impressions on the Mohammedan mind.

By all means let us work in harmony with other Powers, but these latter should not be allowed to dominate and prevent an independent country from obtaining that help which she thinks is essential for her reform.

It is impossible to allege the excuse that this country could seek her selfish aggrandizement in Armenia or anywhere in Asia Minor.

I am yours obediently,
L. AMING-FONG.

The Assassin of Shevket Pasha.

THE capture of one of the late Mahmud Shevket Pasha's assassins, while escaping from Constantinople on board a Russian steamer has caused some sort of estrangement in Russo-Turkish relations, as we had during the last few days several telegraphic messages from London signifying the importance of the incident. In the well informed Moslem circles in India surprise has been caused by the arrival of several telegraphic messages on the subject, and it is maintained that these messages did not state the exact cause of this international trouble.

"I do not understand," said a well-informed Mohammedan gentleman to one of our representatives, "why a well-known News Agency should persistently send out to India news so uniformly designed to prejudice the Ottoman Government in the Eastern world. I am not afraid of the effects of such prejudicial accounts on the Moslem public, because I am perfectly sure that the more Turkey's detractors abuse her and misrepresent her, the stronger the affection and sympathies of the Indian Moslems towards the Empire of the Caliph will become. But I am sorry to notice that our Non-Moslem friends in this country appear to believe such accounts of the Turkish news as are prepared in the Occidental wire-pulling bureaux for Oriental consumption. The last telegraphic message says that the captured assassin has died in prison, and of course warns the people against believing that he has committed suicide. It says that

it is generally believed that he succumbed to the police methods used to extort information." Do you know the meaning of 'generally believed'?" Let me explain it to you. It means only it is believed by the Levantines and other cosmopolitan crowds of Galata and Pera quarters of the Turkish capital, whose chief occupation is to intrigue against the authority of the Ottoman Government and their concoctions and beliefs are often wired to Europe and from Europe cabled to this part of the East. Turkey may take dozens of distinguished English or French Officers as Inspectors for her police and gendarmery forces, and yet that police will always be accused of the torture of prisoners, because somebody's diplomacy requires that it should be so stated.

"The same telegraphic message says that the death of assassin gravely complicates the international difficulty of course."

"In Constantinople everyone knows that the assassin had been helped by the enemies of the independence of the Ottoman Empire and paid traitors assassinated Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the great Moslem patriot and soldier. (Peace be upon him)."

French Officials for Turkey.

THERE is reason to believe that the Porte, which at present attaches much importance to the maintenance of friendly relations with the French Government in view of the impending flotation of a large Ottoman loan in Paris, has agreed in principle to the nomination of certain French officials to important posts in the Ministries of Finance and of the Interior. M. Lejosne, now French representative on the Financial Reforms Commission, will be appointed to organize the Land Registration Department, which stands in great need of reform. His experience in Tunis is rightly regarded as giving him special qualifications for this task. He will be succeeded on the Financial Reforms Commission by M. Gilières formerly French Consul-General in Constantinople. It is also proposed to attach a French specialist, M. Perrier, to the *Cour des Comptes* and to appoint another specialist, M. Meunier, to the directorship of the Census and Statistical Departments of the Ministry of the Interior. These appointments are still contingent on the conclusion of the Franco-Turkish agreement and also on the assent of other Powers.

Armenian Reforms.

Russian Agreement with the Powers.

IT is announced to-night that Nubur Pasha, who is acting on behalf of the Armenian Reform Committee, has had an interview with the Russian Prime Minister, M. Kokovtsoff, who is still in Paris. M. Kokovtsoff confirmed the declarations which had been made by the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Sazonoff, to Nubur Pasha and others regarding the agreement of the Powers on the subject of Armenian reforms, and regarding the determination of his Government to prosecute their realization.

I understand that in an interview with M. Kokovtsoff, which was published in a Paris newspaper last week and reproduced in the *Times* of last Saturday, the Russian Prime Minister did not intend to convey that there had been any slackening in the interest of Russia in Armenian reforms or in her efforts in conjunction with other Powers to secure their acceptance by Turkey. What he insisted upon was the necessity of first putting an end to the perilous tension between Turkey and Greece and hastening the settlement of the Albanian question. In some quarters it was feared that the only method of pressure which could be effectively applied to Turkey would be neutralized by the natural reluctance of France to make the projected Turkish loan conditional upon Turkey's acquiescence in demands which are of an international character. This difficulty appears to have been overcome by the announcement that the loan will, in form at any rate, be international and not purely French, so that Turkey's agreement to the reforms in Armenia may be made a condition of this financial transaction.

Mr. Asquith's reference to internal reform as the first safeguard for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Asiatic Turkey is noted by the Paris Press this evening, and there is a general impression that since Germany has associated herself with the action of the other Powers at Constantinople the prospect of Armenian reforms has become very hopeful.

Signature of the Athens Treaty.

Compromise on Minor Points.

GRAND having accepted some of the Turkish demands, the Porte has withdrawn the others, and the Treaty was signed this evening.

I learn on good authority that the Government before agreeing to the definite signature of the Treaty of peace with Greece, which has already been initialled *ad referendum* by the Ottoman delegates,

he telegraphed to Ghalib Bey, that, while it accepts in principle the conditions to which he and his colleagues have agreed, it must request that certain articles of the Treaty be modified and additions made to others with the object of avoiding future misunderstandings. The proposed additions and modifications deal with the four following points:—

1. *Pious foundations (Evlak)* The Porte proposes that the Ottoman Minister of *Evlak* should have the right to sell *evlak* properties situated in the ceded territories which are directly attached to his Ministry.

2. *Muhtas* Although the Porte agrees to the suppression of payments made to the *Muhtas*, that is to say, persons administering or enjoying the usufruct of certain pious foundations demands that the members of the Evrenos family, who are descended from Ghazi Evrenos, the conqueror of Salonika, shall be indemnified against loss under this head.

3. *Railways* The Porte previously proposed that the kilometre guarantee for the railway lines situated in the ceded territory should be paid by Greece as from the date of the seizure of the said lines by the Greek forces. The Greek Government having made counter-proposals, the Porte demands that to the article relating to railways in the draft Treaty should be added a clause to the effect that the question of the kilometre guarantees should be referred to the Financial Commission in Paris.

4. *Judicial persons* The Greek Government having agreed to recognize the proprietary rights of *personnes morales* the Porte demands that the rights of the Committee of Union and Progress to certain properties situated in Salonika shall be explicitly recognized in the Treaty.

I may add that the principal property owned by the Committee in Salonika—namely, the White Tower *café chantant* and garden, which is let for £11,600 a year—was reluctantly ceded to the Committee by Abdul Hamid shortly after the revolution of 1908. Previously it had been one of his private properties. Judicial persons were not then recognized by the Turkish code, but there is no need to say that the Government of the day made no difficulties with regard to the transfer.

As regards the latter information available, the Greek Government has accepted all the Porte's proposals save the second which deals with the question of *Muhtas*.

"Labby" Stories.

"FOUNDING BUCK OF BABYLON AND FOUNDER OF 'TRUTH'."

[Most people think of the late Mr. Henry Labouchere, who died on January 15th, 1912, at the age of eighty-one, as a politician only. In his time, however, he played many parts, and it has truly been said of him that had he been a poor man he might have risen to eminence in one of his odd-jobs or callings. But he was the son of a rich banker, John Labouchere, of Broome Park, Surrey, and the nephew of a peer—Lord Taunton. He never knew the spur of poverty. Therefore he dabbled in things. He took nothing seriously. He was the Puck of politics. In turn a member of a travelling circus in the States, an attaché, theatrical proprietor, traveller, journalist, editor, and newspaper owner, his wit and cynicism were proverbial, and he wrote as brilliantly as he spoke. He never reached political office because his thoughts and methods were too original and fearless. But his death was sincerely mourned by members of all parties, for it was recognized that one of the most fascinating, perplexing, personalities of modern times had passed away. The following story is taken from the life of "Labby," written by his nephew, Mr. Algus Thorold, and published by Constable]:

"Labby" after leaving Cambridge—where by the way, he tried to distinguish himself by his bets on horse-races and lost £6,000 in two years—wandered about Europe and America, gambling and getting into all sorts of trouble. And it was, while he was an attaché at Washington that a passion for a circus-ride led to one of his most characteristic adventures. He presented himself to the proprietor of a circus and told him that he wished for an engagement with his troupe without salary. "He asked me," said "Labby" when telling the story, "what my line was, and I told him standing jumps. Some old acts were placed in the ring over which I jumped with great success, and my name figures on the playbill you see hanging there as the 'Bounding Buck of Babylon.' I wore pink tights, with a fiolet round my head. My adorable one said I looked a dear."

Always careless in his attire, "Labby" at Cambridge used to go about in a very ragged gown. One day the Master of Trinity,

Whewell, came across him, and said, "Is that a proper academic costume, Mr. Labouchere?" "Really, sir, I must refer you to my tailor," was the reply.

In his early days an acquaintance mistook him for the son of his uncle, Lord Taunton, and being unaware that Labouchere's father was dead, remarked, I have just heard your father make an admirable speech in the House of Lords." "House of Lords?", replied Mr. Labouchere assuming an air of intense interest, "Well I always have wondered where my father went when he died."

As a boy at Eton "Labby" loved his little joke. One day he decided to play the part of man about town. Having dressed himself with scrupulous care, he sallied forth and entering the best hotel in the place engaged a private room and in a lordly manner ordered a bowl of punch. The waiter stared but brought the liquor and went away. The boy, having tasted it, found it horrible, and promptly poured it into an antique oak sideboard. He waited a little to see if it would run out on the carpet. Luckily the drawer was watertight and Labouchere rang the bell again and proudly ordered from the amazed waiter a second bowl of punch. He poured this also into the sideboard and in a few minutes rang for the bill, tipped the waiter modestly, and swaggered out of the hotel quite satisfied that he had won the admiration and respect of the whole staff.

It was a joke which led to "Labby's" dismissal from the Diplomatic Service. After trying Washington, Munich, Stockholm, Frankfurt and St. Petersburg, he went to Baden Baden for a holiday, where he received a despatch from Lord John Russell appointing him Second Secretary in the Diplomatic Service at Buenos Ayres. He replied as follows: "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's despatch informing me of my promotion as Second Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation at Buenos Ayres. I beg to state that as, residing at Baden Baden, I can fulfil these duties, I shall be pleased to accept the appointment." As this was the second joke he had played on Lord Russell, he was politely told there was no further use of his services.

"Labby" was rather proud of the popularity he enjoyed at Frankfurt while in the Diplomatic Service. "At my first ball supper," he said when relating the incident, "I found myself next to a grandee gorgeous in silks and ribbons. A servant came to pour out champagne. I shook my head, for I detest champagne. The grandee nudged me and said, 'Let him pour it out.' This I did, and he explained to me that our host never gave his guests more than one glass. 'So you see, if I did, drink yours, I shall have two.' After this there used to be quite a struggle to sit near me at Court suppers."

The audacity of "Labby" was at times amazing, and 'Truth' tells the following story illustrating this characteristic. Labouchere had a desire to go one evening to gamble at Baden, but the last train had left. There was a special awaiting some Saxon Highness, and Labouchere suggested that a carriage should be attached for his use. This suggestion was treated with scorn by the local stationmaster, whereupon Labouchere drafted a telegram to Bismarck, of all people regretting that he was unable to come to dine with him as arranged as a fool of a stationmaster declined to offer him facilities. In five minutes the waiting-room was filled with apologetic and reverential officials, and Labouchere travelled in great splendour to take his place at the gaming table in the Kursaal.

He began his connection with journalism by buying for £14,000 a quarter share in the *Daily News* (he sold this in 1895 for £62,000), and later on he became proprietor of the old Queens Theatre in Long Acre, where his company included Henry Irving to (whom he paid £3 a week), Lord Brough, John Foote, Charles Wyndham, Ellen Terry and Henrietta Hodson who afterwards became Mrs. Labouchere.

A propos of "Labby" and journalism, it is an interesting fact that he started *Truth* with a capital of only £1,000, and the paper

was such a success that for the first few years the whole of the capita embarked remained untouched.

"Labby" jested to the last. "On the afternoon of the day before he died," says Mr. Thorold, "as I was sitting at his bedside, the spirit lamp that kept the fumes of eucalyptus in constant movement about his room, through some awkwardness of mine was overturned. Mr. Labouchere, who was dozing opened his eyes at the sound of the little commotion caused by the accident, and perceived the flare-up, 'Flames?' he murmured interrogatively, 'Not yet I think.' He laughed quizzically and went off to sleep again."

Short Story.

The Purple Patch.

The man was a solitary individual. His whole life centered round microbes and their habits. They were the Alpha and Omega of existence for him. Hours passed into days, days slid into weeks and weeks glided insensibly into years, while he pored continuously over microscope, and test tube behind dark curtains, which usually shut out sunlight as well as starlight and moonlight. Such uncertain ill-regulated means of viewing his atomic objects he distrusted and placed his confidence in the artificial, easily regulated help of electricity.

Every evening he opened his big bow windows, pulled back the heavy black curtains and went for an hour's brisk walk. That constitutional and his methodical meals were all he conceded to hygiene. He conceded it willingly but without interest. He could not, unaided by his notes on diet, have told you what he had eaten, and he certainly could not have described a single incident of the promenade hour. His pace, the time he started and when he returned he would accurately give, but more attention than this could not be spared from his beloved microbes.

He was not an old man but could hardly have been described as young, despite the fact that his years numbered thirty. There was no suggestion of youth about him except the fact that his eyes and expression betrayed the same lucid innocence one sees in a child's. He had hardly exchanged a dozen words, apart from bacteriology, with any human being since leaving college. That he had done at the age of 22 on the death of his only surviving parent, who had left him a dwelling place and sufficient income to live there in-comfortably. Eight years of undisturbed solitude made him reluctant to leave it, but an intense desire to study the malarial microbe in the field of its devastation made him exchange his comfortable home for a roomy old bungalow in the heart of Bengal. However this in no way disturbed his routine. He found that electric light was unobtainable but that the sunlight was, in this land, early well regulated and plentiful, therefore too useful to be shut out. So he worked before an open window and had no curtains. Herein of course lay the mischief. Sounds troubled him not at all, but scent was a new element. Sounds troubled him not at all, but scent was a new element. The sunbeams, the neem, the mango, the bakul, each in turn flattered its flowers, and in through the open window on every breath of air, were wafted languorous perfumes; the breeze so warm and soft that it was almost tangible. He found himself appreciating both, and gradually they invaded the brain cells in which microbes had hitherto reigned supreme.

It was a warm day in May, the wind came fitfully like a half heard whisper, through the half open window. It seemed too heavy to move, laden with the essence of all the flowers. He stopped his work to sniff at it delicately when a purple butterfly, brushing against his cheek, came lightly to rest on his hand. As nothing before had done in the whole of his existence startled the man into life. It awakened his soul, it quickened his pulse, and sent a wave of blood coursing through his veins. Every second that the brilliant insect rested there was filled with ecstasy. But as it rose and fluttered away grave distant, remote repulsion held the man, he shuddered and once more turned to his work, icy cold. In half an hour he had forgotten not only the butterfly but every idea, and feeling connected with it. Still he could not work; broke through his routine and went out long before the sunlight was useless.

This unrest continued and was attributed to fever and treated with huge doses of quinine. His blood, however, showed no trace of

malarial parasites. Gradually the unrest revealed itself to be a longing for something subtle, undecided, but nevertheless distinct. Then the return of the big purple butterfly made it clear that it was for this he had been waiting. It fluttered and flittered round him, brushing past his face over and over again, but resting not at all, and in a few moments it was gone, leaving the old trail of distrust and repulsion in its wake. After that he forced himself to work; the habit of years helped him and he worked feverishly, giving himself no time for thought. He read during his meals and changed his walk to a twenty minutes run. Still the purple splendour would intrude, it flitted through his thoughts as lightly as it had flitted through his room, but the vision unlike the reality did not fly away. With the scent of the earth refreshed after its first fall of rain came the gorgeous beauty once more. It lit on his hand and his forehead, it fluttered close to his eyes and his lips till an intense desire that it should touch them consumed him. But all in vain for though he might have touched it had he moved, that was not what he wished. When it finally fluttered into the dusk, the distrust was dim, the repulsion was vague.

He ceased to study microbes. Books and books on butterflies began to fill his shelves. Everything that had been ever written on the subject, prose or poetry, fact or fancy, kept him busily employed and interested. But all he ever read concerned him not at all with the others of the family. He bought no net; he developed no collectors hobby; studied not the painted graces of the Papilionidae. Gradually facts began to bore him and he plunged deep into fancies. He netted the brains of all the dreamers and imprisoned their fugitive thoughts so that he could admire them at leisure; thus came himself to have soft subtle fancies. The beauty of the whole world seemed slowly to unveil itself till with the primal glory of the roses the whole magnificence of nature was revealed to him in the return of the purple butterfly. It swung gaily into the room, rested panting on his hand, rose suddenly, brushed across his lips and was gone. He reeled to his feet and stood away blindly, then falling back into his chair, laid his head on his arms and shook with the heart-felt sobs one hears from little hurt children.

He could not wait for the return of the butterfly. Instead he sought it high and low wildly, frantically at first, then as reason reassured itself, systematically, carefully. The idea crept into his mind that it was not a butterfly at all but a lovely thought, and thereupon he began to search the brains of men and women. To do this he had to leave his lonely bungalow and journey into the world—that world of which he knew so little. But to find his butterfly no sacrifice was too great, no effort too strenuous. Into the whirlpool of humanity he dived his net drawing much good and more evil. Thus he stood on the brink looking down on the vortex, but Humanity is pitiless and gradually he was drawn into the whirling mass. An atom not unlike his now neglected microbes, the plaything of chance, the toy of circumstance, he forgot his quest, he forgot everything in the wild fight to extricate himself. Every force he noticed was employed in dragging souls into the arena and keeping them there. There were chains of all sorts—the golden one of wealth, the iron manacles of poverty, steel links of ambition and the flowery wreath of marriage, which seemed to him the heaviest of all.

Fighting, evading, breaking, he spent the best years of his life; then the Gods gave him strength and he escaped from the arena again; weary, disheartened and old.

The heavy curtains kept out the light from an austere laboratory where an old man bent ever intently over test tube and microscope. At sundown he opened the window, flung back the heavy black curtains and went for an hour's stroll. In no way did his routine differ from that of twenty years before except that sometimes through his thoughts would flit the dim delicious memory of a purple butterfly. A brief vision that left behind it a shivery repulsion.

"Sporo"

Mr. Asquith's Speech.

Europe and the Balkans.

MR. ASQUITH, who was received with cheers on rising to reply, said:—

As you, my Lord Mayor, have said, this is the sixth occasion in succession on which it has been my privilege and honour to acknowledge the toast of His Majesty's Ministers; and I recognize, as you have most truly and appropriately said, that the welcome which they may always count upon meeting in this great hall on this historic anniversary is neither a party nor a personal tribute, but is a recognition on the part of the most ancient and greatest municipality in the country that those who are for the time being called to the arduous

task of advising the Sovereign and of administering the affairs of the country are inspired by sentiments of patriotism and by a deep sense of public duty. (Cheers.)

My Lord Mayor, a year ago when I addressed your predecessor, we were witnessing the early stages of the conflict between Turkey and the Allied Balkan States—a conflict which was no sooner ended than it was followed by an outbreak of hostilities between the victorious Allies. The clash of arms has now happily ceased, and peace once more prevails. Thousands of lives have been sacrificed, millions of treasure have been spent, vast tracts of territory have been devastated; and over and above the inevitable horrors of war, things have been done and suffered which have shocked and repelled the civilized world. (Hear, hear.) It is too soon to draw up a debtor and creditor account, and to say whether, from the point of view of human progress, there has been, or will be, a balance of gain or loss. Heavy indeed is the responsibility which lies upon the shoulders of the States directly concerned for the future of the populations for whose interests, under the new distribution of power in the Balkans, they have severally become the trustees.

It is an easy task to blame Europe, and in particular the Great Powers of Europe, that they should have shown themselves impotent to prevent or to curtail this lamentable effusion of blood. But to anyone who remembers the history of what is called the Eastern Question it should rather be a matter both for surprise and for satisfaction that the area of conflict has been circumscribed. (Hear, hear.) For a generation past it has been one of the main preoccupations of European diplomacy to prevent the reopening of that question, in the belief that it could not be revived without the certainty of open dissension, and at least a grave risk of possible war, between the Powers themselves. The one feature in the international history of the past year upon which it is possible to look back with unqualified gratification is that those apprehensions have been completely falsified. (Cheers.) It is true that, as events have unfolded themselves—often in strange and unforeseeable ways, sometimes in a fashion that seemed to menace directly or indirectly the susceptibilities or the interests of particular Powers—there have been moments of grave anxiety. By the exercise of patience and tact, of self-restraint in some quarters, of strenuous good will in others, these difficulties have one after the other been overcome, and we here in London may record with pride that the united voice of Europe ascribes a leading part in this arduous and beneficent task to our own Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey. (Cheers.) The Foreign Offices of Europe have plenty of business, and very troublesome business, still before them in connexion with Albania and the Balkans. It would be too much to say—I could not say it honestly—that they are satisfied with such settlement as has already been made; but they are at any rate resigned to it, and they are prepared, with good will to each other and a common desire for the continuance of peace, to make the best of it.

BRITISH INTEREST IN ASIATIC TURKEY.

There is one other matter, and I fear only one, in these recent troubles in the East which gives occasion for satisfaction. It is that the Asiatic provinces of Turkey have not been involved in the conflict. It is the desire of His Majesty's Government that the integrity of those dominions should not be infringed. In them are to be found the Holy Places of the Mohammedan religion, held sacred by the whole body of Mussalmans, many millions of whom are loyal and devoted subjects of the British Crown. (Hear, hear.) We could not see without lively concern anything that threatened the Holy Places or their possible transfer from Mussalmans possession. There are, I need not say, other and more general grounds why, in common with the other Powers, we wish to see no invasion of the territorial integrity of Asiatic Turkey. But I must add that for first and best, and, indeed, the most necessary, safeguard for its maintenance is internal reform; and under existing conditions it is not likely—and perhaps not possible—that such a reform can be effectively carried through without the direct assistance and the active co-operation of the Powers. We ourselves here in Great Britain shall gladly afford any help in the prosecution of that task which the Turkish Government may invite, without forgetting that there are other Powers who, from geographical situation or from economic interests, have a special concern in the well-being and development of Asia Minor.

CHINA AND MEXICO.

The Balkan Peninsula is not the only part of the world which has had to confront special perplexities and dangers during the past 12 months. If we look to the Far East this has been a most critical year in the history of China. The Chinese Republic has now taken its place among the politics of the world, and in common with other nations we have recognized it and its President. It would be an impertinence on my part to comment at this moment upon its internal affairs, but in view of our relations in the past, and of the vast interests of British trade which are bound up with its

future development, we are naturally anxious to see the authority of a stable Central Government accepted by the provinces and effective throughout the whole of China.

I pass to another troubled theatre, Mexico, where also the commercial interests of this country call for our vigilant care. Mexico is still in the throes of civil war. There never has been, I need hardly assure you, and there cannot be, any question of political intervention on the part of Great Britain in the domestic concerns of Mexico or any Central or South American State. It is no part of our right or duty—an that part of the world at any rate—to prevent revolutions, or to attempt to preclude the control or to put a stop to civil war. The utmost that we can do is to give what protection may be possible on the coast to British lives and property in times of urgent danger and crisis.

OUR RECOGNITION OF GENERAL HUERTA.

A rumour has found credence in some quarters that, at a moment when the Government of the United States were taking a line of their own with regard to Mexico, we entered upon a new departure of policy deliberately or at least if not deliberately, at any rate in effect, opposed to that of the United States and calculated to thwart it. There is not the vestige of foundation for such a rumour. (Cheers.) It was on March 31st of this year, before the present Administration in the United States had made, or indeed had had any opportunity of making, any declaration of policy, that His Majesty's Government recognized General Huerta as President *ad interim* of Mexico. We did so because, having ourselves neither the will, nor the power to intervene, we were bound to deal, as we should in the case of any Central or South American State, with whatever was for the time being the *de facto* Government; and because, according to the information then in our possession, there appeared to be no element except that of General Huerta and his supporters which offered any prospect of the restoration of stability and order.

That was on March 31st. Very shortly afterwards, in answer to our inquiries, we were informed by the Government of the United States that, as regarded the recognition of General Huerta, no definite answer could be given except that they would wait some time longer before recognizing him. Since then there has been no new departure, no change of policy of any kind, on the part of His Majesty's Government. There has been a change of British Ministers, but it involved no new policy. We have a right to assume, and we most gladly make the assumption, that in whatever policy the United States may adopt they will have regard to legitimate foreign commercial interests in Mexico as well as to their own.

At the risk of wearying you, I have thought it right to explain so much of what has passed because in some quarters there seems recently to have been misapprehension, though as between the Government of the United States and ourselves there has from time to time been an exchange of views, without the least trace of friction, and on both sides with the most perfect cordiality. (Cheers.) Let me add that our diplomatic relations with the United States have for a long time been such that, with the freest and frankest discussions of all matters that may from time to time arise, we both hold the fullest assurance that nothing can happen to disturb our common resolve to attain and maintain a friendly and sympathetic understanding. (Cheers.) And it is only right to say that no one in our time has contributed more largely to create and foster this temper between the two great kindred peoples than our distinguished Ambassador, now once more at home among us, Mr. Bryce. (Cheers.)

THE GROWTH OF ARMEMENTS.

I cannot conclude this survey without one or two observations of a more general kind. During the last few years the civilized world has been passing through an era of exceptional and abounding productiveness which, after all due deductions have been allowed, has made a large addition to the accumulated wealth of mankind. There are—so at least it seems to me—upon the horizon signs which portend the inevitable slackening, in volume and velocity, of the tide which has flowed so strongly and so long. Side by side with this exuberant industrial activity in the older countries, we have seen the rapid development, largely by borrowed capital, of infant and adolescent communities—the initiation almost everywhere of costly schemes of social reform, and, in addition, to the waste of wealth and human material in actual warfare, an unprecedented addition both on land and sea to the apparatus of organized destruction. All this imposes, and if it goes on will more and more impose, a severe and even a dangerous strain upon the taxable capacity and the credit of the nations, which in turn must react on the springs of industry and on the general progress of material well-being. My last word to you will be to ask this question: Is it not time for statesmen and for men of business to take counsel together to secure a saner and a more fruitful appropriation of the common resources of mankind? (Cheers.)

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—Morris

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The Week.

London, Dec. 8

Turkey.

The German General Limat von Sanders with ten other German officers leaves Berlin to-day for Constantinople. The appointment of General von Sanders as Commander of the First Turkish Army Corps at Constantinople has evoked very strong objections on the part of Russia and France, on the ground that it tends to overshadow the influence of the Ambassadors, and gives Germany a peculiar advantage at Constantinople.

London, Dec. 9

In the Reichstag to-day, the Chancellor made a statement on the foreign policy of Germany. He repeatedly emphasised the confidential character of Anglo-German relations, which found expression in the London Conference to which future ages would look back with gratitude. The confidential character of the relations enabled the two Governments to make a considerable progress in the negotiations for the removal of difficulties regarding the Baghdad Railway. The Franco-German negotiations, concerning Turkish affairs, were only beginning. The Chancellor pointed out the similarity of the German view as to the future of Turkey with the views of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith, namely, the preservation of Turkish territorial integrity on the basis of internal reform. The fate of the Aegean Islands, he said, was not settled. He affirmed that in order to avoid European and colonial conflicts in future, and permanently to keep Anglo-German relations tranquil, negotiations on the African questions had begun whereby the rights of others would be fully respected. "We are working," the Chancellor said, "for a fair compromise

in the interests of both the countries." He said that there would be no question of one-sided concessions by Germany. They would not exchange German interests in Asia Minor for British concessions in Africa or vice versa. There was reason to anticipate that the result would be hailed both in England and Germany as an acceptable solution of possible difficulties. He hoped that "the confidence at present characterising our relations with the British Government will extend itself to those circles which still regard a rapprochement of kindred nations with scepticism. Let the past be the past. Let us continue to work in confidence on the basis which the present offers."

London, Dec. 10.

Renter learns that the Triple Entente has agreed formally to enquire at Constantinople, if it is true that the Command of the First Turkish Army Corps at Constantinople has been given to German officers, and how far the step will affect the situation in Constantinople. Russo-German conversation in this connection at Berlin have been most friendly. Germany was aware of the intention to make such an enquiry.

Constantinople, Dec. 14.

The British, Russian, and French Ambassadors inquired of the Grand Vizier the scope of the German Military Mission, headed by General Limat von Sanders.

The Grand Vizier promised to reply semi-officially to-morrow. General Limat von Sanders and the Mission arrived wearing Turkish uniforms. They were received at the station by the Minister of War.

Constantinople, Dec. 15.

The Grand Vizier will reply to-day to the enquiries of the British, Russian and French Ambassadors regarding the powers of General Limat von Sanders.

He will say that the appointment was made at the instance of Mahmud Shekret Pasha on the ground that the results of the employment of foreign advisers were unsatisfactory. Therefore it is proposed that foreign officers enter the Turkish service altogether, and receive actual commands.

This course has already been adopted in the appointments of Rear-Admiral Limpus to command the Navy, and the English Colonel Hawker, to command the Gendarmery in Armenia. The authority of General Limat von Sanders will be subject to limitations, especially as regards the Straits and City of Constantinople Garrisons, which will be under Faik Bey.

Constantinople, Dec. 16.

D. Jemal Bey, Acting Commander of the First Army Corps, has been appointed Minister of Works, and has handed over his command to General Limat von Sanders.

The Grand Vizier has assured the Russian, French and British Ambassadors that the functions of General Limat von Sanders will be strictly confined to purely technical questions and military training. Such matters as the command of fortresses, and the Straits, Martial Law, and Military Courts outside his provinces will be directly subject to the Ministry of War.

Crete, Dec. 16.

Crete.

Crete was annexed by Greece yesterday morning with great ceremony, King Constantine, accompanied by the Premier, holding

the Greek play in the presence of the Consuls amid the tumultuous cheering of the crowds. The Greek fleet afterwards fired a salute of 101 guns. King Constantine attended a Te Deum at the Cathedral before the ceremony. A thanksgiving service was held at the Synagogue afterwards. The King sailed back to Athens last night.

London, Dec. 11.

Bulgaria.

The general elections in Sofia held for the first time under proportional representation have produced surprising results. A great increase in Socialists and Agrarians has placed the Government in a minority and the Russophile party is almost obliterated. The Ministry will endeavour to carry on with the help of other groups.

Sofia, Dec. 15.

Greece has informed Bulgaria that she will liberate all the prisoners of war, including those condemned to death by court martial, directly diplomatic relations are resumed, provided the persecution of the Greeks in Thrace ceases.

Bulgaria has replied that Greece's communication has removed the last obstacle to such a resumption of relations, and has assured Greece that the new Bulgarian Administration in Thrace has been ordered to assure security of all subjects.

Stockholm, Dec. 11.

Nobel Prize.

The King presented Nobel Prizes to-day. Mr. Clive, British Chargé d'Affaires received the prize on behalf of Rabindranath Tagore.

Paris, Dec. 11.

Sahara.

Heavy fighting took place in the French Sahara on November 27th. The French took an important position by assau t Ain Oalaka in which they lost 4 officers, and 12 native riflemen killed, and 3 officers, and 19 natives wounded.

Alzhabad, Dec. 12.

Khost Outlaws.

A frontier correspondent states that Khost outlaws have still two Hindu prisoners whom they are holding for ransom. They are survivors of four who were captured, one having been sent in to Banau with the head of the companion who was murdered by the gang.

Delhi, Dec. 11.

Press Act.

It is understood that the Honourable Babu Sarendra Nath Bannerjee will presently move a resolution which will suggest certain modifications in the Press Act.

Durban, Dec. 4.

The South African Crisis.

The Natal Indian Association states that fifty Indians are hunger-striking in Durban, and with a view to obtaining redress for the complaints regarding the food and clothes supplied.

Delhi, Dec. 5.

The passive resisters in the Durban gaol have been fasting since Sunday, the alleged cause being that the food is uneatable, the blankets are insufficient, the clothes are dirty and a Kaffir is cooking the food. Representations to gaol authorities were referred to the Minister who replied two days later that those fasting did so of their own will, and directed future complaints to the Chief Magistrate. General Lukin, under the Minister's instructions, has prohibited the Association to supply food to the strikers on different estates, otherwise than by leaving it with the employers, thus leaving the strikers at the employers' mercy at the Association's expense. This is contrary to previous assurances, the object being to force the strikers to submission.

London, Dec. 4.

Sir West Ridgeway, in a letter to the *Times*, dwells on the danger to the Empire in consequence of the Indian disturbances in South Africa. He urges firstly, that passive resistance must cease, secondly, that negotiations with South Africa must continue for the removal of real grievances, and thirdly, that a commission of enquiry should be appointed, but that we should not attempt to interfere with the Union Government in the selection of its members or dictate its duties and powers. He hopes that General Buller will be generous enough to consent to the representation of Indians by an officer selected by the Government of India. He fears that these concessions would not satisfy the agitators who aim at full rights everywhere in the Empire. He warns the academic Imperialists at home of the danger to the Empire in encouraging such dreams.

London, Dec. 8.

The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* at Johannesburg has been visiting Natal and investigating carefully the causes of the Indian troubles and allegations of cruelty. He has visited Ballengeich and Burnside collieries and coast sugar estates, and declares that the stories of cruelty are wholly untrue. Everything is in good order in the Indian compounds. The Indians on sugar estates in every case began either by threatening behaviour or by attacking the police.

The correspondent points out that the £3 tax originated with the Government of India in 1895, when a deputation from Natal visited India. The Government of India proposed that Indians upon expiry of engagements should have the option of re-engaging for two years at increased wages or stay in Natal paying £3 a year. Natal accepted the proposal, which became law.

Poona, Dec. 10.

The *Kesari*, Mr. Tilak's organ, in a leading article on the Indian question in South Africa, suggests that in the event of his demand for a thorough and impartial inquiry not being granted, Lord Hardinge should resign the Viceroyalty.

London, Dec. 12.

Reuter learns that in well-informed quarters satisfaction is felt at the appointment of the Natal Commission.

There may be some regret in India that she is not represented, but the difficulty of such a course is realised. The fact that General Botha admits that there is room for enquiry and has not delayed to take steps to hold it reflects all credit on the Union.

Pretoria, Dec. 12.

The terms of reference of the Commission of Enquiry are:—

(1) To enquire into and report on the disturbances in connection with the strike of Indians, the causes and circumstances leading to the strike disturbances, the amount of force used for the suppression of the strike, the necessity for the use of such force and as to any acts of violence alleged to have been committed upon the prisoners sentenced in connection with the strike;

(2) to make recommendations in respect of any of the above matters.

London, Dec. 12.

It is officially announced that 24,000 Indians were working in the coal and sugar industries in Natal and Zululand on Wednesday, that 621 are on strike, and some hundreds still in gaol.

About 300 are receiving rations from the Indian Association.

Durban, Dec. 12.

The Indians at Lamercu and Tongaat resumed work to-day.

General Lukin has returned to Pretoria.

London, Dec. 13.

A series of mass meetings are reported from Natal to protest against the non-admission of Asiatics to the Commission of Enquiry. The chairman of a meeting in Durban protested against the inclusion of Mr. Esselen and Colonel Wylie on the ground that they were biased. A resolution was adopted urging that Indians be specially represented, and that an investigation be made of the complaints of Indians on estates and in mines.

The *Times* correspondent in Durban understands that Indians would consider favourable the appointment of Sir James Rose Innes or Mr. Schreiner as additional members, specially to enquire into the charges of ill-treatment.

Cape Town, Dec. 10.

Meetings of Indians to protest against the Personnel of the Commission of Enquiry have been held at Cape Town, Johannesburg, Kimberley and Potchefstroom. The demand is made for the addition of Sir James Rose Innes and Mr. Schreiner, or two other unprejudiced South Africans of repute.

London, Dec. 9.

Mesopotamia.

In the Reichstag, to-day, Herr Bassermann asked a question based on a letter published in the *Daily Telegraph* on December 1st regarding the amendment of the Anglo-Turkish Treaty. Herr Bassermann asked what the German Government intended to do to maintain the freedom of access to these oil supplies for the German Navy. Herr von Jagow, the Foreign Secretary, said the reports were incorrect. Negotiations were in progress between the British and the German groups with regard to the acquisition of considerable petroleum concessions, especially in Mesopotamia. German naval interests, he said, would be safe-guarded. The Government would support all German undertakings aiming at securing for Germany a proper share in the petroleum output of the world.

Router wired on December 1.—

The *Daily Telegraph* gives prominence to a letter from what the paper describes as a well-informed correspondent in Constantinople, saying that the Anglo-Turkish Treaty, which was initialled last May, has been amended as follows:—

Britain is granted the concession of all oil wells in Arabia and Mesopotamia, and apparently also Syria.

The Sultan of Koweit receives a large hinterland, making him the principal Power in Arabia.

The monopoly of navigation on the Euphrates and the Tigris will be exercised by an international company, the capital of which will be nominally half British, a quarter Turkish, and a quarter German, but in reality half British and half German.

London, Dec. 8.

London Moslem League.

The London Moslem League is commencing to roll its offices. Two nominations which are receiving favourable consideration are

those of Mohammed Ali Jinnah of Bombay as President, and Dr. Abdul Majid as Vice-President. The former would spend one-third of every year in London and the latter is a permanent resident in London. Mr. Jinnah has obtained considerable popularity by his success in welding together students of various denominations into what is known as the London Indian Association.

London, Dec. 12

Moslem League.

At a meeting of the Committee in London of the All-India Moslem League last evening the Aga Khan was elected Honorary President, His Highness having telegraphed his willingness to become Honorary President if the old officers remained. Prior to the meeting the committee members received a joint letter from Messrs. Ameer Ali, Latif, and Amik replying to resolutions of meetings on the 2nd November and the 2nd December requesting them to continue in their respective offices, calling attention to the difficulties besetting their community and asking them not to sever their connection with the League as so critical a stage. The letter states that "in response to these requests and telegraphic appeals and resolutions from the United Provinces, Punjab, and Moradabad Leagues and other organisations in India and in view of the delicate questions confronting the Mussalman community we desire to express our willingness to continue to give the League our services in the work of Mussalman development. There is no need to say that we rely on your loyal co-operation and help to maintain unimpaired its weight in the public estimation and its usefulness to our community."

The committee passed a hearty vote of thanks to the Aga Khan and the officers.

Catnys, Dec. 8.

Albania.

A number were killed and wounded in a sanguinary faction fight between the Albanian clans at Skutari. The International authorities intervened, whereupon the combatants retired outside the town and resumed the conflict.

University Education in India.

At a meeting of the East India Association, on Tuesday, Sir Lancelot Haro, presiding Mr. J. D. Anderson, late I. C. S., read a paper on "The Vernaculars in Indian Universities." He suggested that there should be voluntary honours examinations in the chief vernaculars such as Hindi, Bengali and Marathi, and that Englishmen living in India might be allowed to take degrees for vernaculars at the Indian Universities. A discussion followed which fully confirmed Mr. Anderson's opinion.

The chief speaker was Mr. Abbas Ali Baig of the India Council.

London, Dec. 8.

A telegram to the *Times* from Toronto says the Government may avail itself of the clause in the Immigration Act empowering it by order in Council to forbid the entrance of all labourers and artisans into British Columbian ports owing to the state of the labour market, which is actually glutted. The order, the journal adds, will not be issued without negotiations with the Imperial Government as the Dominion desires to avoid any action contrary to the Japanese Treaty.

Ottawa, Dec. 9.

The Dominion Government has passed an order prohibiting the entry of all artisans and labourers into British Columbia till March 31st, owing to the congestion of the labour market. The order makes no discrimination, and includes all races, but there is no doubt that the matter has been brought to a head by the recent agitation against the Indians.

Victoria (British Columbia), Dec. 9.

Canadian Indians.

Fourteen Hindus whom the Immigration Department had ordered to be deported were released last night. Mass meetings of Indians, both here and at Vancouver, have again drawn up a petition to Lord Hardinge to protect the rights of immigrants coming to Canada.

London, Dec. 4.

Home Rule.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking at Bradford, said that the Nationalists would certainly be disappointed if the realisation of their hopes was marred by conflict. The use of force to carry Home Rule into effect would be repugnant, but the abandonment of Home Rule would be worse. It would mean the revival of coercion. But to the last moment, and there was plenty of time, Government would keep the door open to settlement by consent.

London, Dec. 4.

Speaking at Manchester, Sir Edward Carson said it was a foul day to say that Ulsterites were tampering with the army. It would be a bad day for the country if the army in any circumstances refused to obey lawful orders. Of course it must obey them, but for that reason statesmen must look ahead and see where their acts were leading them, (cheers). No one would blame the army for shooting Ulsterites; the country would hold the Government responsible, (cheers).

The Aegean Isles.

It is stated in Paris and Rome that Britain has proposed to the Powers that Greece be allowed to retain the Aegean Islands she occupied, subject to guarantees regarding fortifications and contraband, except Imbros and Tenedos, which shall be returned to Turkey.

Secondly, an extension of the limit for Greek evacuation of Albania shall be granted as the Delimitation Commission as failed to complete the work by the date fixed.

Thirdly, when Italy returns to Turkey the islands she occupies guarantees shall be asked for their autonomy.

London, Dec. 16.

The report that Britain had communicated with the Powers regarding the Aegean Islands an extension of the time for the delimitation of Southern Albania, is confirmed. The French Government has already notified its acquiescence in Sir Edward Grey's standpoint.

Rome, Dec. 17.

In the Chamber of Deputies to-day, Marquis Di San Giuliano, the Foreign Minister, said that the problem of the Southern Frontier at Albania was of vital importance to Italy and Austria, who were determined to co-operate to preserve equilibrium and freedom in the Adriatic.

There was reason to believe that their demand would be realised without serious complications in view of the conciliatory spirit of the Powers.

Referring to the Aegean Islands, he said, Italy adhered to the principle that no great Power ought to secure territorial advantages out of the Balkan crisis, to maintain the balance of Power in the Mediterranean.

Turkey must be maintained intact and strong.

Marquis Di Giuliano later dwelt on the excellence of the relations between Italy, France and Great Britain.

Delhi, Dec. 10.

Three Pound Tax.

With reference to the statement telegraphed from South Africa that the £3 tax originated with the Government of India in 1895, when a deputation from Natal visited India, and that the Government of India proposed that Indians upon the expiry of engagements should have the option of re-engaging for two years at increased wages, or of staying in Natal paying £3 a year, the Associated Press is informed that in writing to the Natal Government in 1894 concerning measures designed to the repatriation of indentured labourers from Natal, the Government of India did not suggest the imposing of the £3 tax on those who failed to return to India.

Pretoria, Dec. 11.

The Commission appointed to enquire into Indian grievances will consist of Sir William Solomon, Mr. Esselen, K. C., and Colonel Wylie, K. C., of Natal.

The Honourable Sir William Solomon is an appellate Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa. He was Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony from 1897 to 1902. He is the son of a Cape Colony clergyman and is in his 60th year.

Colonel James Scott Wylie, K. C., is best remembered nowadays as having been in command of the armoured train at Chieveley when Mr. Winston Churchill was captured by the Boers. Colonel Wylie was seriously wounded during the war, but afterwards commanded the Durban Light Infantry during the Natal rebellion of 1900. Colonel Wylie, however, (who is Scotch by birth) began his African career as a solicitor in the Supreme Court of Natal. In 1892 he became an Advocate and a few years later a member of the Legislative Assembly. He is now one of the members of the Executive Committee of Natal. He was made a King's Counsel in 1902.

Mr. Esselen is also a counsel of the Supreme Court.

Pretoria, Dec. 10.

Natal Indians' Case.

The Government has decided to appoint a Committee of Enquiry into the grievances of the Natal Indians.

London, Dec. 12.

Reuter learns that in well-informed quarters satisfaction is felt at the appointment of the Natal Commission. There may be some regret in India that she is not represented, but the difficulty of such a course is realised. The fact that General Botha admits that there is room for an enquiry and has not delayed to take steps to hold it reflects all credit on the Union.

The terms of reference of the Commission of enquiry are:—

(1) To enquire into and report on the disturbances in connection with the strike of Indians, the causes and circumstances leading to the strike disturbances; the amount of force used for the suppression of the strike; the necessity for the use of such force and as to any acts of violence alleged to have been committed upon prisoners sentenced in connection with the strike.

(2) To make recommendations in respect of any of the above matters.

It is officially announced that 24,000 Indians were working in the coal and sugar industries in Natal Zululand on Wednesday, that 921 are on strike and some hundreds still in goal. About three hundred are receiving rations from the Indian Association.

Indians at Lamerici and Tongaat resumed work yesterday. General Lukin has returned to Pretoria.

Deths, Dec. 12.

There is a good deal of surprise here at the appointment of the Natal Commission having been made without India having been asked to send a representative.

For some days past, the idea has been growing that one or two representatives from this country would be certain to proceed to South Africa in connection with recent events and to advise regarding future procedure.

Nothing seems to be known here regarding the qualifications of the gentlemen who are mentioned by Reuters as having been selected for the Commission.

Durban, Dec. 10.

Mr. Gokhale's Cable.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram jointly from the Natal Indian Association and Mr. West, dated Durban, 9th instant:—

General Lukin absolutely refuses allow Association representative be present, time rations distributed even though not word spoken to people except through police interpreter. If police do not inform Association we have no means knowing certain whether people starving. Estates practically gaoled without being proclaimed, quite clear, something serious to conceal. Search warrant issued, Association papers taken, Russian methods adopted Durban. Prevent prisoners being interviewed even by solicitors. Strikers going gaoled daily, one hundred and fifty to-day.

London, Dec. 13.

Mr Gokhale has received the following cablegram from Mr. Ritch, dated Johannesburg, 12th instant:—

Personnel Commission unsatisfactory. Esselen colorphobe, Wyllie anti Indian politician. Community requesting Government add Schreiner and another to counterbalance. No confidence in Commission except in Judge Solomon. Indians protest.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram, from Mr. West, dated Durban, 12th instant:—

Indians entirely misrepresented Commission. We cannot accept such Commission. Cases of flogging Phoenix, man die after fourteen days. Public funeral yesterday. Four doctors held post mortem. Cause of death not disclosed. Magisterial inquiry to be made. For my interference this case, Manager threatened to thrash me. For which summoned. Case Thursday. Complications involving other Natal Estates.

South African Crisis

THE Town Hall, Bombay, was packed to its utmost capacity on the 10th instant by a vast and enthusiastic audience, which met to pass resolutions in reference to the treatment of Indians in South Africa and other colonies, pressing for an inquiry into the allegations of ill-treatment of strikers in Natal, and expressing gratitude to the Viceroy and Lord Amphill for the way in which they have championed the cause of the Indian community in South Africa.

H. H. the Aga Khan presided, and in the course of an impressive speech, remarked that whereas Kruger's Government chastised the Indians with whips, the Union Government were chastising them with scorpions, and in concluding he declared that, if the state of affairs went from bad to worse in South as well as East Africa and Canada and other colonies, it would render the task of peaceful Government in India impossible.

Other impressive speeches were delivered by Sir Phoroneshah Mehta, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others, and the resolutions were all carried with enthusiastic acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

The Aga Khan was received with prolonged applause on rising to address the meeting. He said:—As the chairman of this public meeting it falls to my lot to echo the feelings of the people of India which the calamities that have lately occurred in South Africa have evoked throughout the length and breadth of this Empire. It is no exaggeration to say that in the modern history of India, it is impossible to find a parallel to the intensity of feeling to which Indians have been stirred by the painful occurrences in South Africa. The solidarity of public opinion in regard to this most difficult and vexatious question is indeed striking, and the fact that the requisition to the Sheriff to convene the meeting is signed by representatives of all the communities furnishes eloquent testimony to the complete

unanimity of opinion that prevails in India as to the unjust and harsh treatment to which our fellow subjects in South Africa have been subjected. If such treatment were voted out to Englishmen in any foreign country it would have been treated as a "casus belli." (Cheers.) If Disraeli, or Gladstone, or Palmerstone, or Bright, were alive they would have moved the whole of England by their earnestness and eloquence to see that the fair name of England for justice and equity was kept unsullied.

The loyal, patient and silently toiling Indians expect that the fact of their being the subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor should be a sufficient protection of their rights of citizenship in any British colony. (Hear, hear.) The Indian leaders in South Africa are willing to recognise this delicacy of the relations between the Imperial and the South African Governments, but no question of difficulty should be allowed to stand in the way of elementary human justice being done. Public opinion in India cannot believe the statement that the Imperial Government is helpless in the matter.

AN IMPERIAL PROBLEM.

The problem has assumed an Imperial aspect, and what we desire the Imperial Government to do is to allay the feeling of injustice and humiliation which oppresses our minds. For years, the Indians in South Africa have approached some of the burning questions affecting their very existence in that country in a calm and dispassionate manner, free from prejudice and passion or opposition to authority in the hope that antagonism to their rights of British citizenship may be argued into moderation and persuaded into compromise. But the hope has not yet been realised and their patience is exhausted. The very fact that my distinguished friend, the Honourable Mr Gokhale, effected a compromise that was so moderate as to provoke the displeasure of some people in India proves how reasonable our fellow subjects there have been. Our brethren in South Africa have been treated as if they were the worst type of Pariahs. Before the Boer War, President Kruger's Government chastised the Indian with whips but as the "Times" pointed out six years ago, the Transvaal Government were chastising the Indians with scorpions. As Lord Lansdowne has said, it was the ill-treatment of Indians before the war which called forth vehement protests from Englishmen and eminent statesmen in Great Britain. Not only have all the restrictions of Kruger's regime been maintained in all their severity, but additional and disagreeable disabilities have been imposed upon Indians who have appealed in vain to all the elementary emotions of mankind, and fellow citizenship. It is painfully obvious that the conviction that Great Britain is unable or unwilling to protect her foster children must shake their confidence in the power of the Imperial Government and deal a blow to the prestige of the Empire. We appeal to the sense of justice of the leading statesmen of the Empire to preserve the honour of British Indian subjects lawfully domiciled in a British colony. The sentiment of Empire must begin to lose its meaning, if the Indians in the Transvaal, who have the strongest claims upon British sympathy, find that England is now willing and pleads helplessness to remove the injustice that is perpetrated on them owing to the colour prejudice of an autonomous colony. (Applause.)

A NOTE OF WARNING.

The recent deplorable events in South Africa since the strike commenced have complicated an already grave situation, but that should not be allowed to obscure the main issue. I appeal to you all, and through you to our brethren in South Africa not to do or say anything which will make the position of the Indian or the Imperial Government more difficult than it is at present. I admit the difficulty of self-restraint, when shocking allegations of barbarity and inhuman treatment towards the Indian settlers in the Colony have been made but I ask you to hold your breath till an independent inquiry is made. Neither in deed nor word should we betray anything which would savour of malice or racial animosity, for we should not forget that the deep and living sympathy of many Englishmen and of some English statesmen is with us; and we should not jeopardise that sympathy by any indiscreet words or indiscriminate actions. We have reason to be proud and thankful that at this critical juncture we have at the head of the Indian Government an illustrious nobleman who has captured our hearts and imagination by his just and sympathetic administration. (Loud cheers.) He has proved himself a worthy successor of Akbar himself. He has told us at Cawnpore on one occasion, which will live for ever in the affectionate memory of a large section of Indians and be cherished with feelings of mingled pride and admiration as an example of high British statesmanship, justice and clemency, that he is the father of his Indian children, and I beseech you not to do anything which would embarrass the position of your father—a father of whom we can truly be proud and who has proved himself a true Christian inspired by the finest doctrines of Christianity. (Renewed cheers.) His firm and outspoken attitude in this deplorable affair had the effect of subduing as by magic the most fiery passions that have been aroused in India.

by the sad plight of her children in South Africa. Nor let us, not embarrass our chivalrous champion, Lord Ampthill, (cheers.) Whose manful advocacy of our cause has already aroused the sympathy of Englishmen in all parts of the world, including South Africa, and that is a happy augury for the success of the unequal struggle of our fellow-creatures in South Africa for upholding the honour of the Motherland and making the rights of British citizenship respected in the British Colony.

The Indians—men and women, some of whom have been born in South Africa—have been worried, harassed, and tortured by rules, regulations and taxes recognised to be unfair and unsuited to a civilised Government. This has caused bitterness throughout the Indian Empire which is as intense as it is widespread and to ignore it is neither statesmanship nor justice on which the foundations of the British Empire are broadly based. The Hon. Mr. M. de P. Webb has pointed out in his able contribution to the *Daily Mail* that the Indian problem in South Africa can only be solved by a frank recognition of the rights as British subjects of those Indians who have already settled there. The further immigration of trade competitors from India can be checked by mutual arrangement and consent but the competition of those Indians who have established themselves in South Africa must be fairly met by civilised manners and not by oppression, exaction and torture which India will never endure."

THE INDIAN'S BOAST

It is stated that it is not a question of racial prejudice, but an economic one, because the Indian "in South Africa under-realls in every branch of commerce, the white man, who is forced by society to maintain the position of his caste." Gentlemen, the Indians can boast of a civilisation that was far advanced when South Africa was unknown and even people in Great Britain were in a very early stage of development. Its soldiers have shed their blood for the honour and glory of the British Empire on a hundred battlefields. Indians have imbibed the ideals of freedom, independence and fairplay from the same source, and they rightly recognise—which does credit to their judgment and sense of fairplay—that unlimited Asiatic immigration into South Africa is impossible. The present movement has three aspects to be considered. The first is a £3 tax in Natal. This is a provincial one and affects only Indians in Natal whose indentures have expired. The second aspect is that the Indians who have now organised the Passive Resistance Movement aim at the rights of free movement in South Africa. They are not fighting for the free immigration of Indians in South Africa, but what they are fighting for is that those who have already been domiciled there should be treated in an honourable and civilised fashion. They are not asking for new immigration, and their demand is neither extravagant nor unjust. The third point is the determination of the rights of citizenship of Indians in the self-governing as well as the Crown Colonies, and I think a conference consisting of representatives of Imperial Government, the Colonial Government, the India Government, and the people of India, should be held with a view to settle this whole affair once for all on a satisfactory basis. (Applause)

The various resolutions that will be moved by different speakers give expression to our views on the subject which has already been discussed threadbare. I will only refer to the resolution protesting against the attempt to which are being made to oust the Indians from their position which by dint of industry and aptitude they acquired in Zanzibar and East Africa long before England had acquired any rights in these countries. Whatever excuse may be made by the authorities in England as to their inability to help the cause of Indians in South Africa they have not even a shadow of excuse for forcing Indians in East Africa to endure a similar treatment unless they wish simply to please a few thousand white settlers in East Africa.

ENGLAND'S PRESTIGE AT STAKE

Gentlemen, let us warn our rulers in time not to barter away the prestige of England for justice throughout India in order to please a few white Imperialists—Imperialists of the well known type of Lord Cromwell, whose abid and bitter attack on Indians in East Africa shows the temper of the White Imperialists to whose tender mercies our people in East Africa are ultimately to be handed over. There is also a persistent rumour—of course with the stereotyped denial that one knows too well—that Zanzibar is to be kindly handed over by Sir Edward Grey to Germany for the sake of some concession on the Shat-ul-Arab and at Basra. It is high time that even Sir Edward Grey realised that the people of India and their interests should not be sacrificed as if they were mere pawns in the Imperial game; or cattle on an Imperial Estate, India being already referred to by a certain type of white Imperialists as an Imperial Estate. This type of Imperialist in his heart of hearts looks upon us as the live stock in that estate. We have very right to protest against our interests being disposed of in such a summary manner. We must make it clear at once that in the first place we want justice to done our brethren in South Africa already domiciled in that country and their honour and dignity preserved as citizens of the British Empire: especially, we appeal with all the fervour at our command that the status of Zanzibar be kept intact, and thirdly, we want to impress on the Imperial authorities that nothing can be done in British East

Africa further to prejudice the position of His Majesty's Indian subjects there or their free immigration into the country without bringing on a struggle worse than that in South Africa. These moderate and minimum demands must be made clear to our rulers in England at any price. (Cheers).

Gentlemen, I cannot close this speech without once more appealing to you to speak and to act in a way that will prove to the world that our loyalty is as sincere and deep-rooted as that of any white men, and that noblemen like Lord Hardinge, whose manful stand for justice has made a deep and profound impression on us, are the most precious asset of the Empire, and that however terrible the attempt of one unspeakable wretch on his life, there are many of us ready and willing to lay down our lives for his. We must act in such a way that any representation which the Indian Government may make should receive the fullest weight that can be given only when the prayer is from a loyal people. It is men of Lord Hardinge's calibre who have made the Government of India possible as well as an example of upright administration in the eyes of the whole world, and it is the presence in this country of such liberal minded statesmen that renders the control and direction of 300 millions of people by what is comparatively a handful (about 200,000 all told), permanently possible. (Applause)

I venture to make one more appeal, and that is to the Government of India not to allow the status of Indians in East Africa to be changed to their disadvantage. I am convinced that if the state of affairs goes from bad to worse in South as well as East Africa and Canada and other colonies, it will render the task of peaceful Government in India impossible. One last appeal and I have done. I appeal to this audience and to the people of India to remember that as there are bad white Imperialists, there are Imperialists equally white of whom we can well be proud. We believe in them. They follow the example of our Glorious Emperor. They are Imperialists after the Emperor's own heart. They love India, they trust India, and I ask you to prove that their trust in Indians is not misplaced. (Loud cheers.)

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were submitted and carried:—

That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay expresses its entire sympathy with their countrymen and countrywomen in South Africa in the sufferings and privations borne by them in their patriotic and united endeavours for the removal of the racial, social and economic disabilities imposed by the Immigration Restriction Act. It promises them the whole-hearted support of the public of this city and of the Bombay Presidency in their righteous struggle against such disabilities, and particularly regarding full recognition of the validity of marriages contracted within or without the South African Union according to Indian religious rites, and to obtain the repeal of the iniquitous £3 tax in Natal on ex-indentured Indians and their wives and children.

It exhorts the people of this country of all classes and creeds to subscribe liberally to funds that are being collected to help their fellow-countrymen in their self-sacrificing campaign in vindication of India's honour and of her peoples' rights and equal subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, and it appeals to His Majesty's Government to intervene on behalf of His Majesty's Indian subjects, and to insist on observance by the Union Government of those pledges and promises of which the non-fulfilment has compelled the revival of passive resistance, and in the last resort to exercise the right which vests in the Crown to veto the act of which the results are certain to be most injurious to the best interests of India and of the British Empire.

That this meeting conveys to His Excellency the Viceroy its profound gratitude for the emphatic manner in which he has associated himself with the appeal of His Majesty's Indian subjects to fair and honourable treatment in South Africa, and begs to assure His Excellency that he has greatly strengthened the foundations of British rule in the hearts and affections of the Indian people.

That this meeting places on record the feeling of indignation with which the people of India have been filled by reports of the cruel treatment of their countrymen in South Africa who are taking part in the strike, and expresses its earnest conviction, that nothing short of full and impartial enquiry into allegations made will satisfy public opinion in this country, and respectfully insists that Indians should be adequately represented among those entrusted with the task of carrying out such enquiry.

That this meeting protests against (a) attempts which are being made to oust the Indians from their position which by dint of their industry and aptitude they have acquired in British East Africa and Zanzibar, and appeals to the Government of India to protect the interest of its subjects against the machinations of those who wish to lower their status and to restrict their opportunities in this Crown Colony, and (b) the special restrictions placed on admission of the Indians to Canada exceeding those applicable to Japanese and Chinese by means of law requiring as conditions of admission to make a through journey from their country of origin to the Dominion, and against the obstacles placed in the way of admitting wives and minor children of the Indians who are domiciled in Canada. Votes of thanks to the Sheriff and the President concluded the proceedings.

TETE À TETE



The December number of the *National Review* received by last mail contains a very libelous article written by "Asiatius" on "India and the Mohamedan Danger." We hear so much about the high virtues of sobriety and moderation, which Anglo-Indian papers are very fond of parading at all times and seasons. We would like to know if dangerous and rabid writings like these do not teach worse lessons to Indians than the worst kind of seditious preachings in the Vernacular Press. This article contains a gross libel on Aligarh and its alumni. Aligarh and Aligarh men occupy such a unique and strong position that it could not be shaken by these outpourings. We take following passage from the article in question. In our next we would give it in full:—"A sinister feature of the new Moslem movement in India is that Aligarh graduates are in the van. They are thrusting aside the older men, joining hands with the Hindus, and openly preaching hostility to British rule. They have seized upon the Balkan War as a pretext for incendiary oratory. They pretend that the Powers of Europe are conspiring to seize the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and they are obtaining large sums from ignorant Mussalmans for the alleged purpose of preserving the Sacred Places from defilement by Christians. The old Indian game of spreading excitement by unfounded rumours is being steadily pursued. Moslems are told, and are being persuaded to believe, that hundreds of innocent devotees of the faith were shot down at Cawnpore by the brutal minions of the Government. There are much wild talk of rising. Attempts are being made to tamper with the loyalty of the Mohamedan troops. Foolish efforts, which meet with little response, have been made to get into touch with Moslem Governments of other countries. The Mohamedan population in the larger centres of India is getting thoroughly out of hand, and that is a development far more dangerous and menacing than all the Hindu plots and outrages of the last six years. When the Moslems of India grow disloyal, we are very near grave trouble." We are informed that the Aligarh Old Boys' Association propose to take strong action about this matter. We will deal with the substance of the whole article in our next.

Our readers are aware that Sir John Rees was one of the guests at the Islamic Society's dinner given in honour of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan. His behaviour on that occasion was noted in these columns, and we felt no surprise for Sir John has cultivated a singular style of marking his likes and dislikes ever since he got into Parliament. In regard, however, to this particular affair he has been pleased to offer an explanation to "India." He says:—"As there is an inaccurate statement of fact in a paragraph in your issue of November 14, about myself, pray allow me to explain that I have eyes so indifferent that I cannot face the cruel glare of innumerable unshaded electric lights at public dinners, still less the flashlight of the photographer, which calls for several folds of a napkin for protection. No one has ever objected and I have been less uncomfortable. All the rest is imagination. I listened often with sympathy and always with respectful attention, though with shaded eyes, to the speeches I heard from the Indian gentlemen present, and regretted that as we only sat down at quarter to nine, eleven o'clock, and my last train at 11-30, came before the speech list was nearly concluded." This is an adequate explanation, and would help to remove a misunderstanding. But Sir John Rees has an unfortunate knack of creating misunderstandings about himself whenever he tries to befriend India and her people.

A swift telegram from Mr. Mohamed Ali informs us that he and Mr. Wazir Hasan have safely landed in Bombay to-day. An earlier telegram from our Bombay correspondent gives details of the arrangements made by the Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam and the Moslem public to accord the distinguished Moslem representatives a warm reception. According to the programme furnished by our correspondent they were to be received at the Appolo Bunder by a deputation of the Anjuman. The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, President elect of the Agra session of the League, was to entertain them at lunch to which all the representative Mussalmans of Bombay had been invited. A public meeting will be held to-night at which Mr. Jinnah will preside, and we learn that a vote of appreciation for the services of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan will be moved at the meeting. Among the conveners of this meeting we find the names of the Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, C. I. E., Kt., the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy Ebrahim Kt the Hon'ble Mr. Fazulbhoj Meharah Chitoy, J. P., (Sheriff of Bombay), the Hon'ble Abdul Husein Adamjee Peerbhoy, Khan Sahib Kazi Mahomed Ali Murgay, (Chief Kazi of Bombay), Karimbhoj Adamjee Peerbhoy, Esq., Fazulbhoj Jumabhoj Lalji, Esq., J. P., Mahomed Hajibhoj Lalji, Esq., J. P., Alibhoj M. Jeewanjee, Esq., Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., J. P., (Bar-at-Law), Suleman Mulla Dawood Esquire, Meen Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chitani, Esq., J. P., Sheriff Dewjee Kanji J. P., Badrudin Abdulla Koor, Esq., M. H. Mukha, Esq., J. P., S. E. Kurwa Esq., (Bar-at-Law), Fazul Mooraj, Esq., Suleman H Ebrahim, Esq., Dawoodbhoj Fazulbhoj, Esquire, M. T. Kaderbhoj, Esq., (Bar-at-law), and Moulvi Abdul Raof Khan, (Honorary Secretary, Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam). Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, will leave Bombay on Sunday afternoon by the Panjab Mail and reach Agra on the 22nd instant, where they will break journey for the night. They will reach Delhi on 23rd at 4 p. m. The Mussalmans of Delhi are making preparations to give them a hearty reception. Their stay at Delhi will be brief, as, according to present arrangements, they will leave for Lucknow via Cawnpore on the night. Preparations are, we understand, being made at Lucknow to give them a befitting welcome, and a public meeting will probably be held with a view to hear Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali with regard to their mission in England. They would leave Lucknow on the 25th to attend the Moslem Education Conference and the League at Agra.

Owing to the forthcoming sessions of the Moslem Educational Conference and the All-India Moslem League, the *Comrade* will not appear on the 27th instant. We will, however, try to make up for the disappointment of our readers by issuing a double number on the 3rd of January which will naturally contain much interesting and readable matter. We have also to apologise to our readers for the fact that we are sending a combined issue even this week. The serious illness of the editor has been responsible for this, and in fact for all the irregularities that have dogged our footsteps. We need not make excuses, in fact have none to offer. We only trust that we will speedily surmount our difficulties, and our misfortunes will come to an end.

The unfortunate incidents that have occurred at Agra during the Moharrum have been deplored with becoming decorum by the Hindu Press, but as usual every effort has been made to place the facts in a false perspective. We publish elsewhere an account of the occurrences which we believe is accurate, and which in its main features is borne out by the reports published by the Anglo-Indian Press. It is hard to deny in the face of this and other independent testimony that the disturbances were caused by the aggressive and militant attitude of the Hindus. Marriage parties with their music and tom-tom and other wild cries invented for the occasion were in themselves no small provocation. And we cannot admire the wisdom of the Magistrate who allowed these parties to proceed along the streets through which the Moharrum processions were to pass. But this was not all. A *tazia* was deliberately burnt by the Hindus, guns were fired, and stones and brickbats were thrown at the Mussalmans from honsetops. We have only one comment to make. Those who had talked loudest of Ajudhya and of Hindu sentiment ought in fairness to think of Moslem sentiment as well, and to realise the consequences of the growth of a spirit of militant aggressiveness amongst the Hindu "democracy," which has been perceptible to several observers of late. As long, however as unity-mongers of the type of the

Leaders of Allahabad are the presiding geni of the Hindu national-ism, the Mussalmans will have to depend on their own wits for self-protection.

Fauwaz and admirers of Dr. Ansari will be glad to hear that Colonel Smith, I. M. S. of Amritsar operated successfully on the eyes of Mrs. Ansari, who during the absence of her husband in Turkey very quickly lost the sight of both of her eyes. Mrs. Ansari is still in Amritsar but doing well. The presence of Dr. Ansari at Amritsar even on a short visit was taken advantage of for the work which was very dear to him, i.e., the colonization scheme for the refugees in Turkey, and he was requested by the Mussalmans to deliver a lecture illustrated with magic lantern films. Mr. Mohammed Omer, Barrister-at-Law and Sirdar Sikandar Hayat Khan, had previously issued notices about the lectures. On the 29th November admission tickets were issued and there was a full house. On the 30th, admission was free, but collection was made after the lecture. The house was crowded, every nook and corner of the building was packed with people. Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians were present. The first lecture gave illustrated account of the All-India Medical Mission, and its two hospitals, one near Chetalya at Hindia, and the other at Chanak Qela, near Dardanelles. The different wards with patients, the dispensary, the operation room, the store room, kitchen, officers' mess, officer's tents, ambulance work, the visit of such distinguished guests as Ahmed Izzet Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief, Ezer Bey, Talaat Bey, Bassim-Omer Pasha, Chief of the Ottoman Red Crescent and many interesting pictures of fortifications were exhibited which were very much appreciated by the public. Then portraits of all the famous Ottoman Generals, Naval officers, statesmen and other public and literary men were shown. A considerable sum was received, the exact amount of which is not yet known. The second lecture on the 30th gave pictures of the Ottoman Army and Navy, Constantinople, its environments, the Sultan's palaces the famous mosques and shrines, pictures of famous historical places and buildings in Anatolia and finally some very touching and pathetic pictures of the refugees. These were so realistic that the crowd was visibly overcome with emotion. After the lecture a large sum was collected. The crowd gave a tremendous ovation to the lecturer when he was thanked by Mr. Omer, Barrister at Law. The money collected is going to be sent to the "Comrade" office for the colonisation fund. Dr. Ansari intends giving similar lectures in other places, as time and occasion would allow him. It is hoped that the Muslim public would help him in this task of mercy and humanity and subscribe liberally towards

the نوآبادي مهاجرين

The committee of the London Moslem League has at last been assured by its President, Vice-President and Treasurer that they would continue to hold their respective offices which they had never actually resigned. The threat of resignation was only Mr. Ameer Ali's favourite bluff, and this time it was purposely allowed to create loud sensation, because the Right Honourable gentlemen desired to beat his own drum in public. He has indulged in some tremendous flourishes which seem to have done his heart an infinity of good. He has been in search of a stage and an audience, has, in fact laboured strenuously to create both. But his "creations" have not apparently risen up to the dignity of the tragic rôle that he had assumed, and hence his anxious hurry to don his pontifical robes again with as much formality as he could extract from a muddled and distracting situation. Mr. Shafi, a nervous committee at Allahabad and the Secretary of the Moradabad District League have restored self-respect to Mr. Ameer Ali, and a kindly exhortation from his own London Committee has given him strength enough to reconstruct his shattered sense of duty to his community. When we look back at the dinner episode and Mr. Ameer Ali's paltzy evasions and insinuations, and his final threat to resign, when we consider the ostensible reasons of his resignation, and the vital issue of principle that emerged out of the dispute, and place them side by side with the last act when his melodrama comes to an end, we cannot help wondering at a levity that has perpetrated such a farce.

Mr. Ameer Ali would not resign his office because he has discovered at the last moment that his services are needed by his community. But he has evidently forgotten that there exists such a thing as Lord Chamberlain, and that political dinners have not been placed under a ban. And the central point of the dispute, i.e., the relationship of the All-India Moslem League with the London League, has yet to be decided. Does Mr. Ameer Ali imagine that the votes of his faithful henchmen from Lahore and Allahabad, have given him a mandate for dictatorship? We trust he cherishes no such illusions.

The Comrade.

A Faithful Henchman.

Among the things that prompted Mr. Ameer Ali to quarrel with Mr. Wazir Hasan in so abrupt and light-hearted a fashion was probably his mental vision of a Moslem India stricken dumb and disconsolate by the shocking news that its one great man had been forced to relinquish his onerous task of presiding over the fortunes of Islam in the world. The greatest tragedies, however, look mean to the actual on-lookers; and the Reuter's cable-grams about Mr. Ameer Ali's first act only puzzled the Indian Mussalmans who did not see in the resignation of the Right Honourable gentleman any cosmic portent foreshadowing fearful catastrophe to their political existence. There was, however, one man amongst them, possessing remarkable powers of adaptability to environment, who found in the moves of Mr. Ameer Ali a clear hint and a much-needed illumination. We mean, of course, the Hon. Mr. Shafi, by the grace of God, Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Moslem League. Now, whatever we may say of Mr. Shafi in other respects, no one can accuse him of that irredeemable folly—consistency in politics. He is perfect in the art of trimming his sails to the latest wind that might blow. Expediency has throughout his public career been his creed, his divinity, his all. He knows it perhaps more than any other of his compatriots how sweet it is to keep oneself ingratiated in the good graces of the powers-that-be. He has equally learnt not without some painful experience that even the proudest head must occasionally bow itself to King Demos. No one has, of course, ever taken Mr. Shafi seriously whenever he has performed the latter feat, though all would recognise that such performances have helped him to keep his head above the water-line.

Only a few months ago the stress of circumstances had made the art of rope dancing difficult even for Mr. Shafi to exercise with his former ease. The Cawnpore mosque affair proved a searching test, and Mr. Shafi could avoid complete exposure only through a convenient "attack of chill." It is hard to analyse the tortures of the position which reduces one to whispering humbleness in the ante-chambers of the great and nervous nooks and surreptitious smiles in the presence of the crowd. They were, indeed, hard days for Mr. Shafi, who found his tongue only when a kindly fate provided him with a congenial company at Delhi. He was reassured—there were still enough men of big pretensions who were fashioned like him. All was not lost. He took "Moderation" as his rallying-cry and preached the text with gusto to his committee at Lahore. He roundly accused the Mussalmans of folly and rashness and the Moslem Press of having excited and inflamed the passions of the mob. Oh! the charlatancy of those that traffic in political nostrums. His Excellency the Viceroy went shortly after to Cawnpore to settle the affairs in person. The Moslem grievances were thought serious and genuine enough by the highest representative of the Crown. We do not know whether Mr. Shafi felt the snub that the Viceroy indirectly administered to all those who had regarded Moslem excitement and agitation as exaggerated and artificial. For adventurous politics it is perhaps necessary to have a tough skin and a very flexible moral texture.

Mr. Shafi's gratitude was duly telegraphed to the Viceroy, but we have a ghost of a suspicion that he did not exactly like the turn the event had taken. He had deplored the excitement that existed in the Moslem community, but he felt it in his heart of hearts that it was precisely this excitement which would give him and other "Moderates" by profession an opportunity to get astide the situation once more. The settlement at Cawnpore took the wind completely out of his sails. It was quite a stroke of good luck that Mr. Ameer Ali soon emerged on the scene with his threat of resignation and his both hands outstretched for credentials and title-deeds to dictatorship. Mr. Shafi saw his opportunity again and has since been trying to avail himself of it with frantic endeavours.

We have said above that Mr. Shafi abhors consistency in politics as the atmosphere abhors a vacuum. There is, however, one glaring exception which shows that Mr. Shafi can be consistent when it serves his ultimate expediency. He has been a faithful henchman to Mr. Ameer Ali ever since he began to take active part in communal affairs. He looks upon Mr. Ameer Ali as his political guru, for he is convinced that whatever might happen, Mr. Ameer Ali would never err on the dangerous side. On every important occasion he has drawn his inspiration from London and tried to copy the tones of the oracle. Mr. Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory primary education was opposed by him with peculiar virulence because Mr. Ameer Ali had supplied the cue. In the recent quarrel he professed to have heard of

Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation with profound shock and desired the whole community to go on its knees and implore Mr. Ameer Ali not to forsake a hapless people in their hour of need; and he did all this when the Reuter's cablegrams were his sole basis of judgment. He did not wait for details and cared little for the full text of the correspondence, for it was no concern of his to try to understand the basis of dispute and its bearing on wider issues of principle. He was only in search for a new cry to rally his "Moderates" and the London dispute has furnished him an ideal occasion to talk wildly and sententiously.

Mr. Shafi is up at his old game again. He has fastened on Mr. Ameer Ali's confidential circular letter and sent it the round of his "Moderates" with a characteristic tag of his own. He talks of Moslem policy and young spirits and of the danger of the whole community's drifting towards a precipice. He wants sober and experienced men (like himself) to assert themselves and take the direction of communal affairs in their own hands, otherwise he is afraid of revolutionary propaganda being preached from Moslem political platforms. All this nonsense is not wholly meaningless and irrelevant. It is, perhaps deliberately, mischievous. It implies unreservedly that there is a section of the Mussalmans who are striving to commit the whole community to some sort of a revolutionary policy. In the name of all that is ludicrous, who are they? Or is the inclusion of the attainment of self-government amongst the objects of the League weighing on the nerves of Mr. Shafi? If this is what he calls dangerous to Moslem policy, then he should state it so in frank and definite terms and get out of unworthy innuendoes into a manlier position. He should not be afraid of being called a turncoat, for in the practice of his political creed such awkward shifts are not very rare. But if he does not mean to tear out of the Moslem political creed enunciated at Lucknow its most important article, then his talk about policy and drift and other vague dangers is mischievous and is a direct libel on the patriotism and honesty of a most important section of the Mussalmans whose loyalty to the communal causes and devotion to the communal aims is the only redeeming feature in the dismal record of failure, selfishness and ineptitude which constitutes the "services of the well-tried and most experienced leaders of the community." His method of turning round and holding up the Mussalmans at least their most virile section as dangerous men, who might soon be playing with sedition, is a new development. The Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College is cultivating this method to perfection. He has felt no shame in posing a mischievous question in the Agenda of the meeting to be held on the 1st of January which he has issued to the Trustees. He invites the Trustees to decide whether it is desirable for the Honorary Secretary of the College to keep good relations with the Government. He means, in fact, that his unpopularity is due to his close and friendly relations with the authorities. In other words, this unworthy successor of Sir Syed unblushingly accuses the Mussalmans of hostility to Government. He would have the authorities believe that Mussalmans are pursuing dangerous courses and his efforts to keep them from such a folly have exposed him to violent criticisms in the Press. May we not hope that a resolution would be moved in the forthcoming Educational Conference calling upon the Honorary Secretary to prove his vile charge or else to tender an apology to the community and forthwith resign his office. Men of such gross incompetence cannot be suffered long to mismanage communal affairs.

It is sad to think of Aligarh and of the ideals of Sir Syed, and of the type of men who have succeeded to that great trust—hogwash hitting in a palace! the place had seen greater men than they. The Honorary Secretary of Aligarh is not alone in playing the new game. As we have said Mr. Shafi has been exploiting the situation to the full and moving on the track of Nawab Ishaq Khan. We know all men of this kidney have been exhorted to come to Agra and swamp the meetings of the League. But if Mr. Shafi and his tribe imagine that they can capture the League by such false and cowardly cries as he has recently invented, they are grossly mistaken. The community is no longer a mere pawn, nor are the deliberations of the League a mere matter of clever manoeuvring. The smooth-tongued adventurer that not long ago figured on the platform with neat schemes of self-aggrandisement at the back of his brain is an absurdity that has ceased to be tolerable. Men of genuine convictions, honesty of purpose and frank and manly bearing can alone inspire confidence in the councils of the community. The All-India Moslem League has already a considerable number of men of this stamp in its ranks and the numbers are growing daily. It is true the constitution of the League is not democratic in spirit and substantial changes will have to be made to make it a free, strong and efficient instrument of Moslem democracy. The existing defects have been emphasised by recent events. Mr. Shafi, for instance, controls a committee practically packed by his nominees and is thus enabled to trade freely in the name of the community. Reforms shall have to be undertaken with a view to break down despotism and render all our political organisations thoroughly democratic.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Agra Disturbance.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

Now that the *Moharram* is over it is necessary to give out to the public a true correct statement of facts so that they may not be misled by a garbled and wholly incorrect version given by the correspondents of the Hindu Organ in these provinces, the *Leader* in which it is repeatedly made out that the Hindus have suffered and suffered greatly. It is a pity that a paper which is always crying for the Hindu-Mohamedan Union should take up the matter in that strain and after the ignorant masses of both the communities have ceased to indulge in actual warfare to start the fight afresh by mutual recriminations between the educated people, and thus add fuel to the almost extinguished fire. One would have thought that the *Leader* in the face of protestations that it makes from time to time would refrain from making such ill-considered and incorrect statements, and use its influence in extinguishing the flames left flickering in mind of people, and not attempt to fan them by doing anything which may have the effect of keeping the fire alive for a long time. However, it is for those responsible for the paper to choose the way that they consider best in the interest of the country. In the early days of *Moharram* the air was thick with the rumours that marriage processions were to pass the city during *Moharram* period, a time it is hardly necessary for me to say when the entire Mohamedan world is plunged into deep mourning. The marriage procession was taken out on the 8th of *Moharram* and not only was that but when the *Taziyas* passed at the usual fixed hour along Rawatpara street, in both sides of which are the shops and houses of Hindus alone, bricks were thrown from the house tops at the *Taziyas*. It is also needless for me to say in what deep veneration the *Taziyas* are held by the Mohamedans, and have dearly they love and respect them, sometime spending their all and a whole years' labour on them, and nothing could be more painful, more humiliating and more heart breaking to them than to see their *Taziyas* pelted with stones and bricks from house tops. A small row occurred here between Hindus and Mohamedans in which one of the *Taziyas* was burnt up by the Hindus and a *Sabil* broken. This row was however quickly put down by the police. The Mohamedan feelings were so much wounded by the passing of marriage procession, the burning of *Taziyas*, the breaking of the *Sabil*, and the pelting of the bricks that those alone who know the veneration and respect in which the *Taziyas* and *Sabils* are held by them can imagine. The Mohamedans in spite of this, be it said to their credit and marvellous control, only put down *Taziyas* and said that they would not move until their grievances were redressed. The authorities, however, prevailed upon them and they moved. On the 9th *Moharram* when all the *Taziyas* are being taken out through the city the authorities ordered that the *Taziyas* should finish their round by 3 p.m. This, it must again be said to the credit of the Mohamedans, they did, finishing the march of a procession extending almost a mile in length by almost the time fixed for it. They had absolutely no idea that a marriage procession was to pass through the city that day too. In the evening, however, a marriage procession with music playing—an unprecedented thing in the annals of Agra—was allowed to pass, this deeply wounded the Mohamedan feelings. On this occasion on which the police was in great force some Mohamedan by-standers who were looking at this show with surprise were caught hold of by the Hindus who were in great number, beaten and mercilessly assaulted by them, and were handed over to the police who put them in the lock-up for absolutely no reason.

There was no limit to the mortification of feelings of Mohamedans and all they did was to resolve not to observe *Ashura*, the next day till their brethren who had done absolutely nothing, and against whom there was no evidence were released, and they were assured of their safety as they had by this time come to know that the Hindus had made preparations to pelt them with bottles and

stones from the tops of their houses, and had also called in Ahirs and other *Brahmins* in order to desecrate their *Tazyas*.

Having been assured by the District Magistrate of the safe passage of *Tazya* they consented to take out their *Tazyas*, and as advised by the District Magistrate they did not carry even sticks in their hands.

While the procession was conducting itself peacefully, bricks were thrown from house tops and guns aimed at them at Belanganj. Several of them were seriously injured and many received hurts. There being no satisfactory police arrangement, they had to return home without performing the ceremony of the Burial of *Tazyas*. The Mohamedans then resolved not take out *Tazyas* unless their safety was completely assured. The 11th *Moharram* passed without any incident except that the Hindus assailed the solitary Mohamedans here and there and many are still lying wounded at their homes. The Mohallas Phulatti, Belanganj and Rawatpara are the centres where brickbating was most furious and obstinate. On the night preceding *Tiya* the authorities were able to give assurance as to the safe passage of the *Tazyas*, which were taken out on the 13th of December instead of 10th while the *Tiya* procession followed at night on the same date.

These are pure and simple facts and they would speak themselves as to the fact whether the Mohamedans were the sufferers or the Hindus. They, however, lead to the following conclusions.—

1. The brickbating was so persistent that the *Tazya* procession could not be taken along on the *Ashra* day and people had to return home with the *Tazya*. The Mohamedans did not fight at all.

2. While the *Leader* admits that low class Hindus may have thrown bricks, it ignores the fact that along the road at Belanganj it is the Hindu gentry which resides, and bricks were coming from them and guns were aimed at from their houses, and that both the things stopped on the *Tiya* day when the procession was taken out as soon as the Hindu gentry were enrolled as constables.

3. That it points to the fact that the Hindu gentry or influential people were all the time enjoying the whole position, and the sufferings of their Mohamedan brethren and did not stir themselves until they were legally bound to do so.

4. That as soon as they were bound, brick-throwing ceased.

5. That the Mohamedans conducted themselves peacefully and only protested by not taken out their *Tazyas*.

6. A grievance has been made of the fact that the Hindus' shops were closed, but every one who knows the facts, knows very well that the shops were maliciously closed by the Hindus in order to starve the Mohamedan, and the allegations of loot and plunder against the Mohamedan are go wholly unfounded. An idea can be formed of the intensity of the Hindu feelings not only by the fact that *Radmas* from different places were hired to assault the Mohamedans, but that students from Boarding houses also took part in the fight. It further shows that behind the Hindu feeling there was the support not only of the low class Hindus as the *Leader* calls it, but of people of some education and influence also. A question may be asked here why the Hindus took that aggressive and most reprehensible attitude.

It is easily answerable. They knew from the very commencement that marriage processions were most obnoxious to the Mohamedans during the *Moharram* and they anticipated disturbances. They had made the arrangements beforehand as their young men had what they considered a grievance to be bound down by custom not to take out their procession during the *Moharram* though they ought to have known that besides the sanction of custom there were something like sympathy with people in mourning which amounts to moral duty.

Yours truly,
S. AGA ALI.

The Salvation Army.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

DEAR SIR,—I trust you will kindly allow me to give in your columns our version of the recent difficulty in connection with our Beriah Settlement at Aligarh.

Your informant was not present when the trouble arose. It occurred as follows :—

One of our Beriahs came to inform our Manager on Sunday afternoon that there were four students from the College who were trying to get hold of one of our girls, who was at work in the moat just outside the Fort wall. The Manager at once went out and found the students trying to get the girl away. She had refused to go, though they had offered her money, and in seizing her had broken some glass bangles which she wore. As soon as they caught sight of the Manager they immediately ran away. The Beriahs, however, gave chase and two of the four were captured.

The Manager then said that he must take them to the Principal of the College. He had on a previous occasion when the same thing had happened contented himself with taking the name of the student, but afterwards found he had been given a false name, so that it was impossible to identify the culprit. This time, therefore, he made up his mind that he would go with the students and personally report the matter to the Principal. He was joined by two other students on the way, and they walked quietly along without any difficulty till they reached the Minto Circle. Here there was an outcry made by the students, who rushed at the Manager and at some Beriahs who were with him and treated them very roughly. The Manager himself, Captain Francis, received a severe knock on the head besides kicks, while the Beriahs were also very roughly handled.

Amongst those who witnessed the scene was Mr. Wallace, and I think he will bear our Manager out in saying that the Beriahs behaved with the greatest forbearance under the greatest provocation, and I am told that they neither used foul language nor returned blows which they were receiving.

I think it will be recognised that we are dealing with a very difficult problem in the interests of the general public, Mohamedan as well as Hindu. We have had many visitors to the Fort including representatives from the College staff and from the students themselves, and the feeling has been most friendly, and the remarks most complimentary in regard to the work carried on.

Several students have come to the Fort for instruction in silk reeling, and we have gladly afforded them every facility for learning that occupation.

I hardly think that one solitary incident of this character which has occurred in the nearly three years that the work has been in existence should call for such a drastic proposal as that of the removal of the settlement from its location. The placing of the Fort out of bounds will doubtless largely avoid any recurrence of the difficulty, and we on our side are making special arrangements that no temptation should be put in the way of the students by the women of the Tribe.

With regard to the future great Mohamedan University to which you refer, may I be allowed to suggest that it would seem as though Delhi rather than Aligarh would be the natural centre for such an institution, but even if Aligarh should remain the great centre for Mohamedan education we cannot help thinking that the existence of a great philanthropic effort of this character in the neighbourhood of the College cannot but furnish a moral stimulus to the students of a valuable character, as we have good reason to believe it has already done.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) F. BOOTH TUCKER.

Moslem Mission in England.

Further Correspondence with Lord Crewe.

We publish below the last letter sent by Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Monamed Ali to Lord Crewe and the reply received from the India Office.—

YOUR LORDSHIP,—Although we greatly regret Your Lordship's final decision not to accord the interview which we had solicited, we trust Your Lordship would accord to the copy of a letter which we have received from H. H. the Aga Khan, the consideration that it deserves.

We have already indicated how we were being misled by the *Times* and some other Tory papers, and how our rejoinders were either returned to us unpublished, or badly mutilated and curtailed. In that way considerable injustice was done to us socially by mis-statements regarding the object and the genesis of the proposals of H. H. the Aga Khan to give us a public dinner.

But much more serious was the reflection which these writings cast on the political attitude and temper, not only of ourselves but also of what His Highness the Aga Khan calls "the growing class" which we represent amongst the Mohamedans of India.

We hope H. H. the Aga Khan's letter will vindicate us not only socially, but politically as well, and that His Majesty's Government would not be influenced in any way against us and those whom we represent by what the Aga Khan calls "the absurd but

some the less mischievous theory that has got abroad," that those whom we represent and we ourselves "have sympathy or something in common with the extremists of the Tilak school or with the mad political pan-Islamists." Our loyalty to the Government is, as His Highness said, "undoubted" and the charges brought against our community generally are "false." This is what His Highness sincerely believes to be the fact and he makes it clear in his letter that he had nothing to do with the "disastrous complications" that arose on His Highness' departure, and the publication of the *Times* article on the 31st October.

For purposes of some official record in India Office of these "disastrous complications" we venture to send herewith a complete copy of the correspondence that took place between the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali and one of us.

We apologise for taking so much of Your Lordship's time and remain.

Your Lordship's humble and obedient servants.

Belgrave Mansions,
Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.,
20th November, 1913.

WAZIR HASAN.
MOHAMED ALI.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by Lord Crews to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th November, enclosing copy of correspondence which has passed between yourselves, H. H. the Aga Khan and the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali. I am to say that His Lordship will be glad to read such letters among those forwarded as he has not already seen in the Press, and that he will bring the correspondence to the notice of the authorities in India.

I am,

Yours truly,

INDIA OFFICE,
21st November, 1913.

(Sd.) T. W. HOLDENESS.

Distinguished Indians in Edinburgh.

The "Scotsman."

THE FATALISM OF THE EAST AND WEST.

In the North British Station Hotel, on Saturday evening, the Edinburgh Islamic Society had as their guest to dinner Mr. Mohamed Ali, editor of the *Comrade*, Delhi, and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of the *Zamindar*, Lahore, was also to have been honoured, but indisposition prevented his appearance. A number of Britishers were also amongst the company, which was presided over by Mr. G. M. Khan, M.A., B.Sc., President of the Society.

The first toasts honoured were those of the King and the Sultan.

The Chairman, in proposing "The Guests of the Evening," said their meeting was an occasion unique, in the annals of the Society, which would always look back upon the visit of so distinguished men as Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, for every Indian knew their names and the position they held in respect to their country.

Mr. Mohamed Ali, in acknowledging the toast, said that many of them who had been years away from India would hardly recognise the position now. Whatever greatness there was in his brother-guest and himself was due, not to themselves, but to the death of great ones and to the death of great ones. Since they had come to England, they had, unfortunately not found any evidence that the people on England understood the position in India, and the hopes and aspirations of its people. They had been told that their backwardness was due to fatalism, that they believed in predestination. Well he need not apologise for the doctrine of predestination in Scotland—(laughter)—but in spite of that predestination Scotland had worked out her own destiny in her own way. The Moslems had realised their destiny in the past in spite of the doctrines of fatalism and predestination. Fatalism after all only recognised that there was a destiny which shapes our ends, rough how them as we may. (Applause). But a new kind of fatalism was preached to them, and preached from the scientific West. And instead of considering a law of immigration and a 25 poll-tax in Natal, they had much greater things to consider. It was imagined that in the darker races there was something inferior, that God had given them not only skins of darker hue, but also a darkness that was moral as well as physical, and that inferior races should never come into contact and competition with the people of the West. But it was only by competition that progress could come, for if each remained in their own little sphere, what chance could there be of progress? It would appear that if the darker races must for ever be looked upon in this way the fatalism of the West was worse than the fatalism of the East. (Applause). He wished his view could reach that great public beyond the room in which they now were, and that the people of Britain could realise what was the import of the struggles of not only the Moslems of India, but of the people throughout the Eastern world. He believed that the struggle

would go on, and he hoped and prayed that guidance would come to the Imperial Government and to the English people, so that they would realise the responsibilities which rested upon them.

INDIA'S LACKING FACTORS.

In a reference to the Cawnpore incident the speaker paid a compliment to the wisdom and the courage of Lord Hardinge, and he proceeded to say that those of them who had been in India knew that there was there a deity of prestige, which was really nothing more than personal vanity seeking refuge under the larger name of patriotism. And if by such means victories were gained against the people, then it was a victory which in the end was the worst defeat. In democratic England, and particularly in democratic Scotland it was not possible to go on contending with the people. In this country the people's wishes were made known by the Press and from the platform, and if Britain was to preserve her own race instincts it was impossible for Britain to rule by despotism. There had been factors wanting in the development of the East and it was miraculous that those factors should have come, not across the Himalayas, but from a little island 7000 miles away and patriot and nationalist as he was he would say this, that if by the pressing of button he could send every Englishman and for it was Celtic government in India—(laughter)—every Scotsman and every Irishman back to those islands, he would rather cut off his right hand than press that button. But, to quote the words of a great Liberal statesman, good government could never be a substitute for self-government (Applause). No man cared to put his judgment absolutely under the control of anybody else. Many young men were sent to India and put there in charge of a wide district, and very seldom came into contact with the people, or endeavoured to learn what was passing in the hearts of the people. In short, the official in India did not try to lift the brain cap of the East. In view of this, what were the Indians to do? Were they to allow grievances to mount up until they culminated in assassinations and riots or were they to follow British lines and criticise the policy on the platform and in the Press? He believed their duty was to warn the Government of those things and point the remedy, but the Press was not given freedom, nor could they speak in public of their grievances. Under the sedition laws almost anything spoken or written could be brought under the law. On the British Government and the British people there depended the happiness or unhappiness of one-fifth of the whole human race, and it was not a small trust.

In a reference to the Balkan War, the speaker said their temper had been sorely tried, and he proceeded to criticise the utterances of British statesmen in regard to Turkey. Continuing he said that India was full of gratitude, and that a little kindness went a long way, and, in any case, if there was no gratitude, when Britain had acted justly, the Western people would never fear their own conscience, and their God would never up-braid them.

IGNORANCE OF INDIA.

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan in proposing "The Islamic Society," dealt fully with the movement to unite the Hindus and the Moslems of India and proceeded thereafter to ask if it was possible that the progress of India, should stagnate with the great education which their rulers had given them? It had pained him to realise the ignorance of India with which he had met since he came to England, but the duty of Indians was plain. They would knock at the door until they had taught Britain her duty, and though the door remained closed they would still let them know what were the opinions and the aspirations of the Indian people. (Applause).

Amongst the other toasts proposed were the "Aima Mater," by Mr. M. Raza Khan acknowledged by Professor T. H. Beare; "Our Guests," by Mr. Syed Shahjahan Baharkhany, reply by Mr. A. H. Campbell.

"Edinburgh Evening News."

A complimentary dinner to Messrs. Mohamed Ali, Syed Wazir Hasan, and Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the "Comrade," Delhi, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, and editor, of the "Zamindar," Lahore, respectively, was given in the North British Station Hotel, Edinburgh, on Saturday night, in connection with the Edinburgh Islamic Society. Mr. G. M. Khan, M.A., B.Sc., President of the Society, who was in the chair, intimated that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was unable to be present through indisposition.

In giving the toast of "The Guests of the Evening," the Chairman introduced Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan as representative men of India, and as representing public opinion and feeling there. He referred to the excellent work they had done in connection with the Moslems, and for India as a whole. They had come on a mission to this country with a view to dispelling the clouds of ignorance of Indian affairs from the eyes of the British public which was carried away with a distortion of the facts, and he hoped that their mission would lead to success. As leaders in India, they had tried their best to bring about a better understanding between the Hindus and the Moslems. They had

thrown themselves heart and soul into the work, and had but one desire, that of the future welfare of India.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS WANTED.

Mr. Mohamed Ali, in reply, said as a student at Oxford he had a great desire to visit Edinburgh, and it was a special pleasure for him to be with them that night. Referring to the fight which was being made in India for the liberty of the press, he said in the West, the people's wishes were known in constitutional ways—by votes, meetings, and through the press, and, if not by these means, by speeches on the door-step of the Prime Minister's residence. (Laughter.) In India it was different. There they had both a preventive and penal law with regard to the press, and there were only two labels in use, the one being that of loyalty, and the other that of sedition. Their mission was to remind the people of this country that if they really wished that their rule over India should last they would have to think of Indians as fellow-subjects. "We are people," he said, "whom you have educated and of whom you can only expect one thing, namely, self-respect and a desire to share the privileges of this country."

MOSLEMS AND HINDUS.

Mr. Hasan, in giving the toast of "The Islamic Society," referred to the part the Moslem League had taken in the amelioration of India as a whole. There was a unity to be earnestly desired between the Moslems and the Hindus. It was the unity for the furtherance of good government, and for the government which India had in its mind, that of self-government. He regretted very much that the average mind of Englishmen was not happy to them, and was surprised at their colossal ignorance of Indian affairs. On arriving in England they were surprised by being hailed as "firebrands." They met with a very cold reception. There was a close conspiracy against them, and a feeling that they ought to be boycotted. In concluding he said India was awakening to a sense of her injustice, and he hoped that the time would soon arrive when justice would be done.

Mr. M. H. Alihan replied, and several other toasts followed.

Moslems in London.

Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali's Farewell Luncheon.

(SPECIAL REPORT FOR "INDIA.")

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, who are sailing for India on December 5, entertained a large company of friends at luncheon at the Waldorf Hotel yesterday afternoon (November 27). At the request of the hosts, Sir Henry Cotton presided, and among those present were Lord Headley, Mr. D. M. Mason, M.P., Dr. Christopher Addison, M.P., Mr. E. N. Bannet, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. Charles Garvice, Mr. Allen Upward, Sir Shapurjee Broacha, Sir Manchery Bhowaggre, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. A. G. Gardiner (Editor of the *Daily News*), Mr. Perry Parker (Editor of *Public Opinion*), Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Arnold, Miss Beck, Dr. V. H. Rutherford, Mr. H. W. Newinson, Mr. S. H. Swinny, Dr. T. Miller Maguire, Mr. Valentin Williams (*Daily Mail*), Dr. Pollen, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, L.C.C., Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Mr. J. Frederick Green, Mr. F. Gibbs, Major M. H. Grant (*Times*), Colonel Rhida Nath, I.M.S., Major N. P. Sinha, I.M.S., Mr. C. A. Latif, Miss Houston Gibbs, Mr. and Mrs. B. Dube, Dr. J. N. Mehta, Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, Aga Jelal Shuh, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Nalid Bey, Capt. Enver Bey, Lieut. Saleh Morad, Mr. E. Dalgado, Mr. J. M. Parikh, Mr. Syed Hossain, Ghaffar Khan (Persian Legation), and Varukh Bey and Haispaddin Effendi (Turkish Embassy).

SIR HENRY COTTON.

Sir Henry Cotton said they had assembled that afternoon to bid farewell to their friends, Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali. He was delighted to see they had made so many friends in England, and that they had gathered such an influential company around them that afternoon. He had, on their behalf, to say how much they appreciated the services these gentlemen had rendered to the cause of unity in India, and the work they had done in furtherance generally of Indian interests. Most of them had felt a keener interest in Indian affairs since they had had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of their hosts. He only wished to add, with reference to the deplorable condition of affairs in South Africa, his congratulations on the fact that they had such a splendid man as their Viceroy in India. (Cheers.) Lord Hardinge, in the speech he delivered two days ago, completely voiced the opinion of India, and had done much to soothe and pacify the feeling in that country, which was rapidly rising to a very dangerous degree of irritation. (Cheers.)

LORD HEADLEY.

Lord Headley, at the invitation of the Chairman, then addressed the gathering and took the opportunity to describe as ridiculous

the published announcement that he had renounced allegiance to His Majesty the King as the result of his conversion to Islam. He was, he declared, a most loyal subject of King George.

MR. ZANGWILL.

Mr. Israel Zangwill said he was in favour of self-government for all races, including even such a low race as women. (Laughter.) He had always held the opinion that the English blundered into India as they blundered into most things, and the best they could wish for her now was not to blunder out of India, but by a long, careful, diplomatic and statesmanlike process so to govern India as to make the people of that country wish to remain an integral portion of our empire in exactly the same way as Canada and South Africa. He hoped that before long India would be granted the fullest measure of self-government. Lord Hardinge was a strong man, but unlike most strong men he could appreciate what was in other men's minds as well as his own.

DR. RUTHERFORD.

Dr. Rutherford expressed a hope that the people of India would at no distant date get self-government and Home Rule, and that the English people would be made to feel that they had never succeeded in their mission in the world until India did govern herself. The Indians, by the grand stand they were making in South Africa, were showing that they had the courage of their convictions, and the sooner both Briton and Boer gave justice liberty, and equal rights to Indian subjects in South Africa, the sooner would they get that credit which such action alone could entitle them to. He desired to wish their hosts God speed in their work. The growing solidarity between Hindus and Moslems was one of the greatest achievements of the time.

MISS HOUSTON GIBBS.

Miss Houston Gibbs, next addressed the gathering and made a fervent appeal on behalf of the Turkish race, and in favour of the efforts to bring about the reign of peace.

TELEGRAM TO LORD HARDINGE.

The Chairman suggested that they should despatch from that gathering to Lord Hardinge a telegram expressing their admiration of his Madras speech, and wishing him success in his endeavours to promote peace in South Africa.

The following cablegram was sent:—

Lord Hardinge, Viceroy's Camp, India.—Representing large gathering Waldorf Hotel, we respectfully convey admiration of your splendid speech on situation in South Africa.—HENRY COTTON (Chairman), MOHAMED ALI, SYED WAZIR HASAN.

MR. MOHAMED ALI.

Mr. Mohamed Ali who was greeted with cheers, said that he and his colleague were very grateful for the kindness which had been extended to them during their visit. On a previous occasion when in England he learnt how much untruth was embodied in Kipling's lines, "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," and the impressions he then gained had been fully confirmed by his experience of the last few weeks. Speaking of his mission, he said that, though they had met with many disappointments, they did not despair. They had found a great deal of ignorance prevalent regarding India, but they had also realised that much of it had in recent years been dispelled, and he would suggest to those of his hearers who might be authors that, if they found they could not always get sufficient inspiration out of the threadbare themes of the West, there were vast worlds in the East from which they could gather fresh inspiration. There was a good deal of virgin soil which novelists could till, but which journalists who were always in a hurry could only scratch. It was to the author he looked for the dissemination of information with regard to Eastern problems. It had always been a matter of wonder to him how the forty-five millions of people who inhabited Great Britain could be so oblivious of the fact that they had a big moral trust in connexion with the hundreds of millions who inhabited their Eastern Empire. Western people had lately been telling them that practically a ban had been put on the larger part of creation—a "magister ban of colour"—a ban which was to make the Asiatic an inferior being—they seemed to forget that Jesus Christ was an Asiatic, and that they had got almost all their civilisation from the East. The people of India had had Western education and Western ideas forced upon them; as a result they had learned self-respect, they had come to realise the dignity of their race, and they had come to know, too, that they must live their own life and work out their own destiny. They did not believe that providence would be so unjust as to place a ban upon the larger half of humanity. If they felt dissatisfied with the present condition of things, was it to be said that they were consequently disloyal? Had they wanted to light the fiery cross, they could have done it much better in their own country than by coming to England. Had they wanted to embarrass the Government, they would not have made their speeches

on public platforms; they would have worked underground. He wished to utter one word of warning, and that was, if they did not take care of their large Empire in India, if they were not true to the great trust which Providence had placed in their hands, they would run serious risk of losing India. In his opinion, the British connexion was indispensable for India's growth and progress. He was loyal to His Majesty, not because he was a British-born subject, but because he believed the British connexion meant the uplifting of his country, of his race, and of his religion. For these objects it was necessary that the British should be in India. He and his colleague came to this country to lay their case before the British public. In the first instance, it was their desire to see Ministers and to whisper into their ears the matters which it was sought to impress upon the Government. But they had not been able to see the Ministers they desired to meet. They would return and try again. When he was in Edinburgh the other day he was shown seven gates at Edinburgh Castle in close proximity to one another, which an enemy seeking entrance had to pass in turn. He could only say that if there were seventy gates preventing their access to British Ministers they intended to knock and knock again at each until they were opened. And although on this occasion they had not been able to reach the ear of Lord Crewe, they had, at any rate, succeeded in reaching the ears of those who ruled Lord Crewe, of those who were his masters, of those who had a vote to give. When they got back to their own country they would not wish to excite their fellow-countrymen by telling them how they had been compelled to return without seeing Ministers, but they would, at any rate, feel confident that, if Ministers would not see them, they would, at any rate, have to hear them, both in this country and in India.

MR. SYED WAZIR HASAN.

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, who was also received with great cordiality, spoke at some length. He said that the silver lining he would be able to carry home in the thick cloud of disappointment was the great hope that justice would be done to India. It might perhaps be delayed, but he was assured that in the end their efforts would meet with success. It would be his duty to tell his countrymen of the various stages through which they had passed. Some of the narratives he would have to unfold would be painful indeed, but, at any rate, they had hope in the inherent justice of the British people. Seventy doors might be closed against them, but the people of India had realised that it was their duty to push through those doors, to unlock them, and to make themselves heard. Unfortunately some of the papers in England gave appalling distortions of the real state of affairs in India. The people of India had come to realise that they owed certain duties to themselves, and that they had obligations to their neighbours. With those conceptions they proposed to make headway and to secure as much progress as they could, and if they were consistent, if their actions coincided with their principles he was sure there would be no danger to the British Empire in India, but, on the contrary its foundations would be strengthened. The unity of Hindu and Mohammedan would be the greatest glory that could be achieved for the British rule in India. Such a unity was not a unity in opposition to the Government, it was a unity for the purpose of furthering the good government of the country, and for securing a larger measure of justice for his countrymen at the hands of the British. Those who imagined that they saw in it a revolutionary movement would be entirely to blame should such a movement come into existence. The troubles of his colleague and himself had been increased both in volume and intensity by the action of some of their own countrymen, and they would have made much greater progress in the real work which they had in view, if they had not been confronted with those difficulties. Let them hope that the trouble had now been overcome, that good sense and calmness would in future prevail, and that all talk of a split in the community in India would cease to the shame of those who wanted to take advantage of it.

The proceedings closed a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Henry Cotton for presiding.—*India.*

The Delegates on their Mission.

TRIBUTES TO LORD HARDINGE.

On the eve of their return to India, Mr. S. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, delegates of the All-India Moslem League, gave a luncheon to a numerous company of their friends in London yesterday. The speeches were all appreciative of the services the delegates have rendered to the cause during their two months' visit to this country. Though they go back with a sense of disappointment that they have been refused access to the Secretary of State for India, and though the later days of the visit have been clouded by rumours of dissension in the League, the confident belief was expressed that good sense and calmness would prevail, and that all talk of a split in the community will cease.

The striking feature of yesterday's proceedings was the extraordinary enthusiasm which every mention of Lord Hardinge's name

evoked, and a telegram was despatched to the Viceroy expressing "admiration of his noble speech in Madras, and wishing him all success in his endeavour to promote peace in South Africa."

Sir Henry Cotton, who presided, referred to the deplorable condition of affairs in South Africa, but said India was to be congratulated on having such a splendid Viceroy as Lord Hardinge, who in his recent speech so completely voiced the views of India, and who had done so much to pacify feelings rapidly rising to a dangerous degree of irritation.

Lord Hardley announced that although he had embraced Islamism he was still a loyal subject of King George, and said the report that he had renounced that allegiance in favour of the Sultan of Turkey was utterly ridiculous. He declared that there is less intolerance and more charity amongst his Mohammedan friends in the East than is to be found among many of the Christians one "kneeked up against" in the West.

Mr. Israel Zangwill was glad to think that Lord Hardinge was a "strong man," not in the sometimes sinister sense of that term. The best thing we could wish for England, which had blundered into so many great things, was that she would not blunder herself out of India but pursue a wise and statesmanlike course, at the end of which India would wish not to go away but to remain an integral part of the Empire, like Canada and South Africa.

Speeches were also delivered by Dr. Rutherford, Mr. S. H. Swinny, (President of the Positivist Society), who was delighted to find that Moslem and Hindu are united in working for the progress of India, and by others.

THE OBJECTS OF THE MISSION.

Mr. Mohamed Ali explained that the mission of the delegates was to bring certain Indian points of view to the notice of England. This country had a great deal to learn about India, though he cordially acknowledged that there were very many anxious to do justice to India provided they knew how. He appealed for the help not only of politicians, but of journalists and of authors, and to the last especially he pointed out what a field for their labours India offered.

There were people who would put a ban on the larger half of God's creatures—the ban of colour. Against this feeling he warmly protested. "You may be contented with this state of things," he said, "but we are not. By the education you have given us and which we at first rejected we have learnt the dignity of our race. We are a self-respecting people, and we believe Providence would never have placed a ban on us." They felt dissatisfied (as continued) with certain workings of the system in India, and had come to put their aspirations before the people of this country. In this were they to be considered disloyal?

If they had wanted to raise the fiery cross they would have done so in their own country. There were a thousand ways of working underground in India. By the very life he led the European in India was not likely to know a thousandth part of what went on in India. He did not wish to threaten, but he begged Englishmen to be loyal to their trust which had been so extraordinarily beneficial to India and which Indians wished to maintain as being necessary to their Government and progress. They did not want to embarrass the Government. What had been their compensation? The Secretary for India had been described as "a somewhat inaudible Minister" was one also to call him a somewhat "invisible" Minister? At any rate they had not been able to see him. However, they would go on knocking at the door. If there were seventy gates they would go on knocking at them all. If the mountain would not come to Mahomet he must go to the mountain. In India this country had put great power into the hands of a small body—very conscientious and upright, but when so much power was in the hands of a few the danger was of its crystallising into a caste-feeling. It was a great service but not infallible. Speaking again of the results of the mission, Mr. Ali said he could not go back and tell the exact truth. Truth could not always be proclaimed from the house-tops. But they were not going to whisper any untruth. "We are not likely," he said, "to excite people further, but in spite of having come to Ministers and going back without seeing them, they will hear from us again and they will have to hear us in India."

Mr. Wazir Hasan and editor of the "Comrade," who also spoke said the silver lining in the cloud of disappointment was their faith in the British people. He felt confident justice would be done in the end. Moreover, the unity of Hindu and Moslem was of good augury for the greater glory of British rule in India. He hoped the dissension in the League had disappeared.—*The Manchester Guardian.*

Why I became a Mohammedan.

The Faith of Islam.

(By LORD HARDLEY.)

In several newspaper notices have appeared commenting on my religious belief, and it is highly gratifying to me to find that we for all

criticism has been of a most kindly nature. It is not to be expected that any decided step can be taken out of the beaten track of every-day custom without attracting attention.

I am very glad that such is the case. I am fond of my profession, and certain forms of athletics and sport have ever been my hobbies, but there has never been any desire for notoriety or publicity on my part; but in this case, if my action is the means of making people tolerant and broad-minded, I am quite prepared to put up with every kind of ridicule and abuse.

The other day a letter reached me from a devout Christian, informing me that the Mohamedan religion was one of sensuality, and that the Prophet had a great many wives! What an idea of Islam! But is the idea in the mind of ninety-nine out of one hundred Britishers, who will not take the trouble to inquire into the plain facts as to the religious beliefs of over 100 million of their fellow subjects. The Holy Prophet of Arabia was particularly self-restrained and chaste. He was true to his one wife Khadijah, who was fifteen years older than himself. She was the first to believe in the Divine messages. After her death he married Ayesha. He also married a great many of the widows of those of his adherents who had fallen in battle, not because he had the slightest desire for them, but in order to provide them with a home and give them a position they could not otherwise enjoy. This was quite in keeping with his unselfish and noble life. He gave away so much of his worldly belongings that he hardly ever had quite enough to live on.

We, Britishers are won't to pride ourselves on our love for fair play and justice, yet what can be more unfair than condemning, as so many of us do, the Mohamedan faith without first attempting to find out even so much as an outline of its tenets or the meaning of the word Islam?

THE KORAN AND CONVERSION

It is possible that some of my friends may imagine that I have been influenced by Mohamedans, by this is not the case, for my present convictions are solely the outcome of many years of thought. My actual conversations with educated Moslems on the subject of religion only commenced a few weeks ago, and need I say that I am overjoyed to find that all my theories and conclusions are entirely in accord with Islam? Even my friend Khwaja Kamal-ad-Din has never tried to influence me in the slightest degree. He has been a veritable living concordance, and has patiently explained and translated portions of the Koran which did not appear quite clear to me, and in this respect he showed the true spirit of the Moslem Missionary, which is never to force or even persuade. Conversion, according to the Koran, should come out of free choice and spontaneous judgment, and never be attained by means of compulsion. Jesus meant the same thing when He said to His disciples: "And whosoever shall not receive you nor hear you, when ye depart thence." (St. Mark vi., 2)

I have known very many instances of zealous Protestants who have thought it their duty to visit Roman Catholic homes in order to make "converts" of the inmates. Such irritating and unneighborly conduct is, of course, very obvious, and has invariably led to much ill-feeling—stirring up strife and tending to bring religion into contempt. I am sorry to think that Christian missionaries have also tried these methods with their Moslem brethren, though why they should try to convert those who are already better Christians than they are themselves, I am at a loss to conceive. I say "better Christians" advisedly, because the charity, tolerance and broad-mindedness in the Moslem faith come nearer to what Christ himself taught than do the somewhat narrow tenets of the various Christian Churches.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

To take one example—the Athanasian Creed, which treats of the Trinity is a very confusing manner. In this Creed, which is very important and deals conclusively with one of the fundamental tenets of the "Churches," it is laid down most clearly that it represents the Catholic faith, and that if we do not believe it we shall perish everlastingly. Then we are told that we must thus think of the Trinity if we want to be saved—in other words, that a God we in one breath hail as merciful and almighty in the next breath we accuse of injustice and cruelty which we would not attribute to the most blood-thirsty human tyrant. As if God, who is before all and above all, would be in any way influenced by what a poor mortal "thinks of the Trinity."

Here is another instance of want of charity. I received a letter—it was apropos of my leaning towards Islam—in which the writer told me that if I did not believe in the Divinity of Christ I could not be saved. The question of the Divinity of Christ never seemed to me nearly so important as that other question. Did He give God's messages to mankind? Now, if I had any doubt about this latter point it would worry me a great deal, but, thank God, I have no doubt, and I hope that my faith in Christ and His inspired teachings is as firm as that of any other Moslem or Christian. As I have often said before, Islam and Christianity as taught by Christ himself are sister religions, only held apart by dogmas and technicalities which might very well be dispensed with.

In the present day men are prone to become atheists when asked to subscribe to dogmatic and intolerant beliefs, and there is doubtless a craving for a religion appealing to the intelligence as well as to the sentiments. Who ever heard of a Moslem turning atheist? There may have been cases, but I very much doubt it.

FEAR OF COMMENT.

There are thousands of men—and women, too, I believe—who are at heart Moslems, but convention, fear of adverse comments, and a desire to avoid any worry or change conspire to keep them from openly admitting the fact. I have taken the step, though I am quite aware that many friends and relations now look upon me as a lost soul and past praying for. And yet I am just the same in my beliefs as I was twenty years ago; it is the outspoken utterance which has lost me their good opinion. Fear is responsible for a vast amount of misery and crime in this world; if people would be more outspoken there would be less misunderstanding and far more respect. Borrowing Mr. Balfour's aphorism "There is but one counsellor worse than panic, and that counsellor is despair," I would say in this case. "There is an adviser worse and more dangerous than either doubt or disbelief, and that adviser is fear."

Having briefly given some of my reasons for adopting the teachings of Islam, and having explained that I consider myself by that very act a far better Christian than I was before, I can only hope that others will follow the example—which I honestly believe is a good one—which will bring happiness to anyone looking upon the step as one in advance rather than one in any way hostile to true Christianity.—*Observer, London.*

Foreign Affairs.

(By S. Verdaz.)

ONLY a very dogmatic and self-satisfied person would profess to "know" India. In no country with which I am acquainted is the shortness of life more apparent—there is so much to be seen and learnt that the observer feels that several reincarnations would be necessary for a complete understanding of the country, its innumerable castes, creeds, customs, habits. Look at the literature—the translation of a single epic, the Mahabharata, would occupy a sound scholar for a score of years; and even then he could not profess to give us anything more than the mere letter. Look at the architecture: Agra alone, with the famous Taj Mahal and other splendid buildings, would keep a student busy for a lifetime.

The most painstaking, the most gifted, Civil Servant cannot grasp this land in its entirety. If he remains in one district during his term of service he may come to understand that district and no other. If he is frequently transferred his knowledge tends to become wide rather than deep. I am assuming the best cases, those cases in which the English official is genuinely interested in the country and its people. Nearly all our Civil Servants, fortunately, are sufficiently interested to try to do their work well and honestly. Beyond that it is almost impossible for them to go. Their daily duties and the climate leave little energy or inclination for profound researches; and Sanskrit and Pali must give way to the practical necessities which demand the study of at least one modern language or dialect.

Nevertheless, I do not wish to over-estimate the difficulties. There are some general facts about India which can be learnt without our taking the trouble to go there at all, and a Civil Servant would indeed be stupid if his actual everyday experience and his reading did not at least enlarge his mind and render it susceptible to Oriental influences. For my part, I make pretensions to no more knowledge than can be acquired by a trip through India, fairly wide reading, and social intercourse with such Indians as may be met in London. Such a knowledge has its advantages and disadvantages, and I think I am aware of them. I mention this in order to make it clear that in the subsequent paragraphs of this article I state only what I have reasonably strong grounds from believing to be accurate.

For many years it has been our policy in India to administer—not exactly to govern—the country by "holding the balance" between the Moslems and the Hindus. I might, perhaps, compare our position there to our position in Europe, where we have also tried to hold the balance of power for centuries. Circumstances, such as the rise of Germany and Italy, having made it difficult for us to continue this policy, we have entered into agreements, more or less defined, with France and Russia. Circumstances have now arisen in India which make it difficult for us to continue our policy of "holding the balance" there.

In one respect this commonly used expression is not quite accurate. We have from the very beginning felt more sympathy with the Moslems in India than with the Hindus. They are, for one thing, more akin to us in character and disposition, they, too, formed the ruling class in India for generations; stubborn fighters themselves, they appreciate the feats of arms by which we established our position in India in the eighteenth century. Tacitly, sometimes almost openly, we have, until very recently, looked to the Moslems for support, and they have given it.

Together with the educational reforms which we introduced in India from time to time, to become part of our policy to fill minor administrative posts with the younger Indians who had taken advantage of the opportunities thus offered. By degrees more important posts were thrown open; and, although few Indians attained, or were allowed to attain, positions of real administrative power, they could at least become judges, Civil Service officials of some consequence, and wielders of certain amount of limited and local authority.

It happened that the Hindu castes realised the advantages of the educational reforms and facilities before the Moslems, and were quicker to grasp the opportunities held out to both the great religious communities unreservedly. The extreme Hindus, never having given up their determination either to drive the Moslems out of India altogether, or to make life unbearable for them while they were in India, found that their own powers as minor officials enabled them to exercise a fair amount of petty tyranny over the Moslems; and when the Indian Councils Act was passed in 1909 the Hindus exploited it to much greater effect than the Moslems. When representatives on the Councils were apportioned on the basis of the relative numbers of the two communities in a given district, for example, the Hindus were careful to reckon on their side the "untouchables," thus securing "representatives" for several millions of people who are not strictly counted as being Hindus at all. As the result of weighty Mohammedan protests, the membership was in some degree redressed.

Nor was that all. The Hindus, very much alive to the advantages of education, were equally alive to what might be accomplished by political organisation and propaganda. We could not help this, nor can we altogether blame the Hindus. The first Indian National Congress was held in 1885, and overwhelmingly represented the Hindu community. The corresponding Mohammedan organisation the All-India Muslim League, came much later. More than this: it has almost always been assumed in England, particularly by the Liberal Press and Liberal politicians, that the Indian National Congress expressed the opinions of an advanced India democracy whereas it expressed merely the views of a few classes of influential Hindus. The newspaper *India*, published in London, is, or certainly was for some considerable time, subsidised by this Hindu body. The Liberal Party and Liberal newspapers, it may be added, are chiefly noted among Indian Moslems for their hostility to the Mohammedan religion and to the Ottoman Empire—a legacy bequeathed to the present generation of Liberals by Mr. Gladstone's ill-founded support of the bloodthirsty Bulgarians and the resolute attacks on "Abdul the Damned."

The recent rioting at Cawnpore, when authorisation was sought to pull down part of a mosque to avoid a Hindu temple in the making of a new road, brought to a head the smouldering feeling of disaffection of the Moslems throughout India. Lord Hardinge, by a very wise stroke of statesmanship, pardoned some seventy Moslems whom the police intended to prosecute. No far as it went, this was satisfactory; but the Moslems found it impossible to get their various complaints headed by the Indian Government. It was thereupon decided that Mr. Wazir Hasan, secretary of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow, and Mr. Mohamed Ali, editor of the Delhi "Comrade," should come to London and try to explain the grievances of their community to such Englishmen as were willing to listen. They came provided with letters of introduction from some of the highest English and Indian officials in the service of the Indian Government.

I have been at some pains to verify the account I heard of the reception of these two gentlemen in London; and the reception they received certainly does not do credit to our hospitality. Two or three letters sent to Lord Morley brought the intimation at last that he could not see them. Neither, strange to say, could Mr. Montagu, the Under Secretary of State for India. Only in a few cases did the editors of important newspapers see them, and with the exception of two important Liberal dailies (one in London and one in Manchester), and one important Liberal weekly (six penny), no newspaper would offer to publish even a moderately condensed account of their grievances. The *Times*, and I think also the *Telegraph*, inserted correspondence between the visitors and Mr. Ameer Ali; but in an abridged form.

An ironical feature of the whole thing is this: I have myself when investigating certain facts put before me, spoken to prominent newspaper editors and even newspaper proprietors. One and all they admit the justice of the Moslem claims; one and all they admit that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan have every possible reason for feeling dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of men like Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu, who should have been among the first to make them welcome. And one and all these prominent newspaper men made use of an almost identical expression when I commented on their curious attitude: "We daren't publish a word about it, my boy. The boss has had the tip from the India Office, and they wouldn't like it."

I gather—from inquiries at the India Office—that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, where

Cawnpore happens to be situated, seem to have made rather a fool of himself. The same remark applies to one of his subordinates. English officials, being human, sometimes do and say foolish things. Unfortunately, an Englishman in India can do no wrong. The theory seems to be that a manly withdrawal, a courteous acknowledgment of error, is something that an official in India cannot permit himself. The consequence is that two influential Moslems, who are sincerely anxious to put the opinions of their co-religionists before the authorities, have been boycotted in London and run the risk of being arrested on trumped-up charges on their return to India some time next month.

Now, during the last three or four generations the acknowledgment of English superiority in India has not been due to our arms any more than to our intellectual vigour. It has been due to our reputation (long and well deserved) for rigid impartiality in the administration of justice. The Indian people are more than willing to make allowance for errors; and until quite recently they were equally willing to admit that the English administrators in the midst of them very seldom made errors and honestly strove to avoid them. It is only of late years that we have tried in India the policy of "take no notice," the policy of silence, concealment, and suppression, which has long been in vogue here in the matter, for example, of labour unrest. Had a Hindu set a grievance? Had a Moslem set a grievance? Well, then, let the influential spokesmen of the disaffected people be struck off the Governor's or Lieutenant-Governor's visiting list, let them be boycotted at the Bar, let their papers be seized, if they had any, let them be shut up, in more senses than one, but, whatever happened, for God's sake let them be kept quiet.

Such a policy as this is foolish at all time, it is idiotic when applied to the Moslems of India. Many causes can be mentioned in explanation of the growing irritation with our rule in India. The chief cause, it seems to me, is the well-meaning and painstaking tactlessness of many of our officials. Let there be no mistake about it: such degeneracy as there is in our Indian Civil Service reflects, though feebly, the degeneracy and corruption of our home politics. With all its faults, our aristocracy had one great virtue: it understood men of different nations and races and knew how to handle them. Tact, dignity, discipline, restraint—these were its attributes. But the competitive examination system—framed, naturally, in the interests of the middle and higher-middle classes—gradually resulted in the Indian Civil Service being filled by men of a different type, men who had brains and very little else. It requires an aristocracy to administer India as we must administer India: the English middle classes are not aristocrats, and there's an end on't.—The *New Age*.



U. P. Legislative Council.

Sir James Meston was accorded a hearty reception by the United Provinces Legislative Council on Monday when he attended the first meeting of the Council since his return from England. Dr. Sunder Lal and Mr. Abdur Rauf, a Hindu and a Mohammedan, voicing the feelings of the members generally. Having suitably replied to this welcome His Honour proceeded to refer to certain questions regarding the troubles of Indians in South Africa, of which various non-official members had given notice. Where these questions concerned the policy or intentions of the Government of India His Honour said he had no option but to disallow them. "The situation," he went on, "is one upon which we are very far from having adequate or complete information. It is also one which requires the most careful and sagacious handling, and I am sure I have the sense of the Council with me in wishing that nothing should be said in this Council, either by implication or otherwise, that would add to the difficulties of the Governor-General in Council or of His Majesty's Government in England." The Lieutenant-Governor then turned to the question of the famine which unhappily threatens parts of the province and spoke of the measures that were being taken to alleviate the distress, particularly in Bundelkhand where it is most widespread and in which Division His Honour attended a conference of officials on Sunday. The Council sat continuously on Monday from 11 a.m. until 5 p.m. The greater part of the six hours' sitting was occupied by the discussion of amendments to the United Provinces Town Areas Bill. The Bill is intended to provide for the better sanitation, lighting and improvement of towns, which are not under municipal government, and gives certain administrative powers to the *Panchayats*. The question of separate electorates for Mohammedans in election to local bodies was one of the many points which were brought into the debate. Most of the amendments were opposed by the Government and were lost, and eventually the Bill was passed altered in, but a few minor points from the condition in which it emerged from the Select Committee. The United Provinces Local Rates Bill was the next matter under discussion and was passed the following day.

INTERPRETATIONS.

Sayid Muhammad Abdul Rauf asked:—Is the Government aware that the Mohammedans of Ajudhya and Bilgram were prohibited

from sacrificing cows this year during the Baqrid festival on the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th November?

Mr. Burn replied :—The answer is in the affirmative.

Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Rauf asked :—If so, will the Government be pleased to state under what authority did the district officials deprive a section of His Majesty's subjects of a civil and religious right?

Mr. Burn replied :—The action of the officials was taken under the provisions of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code.

Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Rauf asked :—Did the Government receive any representation from the Mohamedans of Fyzabad or Ajudhya drawing its attention to the action of the Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad prohibiting cow sacrifice? If so, what orders was the Government pleased to pass?

Mr. Burn replied :—The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The Commissioner was asked to inform the memorialists that the Lieutenant-Governor understood that orders forbidding the sacrifice had been issued under the Criminal Procedure Code and that he declined to interfere with them.

Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Rauf asked :—Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table all the papers relating to the question of cow sacrifice in Ajudhya and Bilgram?

Mr. Burn replied :—The Lieutenant-Governor is unable to lay any papers on the table.

Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Rauf asked :—Is it a fact that the Mohamedans of Fyzabad and Ajudhya did not congregate in the Idgah this year to offer their Baqrid prayer?

Mr. Burn replied :—The statement is believed to be correct so far as Sunni Mohamedans are concerned. The Shias are reported to have offered their prayer as usual.

Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Rauf asked :—Does the Government intend to take such steps as may secure to the Mohamedans their legal rights in such a way that there may in future be no interference in the performance of their religious ceremonies?

Mr. Burn replied :—The Lieutenant-Governor is prepared to take all reasonable measures necessary to protect the legal rights of all sections of the community. But he is unable to interfere with the discretion vested in Magistrates by law in cases of emergency to prevent acts which might cause a breach of the peace.

Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Rauf asked :—Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the paper *Quamar-i-Hind* of Fyzabad, dated the 16th November 1913, page 1 to 8, which contains a statement to the effect that the Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad issued an order on the 9th November prohibiting the sacrifice of all kinds of cattle in Ajudhya?

Mr. Burn replied :—The Lieutenant-Governor has not seen the statement quoted. The facts are that on November 1st the District Magistrate of Fyzabad issued a general order under section 140, Criminal Procedure Code, forbidding all persons to drive cattle intended for slaughter through any street or public place in Ajudhya without his permission. Subsequently 36 orders were issued on various dates under the same section to individuals forbidding them to slaughter. Lastly on November 10th the Magistrate recorded a general order, forbidding the sacrifice of cows and bullocks within the boundaries of the city of Ajudhya on the 10th, 11th or 12th of November, 1913.

Saiyid Raza Ali asked :—(a) Is it true that Mr. H. G. Warburton, Sessions Judge of Lucknow, held court on the 1st day (3rd September), and that the Mussalman officials of his court were thereby prevented from observing their religious commandments?

(b) Will Government be pleased to taken such steps as to it may appear proper in order to secure to the Amla class the full benefit of important holidays?

Mr. O'Donnell replied :—(a) It is true that the Sessions Judge of Lucknow held court in order to conclude a murder case on the 3rd of September, but all the court officials and pleaders engaged in the case were non-Mussalmans. For the convenience of one of the assessors and the police officer in charge of the case, who were Mussalmans, the court did not sit till 11 a.m., thus allowing time for all religious observances.

(b) The Government does not consider that the circumstances of the case render any steps necessary.

Khawja Ghulam-us-Saqlain asked :—(a) In view of the fact that in all oriental races entering sacred places with boots or shoes on is considered disrespectful, would the Government be pleased to order that European gentlemen entering the sacred places of the Hindus or of the Moslems may not adopt the accidental etiquette of keeping their boots on or may at least put on goloshes over their boots, which the custodians may supply and keep for the purpose?

(b) Has a letter published in *Al-Hilal* of the 24th September 1914, page 446, Calcutta, been brought to the notice of the Government concerning the recent rules promulgated by the local authorities of Agra regarding entry into the mosque and into the tomb of the celebrated saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti, at Fatehpur-Sikri?

Mr. Burn replied :—(a) In regard to the great majority of sacred places in this province, in which worship is still performed, the Lieutenant-Governor has issued, and proposes to issue, no orders. The question of admission is one for their custodians, and Europeans desiring to enter must conform to their wishes. There are, however, a few places the control of which has become vested in Government, and which are visited for their historic interest by Europeans. The Lieutenant-Governor believes that for the most part Europeans visitors have the same respect in visiting such buildings as they would in their own sacred places. The practice to be observed at Fatehpur-Sikri, referred to in the second part of this question, was recently considered by the Lieutenant-Governor. A complaint had been made by an Indian visitor that the attendants at the shrine had requested him to take off his shoes before entering even the courtyard in which the shrine is situated, and had demanded a gratification for guarding the shoes. On enquiry it appeared that an innovation had been made in requiring Europeans to wear overshoes and that this was being used to procure gifts. The matter appeared to His Honour one for decision on the basis of old custom and the religious observances of each creed. He, therefore, directed that visitors wishing to enter the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti and the adjacent mosque should be required, if Europeans, to remove their hats, and if Indians to remove their shoes. Outside the tomb and mosque no restrictions were imposed. The Lieutenant-Governor sees no reason to alter these orders.

(b) The answer is in the negative.

Khawja Ghulam-us-Saqlain asked :—Has resolution No. 4 of the Provincial Conference of Fyzabad held on 5th October been brought to the notice of the Government, regarding the settlement of the provincial finance, and in view of the fact that education is greatly suffering, and other necessary reforms are at a standstill, would the Government be pleased to move the Imperial Government for a revision of the present settlement so that by the time the next budget is discussed the required sanction may be obtained?

Mr. Pim replied :—The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The Government does not admit that reforms are at a standstill and does not propose to take the action suggested by the Honorable Member.

Babu Brij Nandan Prasad asked :—Has the attention of Government been drawn to the petition submitted by the Naini Tal Arya Samaj this year to the Commissioner of Kumaun regarding the prohibition of the singing of *bhajans* during Ramzan? How far are the facts regarding the Samaj Mandir and Niaz-ud-din's shop correctly stated therein? Will the Government be pleased to make a thorough enquiry into the matter, and before the next Ramzan issue proper orders which may do justice to the parties concerned?

Mr. Burn replied :—The Lieutenant-Governor has seen the petition submitted by the Naini Tal Arya Samaj this year to the Commissioner of Kumaun regarding the singing of *bhajans* during Ramzan. It would appear that the statements made in that petition are not entirely correct. There are three shops occupied by Mussalmans immediately opposite the Arya Samaj library. Two of these shops have recently changed hands but the third in which certain Mussalman tailors have been accustomed to read the Quran during Ramzan has been occupied by Niaz-ud-din since 1899. The building now occupied by the Samaj was not constructed till 1907. In the application presented to the municipal board for permission to erect, it is described as a house or building, in vernacular *mafan*, and not as a temple. The singing of *bhajans* in this building is reported to have first begun in 1911. In that year the Mohamedans asked that in the month of Ramzan the singing of *bhajans* might be discontinued during their prayer time. The request was held to be reasonable and an amicable agreement was arrived at to that effect and a similar arrangement was suggested in 1912, but fell through, and action had to be taken by the Magistrate. This year again the parties failed to settle the dispute and the Magistrate was appealed to. In the first place he passed an order directing the members of the Samaj to refrain from singing and the performance of religious ceremonies within the building between the hours of 8.30 and 10.30 p.m. Subsequently he received a deputation of members of the Samaj and modified his first order so as to allow religious ceremonies to take place even after 8.30 p.m. if they involved no noise. In the ordinary course of events the Arya Samaj were accustomed to cease singing at 9 p.m. The Lieutenant-Governor considers that the orders of the Deputy Commissioner were quite reasonable and provided adequately for the convenience of both parties. He does not propose to issue any further orders on the subject.

Khawja Ghulam-us-Saqlain asked :—(a) With reference to my question asked on the 15th September, has the Government received any representation in the matter of showing mercy to prisoners in connection with Ajudhya riot and does the Government propose to show clemency to them?

(b) Has it been brought to the notice of the Government that not only the Hindu but the Moslem press is also generally in favour of showing clemency to them?

The Hon'ble Mr. O'Donnell replied:—(a) Representations have been received; but the Government is unable to make any statement of its intentions at present.

(b) The Government is aware that certain Moslem papers have published articles in the sense stated by the Hon'ble Member.

Khawaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain asked:—Has it been brought to the notice of the Government that some organs of Hindu opinion like the *Advocate*, Lucknow, 19th November, 1913, have admitted that any forcible attempts to deprive the Musselmans of their legal rights is improper and indefensible, and that all that could be asked for was that sacrifice should not take place in a manner offensive to the Hindu sentiments?

Mr. Burn replied:—The Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to notice expressions of tolerance in regard to the question of sacrifice on the understanding that care was taken to prevent open offence.

Khawaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain asked:—Is it a fact that in the town of Miranpur, district Muzaffarnagar, the Deputy Magistrate in charge of the district sent a new probationary Deputy Magistrate who stopped the *Baqarid* sacrifice on the ground that it was a novelty there, and that the inhabitants sent wires to the Local Government and to His Excellency the Viceroy complaining against this interference.

Mr. Burn replied:—At the time of the last *Baqarid* the staff of the Muzaffarnagar district was temporarily low, and disturbances were considered possible at more than one place. The District Magistrate sent a probationary Deputy Magistrate, who had been 14 years in the district, to Miranpur. The probationary Magistrate after due enquiry came to the conclusion, that cows had not been sacrificed at Miranpur on previous occasions, and that any innovation in this respect might result in a breach of the peace. He, therefore, prohibited the sacrifice of cows. Telegrams were then sent by the inhabitants of Miranpur to the Local Government and to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Khawaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain asked:—Would the Government be pleased to declare whether any new line of policy has been adopted in regard to sacrifices at the *Id*.

Mr. Burn replied:—The answer is in the negative. It is the settled policy of Government to preserve the rights and liberties of its subjects, and only to interfere with these under the provisions of the law when their exercise appears likely to cause a serious breach of the peace.



Selections.

The Imperial Zoo.

CURRENT events in South Africa and India furnish an interesting commentary upon the vision of a closely federated British Empire with which Mr. Herbert Samuel, fresh from his semi-official tour through Canada, has just been entertaining the members of the National Liberal Club. Here is one of our self-governing Dominions passing with our assent unjust and oppressive laws directed against a section of their fellow British subjects, and administering these laws by methods which outrage public sentiment, and provoke a dangerous state of feeling among the largest of our subject populations. Yet so little unity of political structure or of common feeling exists inside the British Empire that even the informal communication between the Viceroy and General Botha was regarded as a matter of extreme delicacy. Anyone at all familiar with South African sentiment must be aware that the faintest endeavour either on the part of the Imperial Government or of the Indian Government to remonstrate against the treatment of Indians in Natal, will arouse bitter resentment. Though South Africa may find it impossible to refuse the explicit demand for an impartial committee of inquiry pressed upon it by our Government and that of India, even this measure of interference will arouse a strong feeling of antagonism in the breast alike of Boer and Briton. The indignant tone of Lord Hardinge's address, thoroughly justified as it is in our opinion, will not ease the situation in South Africa. For General Botha has a very difficult part to play. Any concessions he may personally be disposed to make to Imperial pressure will be represented by the *Eurogites* as a betrayal of South African nationalism, and though the recent convention showed that the extremist wing was in a considerable minority, he cannot afford to give to his enemies even an appearance of truckling to the Imperial Government.

This instance of South Africa is particularly flagrant. But it does not stand alone. On the contrary, it is strictly representative of a sentiment and policy common to all our self-governing Dominions. The regulations of the Canadian Government regarding immigration at the present time, usually discriminate in favour of Japanese and Chinese as compared with Indian immigration. And this for the simple reason that special treaties exist with China and Japan, whereas India possesses no treaty-making power, and the Imperial Govern-

ment wields no effective substitute. So it comes to pass that in a British State British subjects are treated worse than foreigners. How is it possible to speak of Imperial unity in face of the gulf which separates the peoples of our self-governing Dominions from those of our subject empire? It is indeed sometimes suggested that could the Dominions be saddled with a joint responsibility with us in the government of our Asiatic and African subjects, they would adopt a more liberal attitude. Mr. Sidney Low, for instance, in an interesting essay in a recently published volume of "Lectures on Colonial Problems" (Bell & Son), suggests that: "Perhaps when our colonists are helping to govern India, they may be more tolerant of Indian settlers; they may even consider that the peopling of such vast tropical or sub-tropical solitudes as the Australian Northern Territory with Asiatics who have been born under British jurisdiction may be the safest method of preserving them from Asiatics of Mongolian race and foreign allegiance." It sounds plausible enough, but nobody acquainted with the obstinate intolerance prevalent in every section of our Dominions will set much store upon the possibility of such a policy. Those Imperialists, especially of the Liberal Party, who desire to work towards Imperial Federation, ought at the outset of their endeavour clearly to face the question, "What is to be the place of India and the Crown Colonies under such a Federation?"

Hitherto the movement has virtually ignored this all-important problem. Our Imperial Federationists have been scheming by Conferences, Imperial Secretariats, representation on the Defence Committee and so forth, to lay the foundations of some future legislative and executive body which shall represent the union of self-governing States in the Empire. They seem placidly content to hand over to such an Imperial Government, if it can be framed, the teeming millions of our Indian Empire, to be disposed of as its Imperial wisdom may see fit. Now it has always seemed to us extremely improbable that the democracies of our Dominions would be willing to take upon themselves a task so onerous and so unprofitable. We frankly disbelieve the suggestion that the people of Canada or of Australia are proud to be in some sense the possessors of India and of great slices of tropical Africa, and that they would be glad to associate themselves with us in the government of those countries. We do not believe that any widespread desire exists in any of our Dominions to abandon any of the full powers of self-government which they at present possess, in order to enter into a closer political or commercial union. At the last Conference, the resolution of the New Zealand representatives in favour of Imperial Federation met with nothing but stern repudiation from the representatives of the Dominions, and the idea of stampeding them into a sudden reversal of their national evolution by scare appeals for Imperial defence will, we are confident prove as unavailing as the earlier endeavour to bring them into fiscal union.

But should we be mistaken in our forecast, and should the current of events set towards Imperial Federation, is India, with her large educated population, her civilized traditions, stretching far into the aure for her past, her great commercial interests, her enlarging powers of self-government, to have no voice in this Imperial Government? It has been a conspicuous defect in the so-called Imperial Conferences of the past that her representatives have not been summoned, and that her interests have only been indirectly taken into consideration. It would, indeed be a pretty unity of Empire which should entrust our anti-Asiatic colonies with a joint control of India, and instil into the Government of the country, wherein three-fourths of our subjects reside, the present temper of the Transvaal and Natal! A plain demand ought to be formulated to the effect that any enlargement of the factors of Imperial government by representatives of the Dominions, whether through Conference, Imperial Defence Committee, Privy Council, or some new organ of Imperial Government, should make provision for the direct and sufficient participation of the representatives of India, with a number and a standing proportionate to the great place she occupies in our political system.—*The Nation*.

Short Studies.

Shyama.

"THIEF from the king's treasury!" the cry ran through the town. The thief must be found, or there will be trouble for the officers of the guards.

Vijay, a stranger from a foreign port, came to sell horses in the town, and, robbed by a band of robbers of all his earnings, was lying in a ruined temple outside the walls. They charged him with the theft, chained him, and led him through the streets to the prison.

Proud Shyama, of a perilous charm, sat in her balcony fully watching the passing crowd. Suddenly she shuddered and called to her attendant, "Ah, who is that godlike young man with a smile that led in chains, like a common thief? And the officer is my father he being him before me."

The chief of the guards came with the prisoner and said to Shyama, "Your honour is smiling, my lady. I must return to the king's bidding."

Vajrasen quickly raised his head and broke out, "What caprice is this of yours, fair one, to bring me in from the street to mock me with your cruel curiosity?"

"Mock you!" cried Shyama, "I could gladly take your chains upon my limbs in exchange for my jewels." Then, turning to the officer, she said, "Take all the money I have, and set him free."

He bowed and said, "It cannot be. A victim we must have to stay the king's wrath."

"I ask only two days' respite for the prisoner," urged Shyama. The officer smiled and consented.

On the end of his second night in prison, Vajrasen said his prayers, and sat waiting for his last moment, when suddenly the door opened and the woman appeared with a lamp in her hand, and at her signal the guard unchained the prisoner.

"You come to me with that lamp, merciful woman," said he, "like the dawn with her morning star after a night of delirious fever."

"Merciful indeed!" Shyama cried, and broke out in a wild laughter, till tears came with a burst, and she sobbed and said, "There is no stone brick in this prison-tower harder than this woman's heart." And clutching the prisoner's hand, she dragged him out of the gates.

On the Varuna's bank the sun rose. A boat was waiting at the landing. "Come to the boat with me, stranger youth," Shyama said, "only know that I have cut all my bonds, and I drift in the same boat with you."

Swiftly the boat glided on. Merrily sang the birds. "Tell me my love," asked Vajrasen, "what untold wealth did you spend to buy my freedom?"

"Hush, not now," said Shyama.

Morning wore on to noon. Village women had gone back home with their clothes dripping from the bath, and pithers filled with water. Marketing was over. The village path glared in the sun all lonely. In the warm gusts of the noontide wind Shyama's veil dropped from her face. Vajrasen murmured to her ears, "You freed me from a bond that was brief to bind me in a bond everlasting. Let me know how it was done." The woman drew her veil over her face and said, "Not now, my beloved."

The day waned, and it darkened. The breeze died away. The crescent moon glimmered feebly at the edge of the steel-black water.

Shyama sat in the dark, resting her head on the youth's shoulder. Her hair fell loose on his arms, "What I did for you was hard, beloved," she said in a faint whisper, "but it is harder to tell you. I shall tell it in few words. It was the love-sick boy Uttiya, who took your place, charging himself with the theft, and making me a present of his life. My greatest sin has been committed for the love of you, my best beloved."

While she spoke the crescent moon had set. The stillness of the forest was heavy with the sleep of countless birds. Slowly the youth's arm slipped from the woman's waist. Silence round them became hard and cold as a stone.

Suddenly the woman fell at his feet and clung to his knees crying, "Forgive me, my lord. Leave it to my God to punish me for my sin."

Snatching his feet away, Vajrasen hoarsely cried, "That my life should be bought by the price of a sin that every breath of mine should be accursed!"

He stood up and leapt from the boat on to the bank, and entered the forest. He walked on and on till the path closed, and the dense trees, tangled with creepers, stopped him with fearful fantastic gestures. Tired, he sat on the ground. But who was it that followed him in silence the long dark way, and stood at his back like a phantom?

"Will you not leave me?" shouted Vajrasen. In a moment the woman fell upon him with an impetuous flood of caresses; with her tumbling hair and trailing robes, with her showering kisses and panting breath she covered him all over. In a voice choked with pent-up tears, she said, "No, no, I shall never leave you. I have staved for you. Strike me if you will, kill me with your own hands."

The still blackness of the forest shivered for a moment, a horror ran through the twisting roots of trees underground. A gasp and a smothered breath rose through the night, and a body fell down up the withered leaves.

The morning sun flashed on the far-away spire of the temple when Vajrasen came out of the woods. He wandered in the hot sun the whole day by the river on the sandy waste, and never rested for a moment.

In the evening he silently went back to the boat. There on the bank lay an object. He clutched it, and pressed it to his heart till it bruised him. He fell prone upon the blue marble left lying in a heap in the corner; hid his face in its folds, and from all his senses and nervous fragrance struggled to absorb into his being the memory of a dear living body.

The night closed with a tense and tingling silence. The moon had faded from the sky. Vajrasen stood up and stretched out his

arms towards the woods, and madly called, "Come, my love, come!" Suddenly a figure came out of the darkness, and stood on the brink of the water.

"Come, love, come!"

"I have come, my beloved. Your dear hands failed to kill me. It is my doom to live."

Shyama came and stood before the youth. He looked at her face, he moved a step to take her to his arms—then thrust her away with both hands and cried, "Why, oh why, did you come back?"

He shut his eyes, turning his face, and said, "Go, go, leave me."

For a minute the woman stood silent before she knelt at his feet, and bowed low. Then she rose and went up the river bank, and vanished in the vague of the woods like a dream merging into sleep; and Vajrasen, with aching heart, sat silent in the boat.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The Drama.

Mr. Chesterton's Black Magic.

"Magic." By G. K. Chesterton. Produced at the Little Theatre.

The Stranger	...	...	FRANKLIN DYALL.
Patricia Carleon	...	...	MISS GRACE CROFT.
Rev. Cyril Smith	...	...	O. P. HOGGIE.
Hastings	...	...	FRANK RANDALL.
Doctor Grimthorpe	...	...	WILLIAM FARREN.
The Duke	...	...	FRED LEWIS.
Morris Carleon	...	...	LYONEL WATTS.

WHAT is the true "magic" of the Theatre? Does it not reside in the power of the dramatist to excite to the uttermost the deepest feelings of his audience, to stimulate their sense of the sadness, or the fineness, or the coarseness, or the irony of life? And is it not equally clear that for this purpose he is permitted and accustomed to use either "natural" or "supernatural" machinery, or to combine these forces, under the feeling that man is half a victim, half a contriver, of Fate? Thus he may show *Edipus* smitten by the Powers above (or below), and make him the innocent accomplice of his own shame; or *Macbeth*, lured by the powers of Hell along the path where ambition drives. But essentially there must be some profound human element in all these situations. You must feel that *Hamlet's* finely balanced nature is the kind of stuff to be set on fire, even though it be a flickering fire, by a ghostly reminder that life is for doing as well as for dreaming, and that *Don Giovanni* needs to be taught that he must not carry sensual pride too far, or *Brand* the pride of goodness. Heaven and Hell, therefore, playing their part in the drama of human experience, must be a spiritual Heaven and Hell.

"Heaven but the vision of fulfilled desire,
And Hell the shadow of a soul on fire."

In this fashion the spirituality of things asserts itself in the most material age, through its accustomed vehicles of poetry and literature, passing, like the legend of *Faust*, from one hand to another, and losing some touch of coarseness or childishness in the process. But what one cannot stomach in this age is the sham spirituality, in other words, the "magic," which is the theme of Mr. Chesterton's new drama. Let me illustrate what I mean by my own acquaintance with a great believer in the play of supernaturalism in this life—I mean Mr. Stead. Stead was a man of the most natural "magic" in the world. He threw out ideas as boys throw balls at cocoanuts at a fair, now and then hitting the mark, and now going ludicrously wide of it. But always he suggested the presence and incessant working of an ill-trained but vivid and powerfully suggestive imagination. Only when he resorted to his "spooks" and his "crystals" did he become a bore of the first water; and I presume that it was his sense of my own affrighted and afflicted look when this hateful topic was turned on that spared me its grossest excesses. But what is Mr. Chesterton doing with this game of parlor-magic? He is a jeritic not only of exquisite temper, but of the most delicate aversions, attractions, intuitions, well fitted to make the world examine its new-found treasures, and test and weigh them, lest, perchance, they should turn out to be dross. Therefore, it would be a calamity to find him among the mere wonder-workers, or wonder-believers, the stuff in which all the Sludges of all the ages find their account, and from which they finally rub off that fluency of sensibility, which is the true gift of genius.

It is for that reason that I quarrel with his play, "Magic," and with his stranger, the shame magician. In the first place, he is not magical and not strange. *Item*, he is an ordinary sentimental lover. *Item*, it is of no consequence to anybody whether or when he is Mr. Maskelyne, and whether or when he is a genuine wizard of Endor, making pictures tremble on the walls, and chairs tilt on their legs, and turning red lamps into blue. *Item*, the work of the true magician is not to frighten people out of their wits, but out of their folly and wickedness. *Item*, the incidental introduction

* Specially striking representation.

of the Devil is of equal insignificance. for he has nothing to do in or with the ridiculously neutral company on which he intrudes. Going about, as he does, like a roaring lion, seeking what statesmen, saints, priests, plump, thieves, and hypocrites he may devour, Mr. Chesterton wastes his time and ours by introducing him where he is neither wanted nor unwanted. Now, a man of Mr. Chesterton's force of mind has no business to waste anything, even the Devil. Engage his Satanic Majesty in the tempting of woman to tempt man, as the Bible does, or the re-conquest of Heaven by the ruin of Earth, as Milton does, or reveal him, lurking deep, silent, and unsuspected in man's heart, as Burns does; but don't degrade him into a nervous shiver for old women massed round a table, or curates simpering in a ducal drawing-room. For the objection to this conjuring business is Mr. Walkley's, that Mr. Chesterton does not show his magician actually getting the rabbits out of the hat. There is, no doubt, an immense verbal parade of spiritual rabbits inside the hat. But in the moment of exodus you have a vision, not of rabbits, but of a muddled assortment of lining and felt, and of the conjuror's clumsy hands and obtrusively obvious shirt and sleeve-links.

Let me, therefore, suggest the reason why Mr. Chesterton's philosophy and Mr. Chesterton's play are both at fault. The trouble is that he deals with visible instead of with invisible hats. Now, our so-called sceptical playwrights—Ibsen, Strindberg, Shaw, and Galsworthy—have a profound consciousness of being surrounded by a cloud of invisible witnesses, applauding or condemning, not the paper beliefs, but the concrete deeds, of their times. It is the sense of this encompassing host of their embarrassing interventions and suggestions, which makes the drama that this generation is best fitted to hear and see. They describe an earthly city, or a sub-earthly one (is not Hell much like London?) while they desire a heavenly. Men's sins and their consequences, men's ignorance, and its consequences, men's errors and their consequences, the true spiritual habit of those who attire themselves in this or that masquerade of character, my true relationship to my brother and sister, and his or hers to me—here is the ground of eternal mystery in which the average intellect gropes, and the superior mind sees clearly, while the dramatic genius lights it all up with serene fire from heaven or lurid flashes from hell. Here, if you please, is White Magic, created to confound the old common Black Magic of invocation and exorcism. And the proof of where the greater potency lies is that Ibsen's "Master Builder" or Hauptmann's "Weavers" answer the Christian text of suitability to the age: while Mr. Chesterton's "Magic" seems chiefly calculated to rouse round men's minds in the mists they and time have put behind them.

And really Mr. Chesterton has himself to blame for his failure. His vicars, and conjurors, and fairy-tale tellers, and his terrible young *pitrolevs* from the States, are the merest fudge. But his Duke is a gem, as good in its way as those immortal muddlers, Mrs. Nickleby or Mr. Brooke, of "Middlemarch." For with the Duke Mr. Chesterton comes back to the dramatist's true business, which is the illumination of life for the guidance of men, not of hollow turnips for the searing of yokels. The proof of this is that the Duke is notable as well as laughable; whereas the necromancer and his folly, being mere stage properties, can only be stiffly posed and laboriously counterfeited. Mr. Chesterton must really cheer up. I will tell him a secret, which I had from an incidental angel in Fleet Street. The Middle Ages do not merely seem to be over; they are over.

H. W. M.

Six Osmanli Patriots.

The God of Mercy sitteth on his throne.

His, whatsoever is in the heavens, and whatsoever is in the earth, and whatsoever is between them both, and whatsoever is beneath the humid soil.—Koran.

And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away.—Rev.

Amongst many prevalent misconceptions regarding Eastern nations none perhaps is more misleading, or has resulted in more harm, than the general tendency of Western critics to attribute the interest and activity of their politicians to purely personal motives. This form of prejudice is so deeply rooted that all sense of proportion and justice has been lost, and with considerable absence of knowledge of facts or of personal acquaintance, the belief is usually accepted that the mental horizons of Moslem statesmen are too often limited by considerations of immediate reward and acquirement. Every ruling race possesses certain legislators who through some slackness of moral fibre succumb to the voice of the cosmic siren of self-interest—that bane of all great projects; yet allowing for differences of circumstance, temperament, and environment, some communication of the truth regarding the aims and objects of the six great leaders of Ottoman

revolution to whom this article refers should surely refute this perversion of the truth, and should prove that true patriotism is by no means a Western monopoly. In an Empire whose need is so great, and where the possibilities of the future are so many and so incalculable, the essence of stability must always consist in the integrity of its rulers and in the bestowal of that moral and material support which is proffered where confidence is established. The late colossal struggle, abounding in interest and instruction, has been a dread arbiter of life, property, and honour in the blood-drenched plains of Thrace, and a meed of sympathy and admiration is due to the high-minded men who in circumstances of unparalleled trial conferred a strictly moral character upon their country's international relations; who allowed no private interest to clash with the great service to which they were committed; who, whatever the defects of the general machinery, whatever the difficulties of the entangled factions that encompassed them, have performed their task with a united patriotic purpose which challenges the respect of all who live and labour under more favourable conditions.

The aggression of Italy, the menace of Russia, and the lamentable reverses of the late campaign necessarily threw progressive measures into the background and cast a temporary shadow upon general reform and development. Though forced to contend with conditions that provoked differences and involved hostility, the best bulwarks against Turkey's internal weakness in this tremendous crisis have been the vigilance, courage, and dauntless toil of the statesmen who have chosen for their watchword 'Nothing which concerns the greatness of the Ottoman Empire is little.'

During a weltering chaos and collision of conflicting interests and questionable rights in the Balkan world, their policy indicated clearly that they would break rather than bend under the pressure of unreasonable demands, obstructive propositions, and fraudulent devices concealed under the guise of friendship. This political uncertainty and consequent loss of illusion was accepted in no spirit of antagonism, but with a hope, endurance, and forbearance only to be found in those who hold no dissolving views of life, who in a wider spirit recognise that indifference to the end merely entails loss of dignity and forfeiture of means. All obligations and eventualities were met with a fortitude, not born alone of race and creed, but of the wisdom and experience of men who know all phases of life and of administration itself.

Turkish national sentiment unmistakably disapproves and distrusts the principles of hereditary rank, and no land on earth can offer a more open career to ability or to chance. The merit of such a system is obvious, with its tendency to bring into employment a wider range of capacity and secure servants to the State well grounded by their application in the rudiments of such knowledge as office of any kind generally requires. Such methods prove an Open Sesame to safer counsellors, freer spirits, a larger comprehension; and form a juster guarantee of efficiency than appointments incidental to birth or bestowed by patronage, stifling the judgment, the foresight, and the higher qualities of the mind. Narrow mental barriers will perish and cynicism will be replaced by generous and discriminating appreciation, if the truth is told, that every stone of this great fabric is being joined to another by the constructive powers of the six political and military leaders now steering the Ottoman ship of state in less troubled waters, and sowing of their strength to bind into a great future that brotherhood of hope and energy which this patriarchal race still carries within it.

Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, is a man of commanding presence, although of medium height, with features eloquent of resolution, high courage, and tenacity of purpose. Born at Adrianople thirty-eight years ago, he is the son of a mother of strong character and advanced views. He received his education in his native city and subsequently became a clerk in the post office and professor of Oriental languages in the college of Adrianople. His early propagation of liberal ideals led to his arrest and a period of imprisonment which lasted two years, ending in his exile to Salonica. Deeply impressed by the urgent needs and dangers of his country he gathered friends around him, and with Enver Bey, Fethi Bey, and Chukry Bey, the present Minister of Public Instruction, laid the foundations of that work which ultimately turned the Young Turk Committee, with its headquarters then in Paris, into a national institution with the seat of its authority at Salonica. With endless perseverance this band of patriots disseminated their propaganda throughout the army and inscribed the names of nearly a thousand young officers on the local committee, which grew and spread all over Macedonia. Disdaining with contempt and lofty courage Abdul Hamid's offers of bribes, and persistent attacks upon the Young Turk Party, Talaat Bey and his friends steadily extended the scope and work of the Committee throughout the country, gained the confidence and support of the army, and sowed the seeds of the new creed even in the wilds of Anatolia. In July 1908 the revolution brought about by the Young Turk Party forced Abdul Hamid to give the Constitution to the nation, and Talaat Bey then became one of the five deputies of Adrianople. He soon became Second President of the Chamber, succeeding the well-known Ahmed Riza Bey, head of the Young Turk

Committee in Paris, and a year later he was appointed Minister of the Interior. In the reaction which took place in the following year Talaat Bey fled to San Stefano, from which place he invoked the aid of the army at Salonica. This force commanded by Mahmood Shevket Pasha quickly arrived before the walls of Constantinople dethroning Abdul Hamid in 1909.

In a new cabinet Talaat Bey again resumed office as Minister of the Interior, and after its fall was the actual leader of the Party of Union and Progress in the Chamber. Before the declaration of the late Balkan war a secret committee, pursuing personal aims, caused a further political change and Huchuk Said Pasha's cabinet fell, the Chamber was illegally dissolved, and war broke out at a moment when, as the Bulgarians well knew, the whole organisation of the Ottoman army was thrown out of gear by the fact that those who had loyally tried to recognise it were removed from the command. Another unfortunate feature of the military situation was the disbandment of the active army upon the assurance given by a foreign Power that Turkey would not be attacked. Talaat Bey enrolled himself as a volunteer in the army and toiled on all sides to provision the troops and inspire confidence, until he learned that the cabinet of Kiamil Pasha, was about to sign a peace of which the terms were dishonourable to Turkey. Secret counsel was held with his old friends and other members of the Committee, and the following day, accompanied by Enver Bey, he proceeded to the Sublime Porte and summoned the cabinet which was sitting at the moment to resign its functions. In the course of the discussion that arose in the Council Chamber between the spokesman of the party, Enver Bey, and Kiamil Pasha, the Minister of War hearing shots fired in the hall rushed out and fell dead, struck by two stray bullets. Complying with the request of Enver Bey, Kiamil Pasha resigned and the Party of Union and Progress came again into Power. Talaat Bey and his supporters then organised the national defence with a committee specially appointed for that purpose, Mahmood Shevket became Grand Vezir, the army took courage, and owing to the energetic action of Talaat Bey and his comrades Adrianople was regained.

It will thus be seen that the history of Constitution is the history of Talaat Bey. The momentous changes which then took place in the political and administrative system and the great civilising process, combining fresh measures for external defence, internal welfare, and the legitimate advancement of a constituted community were mainly brought about by the statesmanlike power of management and the strenuous determination of this strong man, who in his every action gives form and utterance to the spirit of Turkish citizenship. No existing Imperial Government could entirely free a state in the space of four years from evils due to despotism, ignorance, corruption, and prolonged financial mismanagement. Yet an impartial examination of facts reveals that, within this brief period solid progress has been achieved by the improvement of education, the extension of railways and roads, and also of posts and telegraphs; by the growth of trade and by imposing serious checks upon maladministration. Agriculture, manufactures, and military matters have all advanced, and when charges of inaction and inefficiency are preferred against Turkey let the voice of common sense and fairness reply by demanding that time which alone can bring into full relief all really valuable work, should be accorded to the further efforts of a young nation under the guidance of Talaat Bey—born leader of men—maintaining a slow but steady fight against old abuses, with its face towards the light of civilization. Those who feel the recollection stir within them of all that has been spent by Britons in sacrifice and service to evolve our own Imperial Power, should recognise the kinship and common purpose of this Eastern patriot, fighting with his back to the wall for the status, maintenance and independence of the Ottoman Empire against the forces of reaction and the conflicting claims of capitulations, who has still to educate the people at large to a knowledge of all that constitutional government and a Chamber of Deputies mean; who has also to contend with intrigue, discontent, and personal enmities.

All that zeal, ability, and humanity can suggest is brought into the administration by the quiet force and constitutional methods of Hadji Adil Bey, Governor-General of Adrianople. Born at Constantinople in 1866, Hadji Adil Bey was educated in various secondary schools and subsequently entered the School of Law at Salonica, from which he graduated as first scholar of the year. He enjoyed a high reputation for legal knowledge, and for a time occupied a chair as professor in the same institution. On the appointment of his father as Director of Customs in the Hedjaz (Arabia), he resigned his professorship for the post of Assistant Director under him, which he held until appointed to Salonica as Director-General of Foreign Trade. By nature a deep thinker and hard worker, Hadji Adil Bey naturally gravitated towards the Young Turk Committee, and the success of the Revolutionary Party at Salonica owed much to the sound advice and temperate measures advocated by him. After the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution he was appointed Governor-General of Adrianople. He held, however, the reins of that office for only eighteen months, being recalled to Salonica as Secretary of the Committee of Union and Progress, and was also summoned to preside at the General Congress of that Committee which took place in the same city. After the reconquest of Adrianople by the

Ottoman Army he was again appointed Governor-General of that vilayet, and no greater pledge of the future bridging of that gulf which in the past has divided the Government from the people could be offered than the moderation, consistency, and beneficial rule of this Turkish advocate of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Tall and spare, with a noble and dignified presence, His Excellency screens no intentions behind nebulous words, but expressed the sincere sentiment of his nation when he deplored the cessation of that comradeship in arms and the diminution of that old friendship with England which the passage of time has neither dimmed nor darkened in Turkish hearts. Even in the shadow of partial estrangement he recalled without bitterness the former mutual trust of allies divided by no impassable dyke of human thought, that cordial fellowship won by British appreciation of the fortitude and soldierly qualities of Turkish troops in the Crimea, cemented in 1877 by admiration for the heroes of Plevna, and sealed by sympathy for the sufferings endured in the Shipka Pass. He dwelt in grave and earnest tones upon the importance which must always attach to the opinion and policy of Great Britain, as the greatest Mohamedan Power in the world, and on the unique position regarding that country occupied by the Ottoman Empire, which for centuries has been the one great spiritual Power of Islam. His careworn face lit up as, in the old Konak at Adrianople, he indicated the necessity for a lasting alliance based upon the common interest of both nations, and the guarantee to the peace of the world which would be afforded by the future co-operation of the two great forces of Islam.

Another remarkable personality in this constellation of talent is the striking figure of Djavid Bey, ex-Minister of Finance and Public Works in the Cabinet of Said Pasha. This Moslem statesman was born at Salonica in 1874 and until the Revolution, when he became a deputy for that town in the Chamber, was a Professor of Political Economy in Constantinople and director of a private school. This typical progressive man of the Young Turk Party, and able expert of finance, threw himself into political life on the crest of the wave of new thought and liberal ideas, and in the anxious hours of a young nation's birth the perilous life was vigilantly guarded by the unique intelligence of Djavid Bey. His high mental powers procured him the position of President of the Commission of Finance, and after the reaction he became the actual Minister of that important department. During his tenure of office he not only occupied himself in finding money in the foreign markets to keep the country going, but he laboured with success to reform his financial administration and endeavoured, so far as was in his power, to restore the equilibrium in the Budget and to consolidate the finances of the Empire. It is worthy of notice that, although he hoped to free his country in the long run from foreign financial control, he has always had the highest opinion of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, with whom his relations, to the great advantage of the Debt and his own country, have always been of a most cordial character.

Eventually the strong measures adopted by the Kiamil Pasha Cabinet against the Young Turk Party forced him to seek refuge in Europe, but during the supremacy of Mahmood Shevket Pasha he returned to Constantinople and was offered the mission of representing his country at the Financial Conference held in Paris. Fully alive to the political security and commercial prosperity that might be ensured by international relations of a friendly character, Djavid Bey, whilst still engaged in the affairs of the Conference, entered into negotiations with the French Cabinet with a view to bringing about an entente between the two Governments. His efforts were crowned with success, and returning to Constantinople to join in the discussion of Ministers for the definite settlement of the points in dispute, he lost no time in opening up similar negotiations with the Russian Ambassador. Djavid Bey then left for Berlin where he is at present engaged on a mission of the same nature with the German Government. No one who has followed the career of Djavid Bey since the advent of the Constitution can doubt the sincerity of his patriotism, or fail to esteem the brilliant qualities of a man who is doubtless a great force in the new Government of Turkey. By those who understand the language and have heard him speak Djavid Bey is considered one of the finest orators of modern times, and his Budget speeches are remarkable for their directness, rhythm, and range of expression.

No outline of the memorable events which launched the process of Turkish reform would be complete without special mention of the mutual friendship that has existed, since the earliest days of the movement, between the members of the group of patriots now invested with co-ordinate powers; or of that complete understanding which will be an influential factor in moulding the decisive moments of the Empire's future. No member of the Cabinet is more beloved by his colleagues and the nation than Hahl Bey, appointed President of the Council of State in the Cabinet of Said Halim Pasha, and born at Smyrna forty years ago. His studies were completed in France, but his knowledge and talent were not rewarded by office under Abdul Hamid, and some years were passed in retirement upon his estates in Asia Minor. With the establishment of the Constitution he became deputy for Mentéché, a town in the province of Smyrna, and subsequently leader of the parliamentary party in the Chamber

eventually replacing Talaat Bey as Minister of the Interior after the reactionary period. Halil Bey possesses a dominating personality and eminent administrative gifts. A somewhat reserved manner is perhaps the outcome of the trials and adverse fortune which have proved powerless to shake the strenuous public spirit that has been a salient feature of his career. The history of his life and political intimacies carries the conviction that the collective thought of the upright statesmen now in power is a keystone in the arch of Turkey's prosperity, peace, and contentment.

There is no danger of policy outrunning efficiency in arms so long as Djemal Bey, who was recently appointed Commandant of the First Army Corps, is in the service of his country. Born in Constantinople, he received his education at the Military Academy of Pansallik, which he left with the rank of Captain of the Staff, and proceeding to Salonica was attached to the Army Corps of that garrison. A lasting friendship was formed at this time with Talaat Bey, which led to his joining the local Young Turk Committee. After the Revolution of 1908, accompanied by Rahmi Bey, present Governor-General of Smyrna, he returned to Constantinople on the dangerous errand of conveying the secret written instructions of the Committee, and henceforward laboured for the national cause with skill and supreme devotion until the establishment of the Constitution, when he became Civil Governor of Scutari (Constantinople), and, after the lapse of some time, Governor-General of Adana. In both these influential positions Djemal Bey secured the confidence of all classes of the Armenian and Moslem population, as well as the regard of the foreign officials with whom he came in contact; and his transference to Bagdad, in the dual capacity of Governor-General and Military Commandant, was deeply regretted. This post he resigned during the Cabinet of Kiamil Pasha, and upon the outbreak of the late war resumed a purely military rôle, and fought in many of the principal engagements.

The name of brave Djemal Bey is inscribed for ever on the Turkish roll of fame, and the splendor of his heroism during the terrible retreat from Lule Burgas lights up the annals of a period unparalleled in suffering since the agony of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Though stricken with cholera, he never faltered in the formidable task of re-establishing order in the flying mass, of which many men died as they stood, plunged to their waists in freezing mud; but the mighty efforts of Djemal Bey and his companions restored some sense of discipline and rallied a defending force. When desperate illness rendered him unable to mount a horse he was carried to Constantinople, and reappeared at the Sublime Port, with his old indomitable spirit, on the occasion of the *coup d'état* of last January which resulted in the fall of Kiamil Pasha's Cabinet. Under the administration of Mahmud Shukret Pasha he was appointed to the post of Military Governor of Constantinople, and the security of that town during the later stages of the war was largely due to his efficiency and renown.

Never perhaps has a great reputation been more honourably won than that of Enver Bey, who is acclaimed not only by the Army but by the whole enlightened Moslem world as the symbol, soul, and incarnation of Turkish liberty. Soldier and administrator, Enver Bey was born in Stamboul in 1882, and is the son of a father of pure Turkish, and a mother of Albanian, descent. His primary education commenced in the Hassan Aga Medrese school of his birthplace, and was continued by further instruction in a local school at Monastir; and, having adopted the army as a profession, Enver Bey eventually entered the military college of that town. He terminated his military training at the same academy in Constantinople as Djemal Bey, and was sent to Salonica to take up duties as Captain of the Staff. His first experience of active service was not long delayed, as the Government then in power charged him to follow up the revolutionary bands of Bulgars, Greeks and Serbs in the neighbourhood of Monastir. This task was accomplished with the humanity, courage and moderation of which he gave further proofs in the later campaign in Tripoli.

It was at Salonica and Monastir that Enver Bey, first realising his country's thralldom, joined the Young Turk Committee and dedicated himself to cause of liberation. It was he and the late Nisazi Bey, who, on the bleak mountains of Macedonia, first raised the standard of rebellion against Abdul Hamid's regime of tyranny and absolutism. Supported by the army of Salonica, the two Commanders despatched an ultimatum to Constantinople definitely demanding the Sultan's abdication or the immediate declaration of a Constitution. Abdul Hamid gave way, and the brilliancy of the young soldier whose championship of the people's rights established the Constitution in Turkey seized the popular imagination, and there has been no greater tower of strength in the historic moments of Ottoman evolution than the capability, the personal magnetism and the charm of Enver Bey, who represents the patriotism and stability of the Turkish military class.

After this achievement, Enver Bey was appointed Military Attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Berlin, from which place he assiduously followed the fortunes of his country, and studied foreign, civil and military administration. During the reaction of the 13th of April 1909 which resulted in placing Mehmed Reşad the Fifth on

the throne, Enver Bey, hastily quitting his post, arrived at Salonica and marched with the victorious army to Constantinople. Resuming his duties at Berlin after the accession, he remained there until the outbreak of the war in Tripoli, when he left for Benghazi. Working day and night, he organised an Arab defending force, and by constant skirmishes and several victorious engagements, of which the heaviest occurred at Derna, successfully checked the Italian advance. In these strenuous months he did not neglect to form a regular administration of the interior, organising schools, hospitals, orphanages and general relief works to mitigate the hardships entailed upon a poverty-stricken population by warfare conducted in so remote a desert.

Upon the conclusion of peace with Italy, Enver Bey returned to his mother country to find the Bulgarian Army already at Chataldja, and he immediately proceeded to the front, having been appointed Staff-Colonel of the 10th Army Corps, commanded by Khourahid Pasha, ex-A.D.C. to the Sultan.

At the time of the downfall of Kiamil Pasha's Cabinet, Enver Bey, spurning the ignoble terms of a proposed peace, hastily departed to Constantinople, and, having contributed to Kiamil's removal from power, again returned to his military duties. Taking advantage of the Bulgarian defeat in the second Balkan war, Enver Bey led the historic march to Adrianople, and regained for the Ottoman Empire, on the 22nd of July 1913, a city which, as the former capital and residence of the Sultan, is regarded as almost sacred by Moslems.

Endowed by nature with the priceless gift of personal appearance, and possessing those compelling qualities which defy definition but raise adherents, there is assuredly no true aim or aspiration for his Empire's greatness which does not find a place in the fearless heart of Enver Bey. Surely the ardent hopes of this intrepid soldier who has played so vivid a part in the cause of Turkish liberation should command special esteem and can lid sympathy at the present hour, for it may be trusted that few civilised men or women of Christian faith could witness unmoved, or without a sense of shame, the abomination of desolation that the Bulgarians have made of Thrace. Desolation now takes the place of massacre, and wholesale slaughter is replaced by famine, whilst uncultivated fields and blackened ruins of peaceful hamlets are eloquent of fire, robbery, murder and mutilation. Indignation and a horror that haunts at night spring from the stress of misery which holds Thrace in its sullen sway from the desolate plains beyond Adrianople to the mountain of Mourad Bey. It is a land laid waste, the backwash and wreckage of a war conducted in the spirit of extermination, and the valley of the Maritza is the Valley of the Shadow of Death. It is a lifeless desert born of the deeds of Christian soldiers; the grave of an honest population, and of fifty thousand troops who died for the defence of Islam. The barbarities that have been committed in the name of the Cross should challenge Christian Europe to measure the field of the Ottoman Empire's future by a higher standard of national right and wrong; to remember that every depositary of power may still carry a mission of national mercy, and to honour the wisdom and guardianship of Ottoman patriots, who are deaf to the fierce interest and raging jealousies of the word, and blind to all considerations but that of giving proof of qualities commensurate with the wants and progress of the Ottoman nation.

(The Hon.) ZENES CHARLTON in the *Nineteenth Century*, Constantinople.

The Young Turk Party.

Sir Edwin Pears, in the course of a trenchant article on "The Real Rulers of Turkey: Rehabilitation of the Young Turk Party," in the *Daily News* (November 25), expresses the opinion that not only was the Young Turk Party never stronger than it is to-day, but also that there is no organised opposition to it—

One may go further and say that probably the Young Turks have never been so firmly seated in the saddle since 1909 as they are now. Nor is their popularity unmerited. They have done valuable work. Constantinople has been greatly improved. All the important streets have been paved. Many of them have been widened. In three months we shall have telephones. Preparations are being steadily pushed forward for electric light. Electric traction for the tramways is already in operation. The policing and cleansing of the city is better than ever it was. The new gendarmes are efficient and polite, and are regarded as friends by the population. During the five years we have been in revolution the blunders committed by the party were carefully noted. The unpreparedness of the country for war, the incompetency shown in organisation, the crushing defeats suffered at Lule Burgas and at Kirk Killise were all noted against it. The assassination of Nazim Pasha, and later of Sherif, came as apparently the culmination of Turkey and the party's misfortune. Each for a time staggered the population. Had the contest with the Allies stopped at the happening of either of these events, Young

* A strong Bulgarian position near Chataldja, captured by Enver Bey and his soldiers. Their heroic death was a national triumph.

Turkey would have been ignominiously driven into obscurity. The Young Turks, however, once they had regained office in January last, held out, and never lost an opportunity of trying to regain what their predecessors had lost. The men who made the revolution were mostly of plebeian origin, and as the merely ornamental and opportunist adherents gradually withdrew from the Young Turk Party, it was open to the remark that it was composed of upstarts and adventurers, and that no respectable Turk would belong to it. The appointment of Said Halim has taken away this reproach. His brother, Abbas Pasha, who for four years declined to take any part in politics, has now consented to be Governor of Brusa. In this manner Young Turkey has strengthened itself.—*The Near East*

The Conclusion of Peace.

THE signing of peace has caused general relief throughout Greece. The Treaty signed renews all treaties and conventions existing between the two countries prior to the war, and amnesties all persons compromised by recent political events. In regard to the question of nationality, Greece has had to give way. She recognises that her demand that not only the present inhabitants of the conquered territories, but also those born in them, but now resident in Turkey, should have the right of option regarding citizenship, was excessive, and she yields on the point. She also accords to Ottoman subjects in the conquered territory the same civil and political rights as Greeks, and recognises the autonomy of their communities. They will be allowed to elect their Mufti, who in turn will elect the Chief Mufti, who will be appointed by the King, and will be invested at Constantinople as the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The judgments delivered by the Muftis in regard to religious questions, etc., will be enforced by the Hellenic authorities.

Greece recognises the rights of juridical persons (*personnes morales*) of Ottoman nationality to own real estate, and by two notes attached to the Treaty the Committee of Union and Progress is accorded recognition as a "juridical person." This claim was advanced at the last moment, to enable the Committee to exercise proprietary rights over certain property it possesses in Salonika. The rights of the Sultan to personally owned estates will also be respected, and it has been agreed that any differences which may arise in regard to this subject shall be referred to The Hague Tribunal. To the same tribunal will be submitted the question of the pay of the Turkish privates who were prisoners of war. Turkey having agreed only to reimburse the cost of the officers' pay, of the loss to Greek shipping caused by the detention of Greek vessels at the Dardanelles, of the arms of the Salonika garrison, claimed by Turkey, and, finally, the very important question of the domainal estates, which the Ottoman Government claims should still be left to it.

As to the Vakoufs and their properties, the Greek Government engages to respect them without distinction, on the sole condition that Vakouf properties the revenues of which are devoted to other Moslem foundations situated in Turkey, shall be sold. The Vakouf tithe, which was devoted to the benefit of certain pious foundations, is abolished, the Hellenic Government undertaking to grant them subventions if their revenues prove insufficient for their upkeep.

Finally, Greece has agreed to give way to the demand, also put forward by Turkey at the eleventh hour, regarding the railways in the annexed areas, and all questions relating thereto are to be referred to the Financial Commission in Paris. This stipulation is regarded here as extremely stiff.—*The Near East*.

Ruler of Albania.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT).

THE *Albanische Correspondenz* reports from Avlona that the Albanian Provisional Government has received an official intimation that Prince William of Wied has been selected by the Powers as the future Sovereign of Albania.

Prince William Frederick Henry of Wied is 37 years old and an Evangelical Protestant. He is the second son of the fifth Prince of Wied by his marriage with Marie, Princess of the Netherlands—a marriage which made Prince William's elder brother, the present and sixth Prince of Wied, come near to the succession to the Dutch Throne. The Wied family has been settled on the Rhine since at any rate the 11th century, and gave its name to the "county" of Wied, which was divided about 200 years ago into Wied-Runkel and Wied-Neuwied. Both lost their sovereign rights in 1806, on the formation of Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, and the Congress of Vienna made Wied and Prussian *Stansleherrschafft*. Prince William is a nephew of the Queen of Rumania, who was Princess Pauline Elizabeth of Wied and married King Charles in 1869. Prince William married in 1906 Princess Sofia of Schonburg Waldenburg, by whom he has one daughter, four years old. His younger brother, Prince Victor of Wied, is a Secretary in the German Legation at Constantinople.

Prince William is popular in Berlin and Potsdam society, and is regarded as a well-informed and capable soldier who is sure to devote himself to his new task with energy and courage. Evidently he has

had no business whatever with politics. Born at Neuwied in 1876, he became a lieutenant in the Regiment of Gardes du Corps at the age of 21. He served with the regiment at Potsdam until 1906 and was for some time adjutant. He studied for three years at the Staff College in Berlin and for two years held an appointment in the Great General Staff. He is at present Captain in the 3rd Regiment of Uhlans of the Guard.—*The Times*.

History of the Egyptian Wakfs.

(BY THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

SINCE the Egyptian Wakfs are at present the subject of so much discussion, it may not be inopportune to say a few words as to their history and as to what they comprise. The first Administration of Wakfs (or Mohamedan endowments) was founded by Mohamed Ali Pasha in 1832 (A. H. 1251), the object being to control the acts of "nazirs" (trustees), to superintend the accounts, and to bring offending "trustees" before the Cadi of the Mehkema Sharia. The Administration was abolished in 1835, but re-established in 1848 by Abbas I.

Gradually the competency of the Wakfs Administration was extended, until in 1895 it administered: (1) Wakfs destined to charitable purposes and which had no trustees; (2) Wakfs without any special purpose, or which are without trustees; (3) Wakfs handed over to it for divers reasons by the Cadi who appointed the Director-General as personal and sole trustee, or as joint trustee with the original "nazir"; (4) Wakfs for which the Cadi had appointed the Director-General as sequestrator or as temporary trustee; (5) Wakfs which the beneficiaries had requested should be placed under the control of the Administration.

In addition to these duties the Wakfs Administration has to-day certain religious and moral obligations. The chief of these are the control of the mosques and the carrying out of religious ceremonies, the creation of homes and free hospitals, the execution of the wishes of the testators in all matters which concern the development of education, the distribution of subscriptions to benevolent societies, and of monthly alms to hundreds of needy families.

According to *El Ahram*, the Wakfs maintain 1,495 mosques, with a personnel of 8,047 officials, and five scientific and religious institutions, with 610 ulmas and 20,408 students. In addition the Administration pays all expenses for 151 schools run by the Ministry of Education, as well as of many private schools. Its subvention to the Egyptian Government amounts to ££27,000. Eleven hospitals and dispensaries are kept up at an annual cost of ££16,518. Six homes, two in the Hejaz, three in Cairo (one for men, one for women, and one for children), and one in Alexandria, are maintained for ££29,000, which permits 7,215 needy persons to be looked after. In addition ££1,870 is spent on religious education, ££110,000 goes in the upkeep of the mosques, and its annual subscriptions to benevolent and other societies amount to over ££15,000.

The Wakfs Administration manages 465 private Wakfs, on the revenues of which it charges 10 per cent., last year this brought in ££36,379 to its treasury so the private Wakfs are no negligible item. The total revenue of the Administration from all sources in 1912 was ££167,892, and its expenditure ££182,538. Both of these figures fell considerably short of expectations, and instead of a surplus of ££30,295 there was a deficit of ££15,148. In addition to this, and to make matters worse, the Administration had opened credits to the tune of ££28,204 on its reserve, which owing to the above-mentioned deficit had become reduced to ££17,799!

It was in 1895 that Lord Cromer managed to get some sort of order put into the accounts. The audit which was taken revealed the fact that there was a deficit in the place of the substantial cash balance shown in the accounts. Every Wakf had its own separate account; many showed a permanent deficit, others a permanent surplus. Some had no revenue at all. Expenses were debited to each Wakf irrespective of whether it could stand it or whether the work entailed had justified the amount in question. It, therefore, was found after investigation that many Wakfs that were in deficit were shown to owe on paper large sums to those that possessed a surplus. Everything was in an almost hopeless tangle, for deposits and trust monies had been treated as revenue, and the final balance-sheet in 1896 showed a deficit of ££27,000.

From that year onwards an improvement manifested itself, and 1912 was the first year thereafter in which a deficit occurred. There is every probability that if 1913 shows a deficit it will be the last to do so, for with the Administration in the hands of the Egyptian Government expenditure will be kept well within the revenue, which latter will become increased by reason of more efficient management of the property.

In connection with the outcry from certain quarters and the transformation of the Administration into a Ministry, it is interesting to note that in 1878 Ismail Pasha himself took a similar step, and that it was only in 1882 that the Wakfs became the independent organisation that it has been ever since.—*The Near East*.

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